COLLECTION

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WORKS

OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,

Faithfully TRANSLATED from the

R

Original GREEK,

And Compared with the TRANSLATION of

Sir *ROGER L'ESTRANGE*, Knight.

CONTAINING,

I. The Life of *JOSEPHUS*, written by himself.
II. The Antiquities of the JEWS. In Twenty Books.
III. *JOSEPHUS*'s Book against *Apion*, in Defence of the Antiquities of the Jews. In Two Parts.
IV. The Wars of the JEWS with the *Romans*. In Seven Books.
V. The Martyrdom of the *Maccabees*; And,
VI. *Philo*'s Embassy from the JEWS of *Alexandria*, to *Caius Caligula*.

With Explanatory Notes, and Marginal References.

To which are Prefix'd,
Several Remarks and Observations upon the Writings of
JOSEPHUS. By *Hezekiah Jones*, [illegible]

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BRITISH MUSEUM

THE

Publiſhers PREFACE.

IT would be needleſs to treſpaſs upon our reader's patience with a long previous account of the particulars contain'd in the following hiſtory, being fully convinced, that they are ſuch as will afford a profitable entertainment to moſt of our readers.

It is neceſſary, however, that we ſhould ſay ſomething of the order in which we have placed this hiſtory, and the reaſon why we have varied in that particular from all the other editions of the works of this learned author, which have yet appear'd in print.

It has hitherto been a cuſtom to place the life of F. Josephus, (which was written by himſelf in the fifty ſixth year of his age,) ſometimes after his antiquities, and ſometimes after his wars; for which we think no ſufficient reaſon can be aſſign'd, becauſe 'tis contrary to modern cuſtom to place the life of an author (though writ by himſelf) in the middle of his works; and therefore as critics cannot eaſily determine whether his *Wars of the Jews*, or his *Antiquities*, were writ firſt, we think the moſt natural method is to place the *Life of the author* before both. An account of the birth, education, and religion of an author (eſpecially when penn'd by himſelf) carefully read, ſerves as a comment to the reſt of his works, which it in ſome ſort illuſtrates, by inſenſibly conveying into the mind of the reader, a juſt idea of his temper, genius, ſtile, and way of thinking, and therefore, we think, deſervedly claims precedency of order, that people thereby may be able to form ſome judgment of his worth and abilities, before they proceed to read his other works: this ſeemed to us moſt natural, and conſequently is the method we have followed.

We have likewiſe in this edition placed the defence of the Antiquities immediately after the Antiquities; and the martyrdom of the Maccabees immediately after the Wars; and the ſame argument will ſerve for this tranſpoſition, as was uſed for the former, viz. That it appeared to us the moſt conſiſtent; and thus much for the order of the work.

And now we will proceed to ſhew ſome of the reaſons which induced us to publiſh the works of this author.

We aſſure the publick, that it is with no mercenary view to our own private intereſt that we have attempted to publiſh this new edition, but only with a deſign to render the works of that learned Jew, Flavius Joſephus, of univerſal uſe to all degrees of men, by giving the world a fair and juſt tranſlation of the moſt curious pieces of hiſtory and antiquity, that ever were writ by any author, either ancient or modern.

To which end, we have indeed taken a great deal of pains, to render it more compleat than any other tranſlation yet extant, by adding a great many uſeful notes to explain the moſt difficult paſſages throughout the whole book; and we have likewiſe been at a great expence, by engraving Maps and curious Sculptures for the better illuſtration of the hiſtory.

A great deal more might be urged in favour of this new tranſlation, but as it might ſeem impertinent in us to be too vain of our own performance; and as we have no deſign to raiſe our reputation by undervaluing the labours of others, we leave the work to recommend itſelf; and as it is found to prove either good or bad, ſo we expect to be incouraged or diſcouraged, and no otherwiſe.

And therefore we intreat, that every one of our ſubſcribers would carefully examine the ſubject of the following ſheets, that they themſelves may be able to judge of the merit of the undertaking.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS Upon the WRITINGS of FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, IN TWO DISCOURSES.

DISCOURSE I.

Wherein the Life and Religion of Joſephus *is briefly examined, and an Account given of that famous Paſſage relating to our bleſſed Lord and Saviour.*

IN this preliminary diſcourſe I ſhall chiefly enquire into the life and religion of Joſephus; a right underſtanding of which will explain ſome obſcurities in him, and remove the objections that have been made againſt that memorable paſſage concerning our Saviour.

HE has given us the hiſtory of his own life, writ by himſelf at the age of fifty ſix; wherein he tells us he was of the ſtock and lineage of Aaron, and by his mother's ſide, a deſcendant of the Maccabees, and of the courſe of Jojarib, the firſt of the twenty four orders of the prieſts. He ſaith that he was born in the firſt year of Caligula's reign, A. D. 37. He made trial of the three famous ſects that were then among the Jews; Phariſees, Sadducees, and Eſſenes: and leaving them at the age of ſixteen, he ſpent three years in the wilderneſs of Judea, under the inſtructions of a famous maſter nam'd Bani. Serrarius took this Bani for an Eſſene, Druſius and the author of Juchaſin for a Phariſee; but they are all miſtaken; ſince Joſephus in that very place diſtinguiſheth him from the three ſects he had before made trial of. It is more likely, that he was one of the diſciples of St. John Baptiſt, or our Saviour. The Talmud makes mention of one of Chriſt's diſciples, by the name of Bani, or Buni. But whoever he was, at the end of three years Joſephus left him alſo; and being now nineteen years old, return'd to Jeruſalem, where having ſpent ſeven years, he went to Rome, being twenty ſix years old; and there contracted an acquaintance with Nicanor, (who was afterwards a colonel in Veſpaſian's army) and with Alityrus, one of Nero's minions, and by his means with the empreſs Poppea, from whom he receiv'd many favours. After two years abode at Rome, he reviſited his own country, the war being now ready to break out; in which war Joſephus, being thirty years old, and a governor in Galilee, oppoſed the Romans, till at laſt being over-powered, he yielded (or in the language of his enemies, revolted) to them. At this time he told Veſpaſian, that he ſhould become emperor of the Romans; and when Joſephus ſaw his prophecy fulfill'd, and the whole nation of the Jews ſubdued by him, he took him for the Meſſiah and king of the Jews, foretold by the prophets. Upon theſe accounts he was highly valued by Veſpaſian and Titus, and from them took the name of Flavius. And becauſe this is ſo remarkable a part of the life of Joſephus, it may not be amiſs to quote it in his own words. “ Nothing ſo much ſtirr'd up the minds of the Jews to the preſent wars, as a doubtful prophecy found in their ſacred books; that about that time there ſhould ariſe in their country, one who ſhould become ruler of the whole world. ——— By this oracle the empire of Veſpaſian was predicted, which began in Judea.” Alſo chap. xiv. he ſaith, “That God revealed to him in a dream the deſtruction of the Jews, and their conqueſt by the Romans, and what ſhould befal the Roman emperors.” For being a prieſt, he knew how to explain the ſacred books of the prophets, and to interpret dreams. He often declared to the Jews, that God had left them, and was gone over to the Romans; that the Jews in reſiſting, not only fought againſt the Romans, but God alſo; and that the writings of the prophets manifeſtly pointed out the deſtruction of Jeruſalem about that time; and that God had long ſince ordained it. From the waters of Siloam being dried up, when in the power of the Jews, and flowing plentifully when in poſſeſſion of the Romans, he infer'd, that God had deſerted the Jews, and was gone over to the Romans. When the war was ended, and all things had fallen out according to Joſephus's predictions, he determin'd to publiſh the hiſtory of it; which he did firſt in his mother tongue, the Hebrew, for the uſe of the eaſtern nations (a book long ſince loſt,) and afterwards coming to Rome with Titus, he there publiſhed theſe books in Greek, which are now extant. But this was not done upon his very firſt coming thither; for the triumph of Veſpaſian and Titus over the Jews was firſt paſt, which Joſephus deſcribes in thoſe books. There were alſo falſe accounts of that war publiſh'd by many, before he publiſh'd his; and it was after the fourth year of Veſpaſian's reign, which he makes expreſs mention of in his ſeventh book of the wars of the Jews; and after the building of the temple of Peace at Rome, which he alſo takes notice of, and which, as Dion informs us, was dedicated A. D. 75. that is, five years after the finiſhing of the war; and yet it was before the death of Agrippa, who highly approv'd of it, and writ ſeveral letters in its commendation. Agrippa came to Rome, and had ſeveral new honours conferr'd upon him by Veſpaſian, that very year that the temple of Peace was dedicated (as appears from Dion,) beſides the concurrent teſtimony of ſeveral coins. Euſebius in his chronicle, and the author of the Paſchalion ſay, That he reign'd twenty ſix years, that is, till the ſeventh year of Veſpaſian; all which I the rather recount, becauſe two very learned men of the laſt age have fixed his death in the third year of Veſpaſian. From hence it is manifeſt, that Joſephus publiſh'd his book of the wars of the Jews betwixt the fifth year of Veſpaſian, when the temple of Peace was dedicated, and the ſeventh year of Veſpaſian, in which Agrippa dy'd.

It was out of reſpect to the Romans, among whom he liv'd, that he wrote theſe books, and from whom he had receiv'd many honours; for he was made free of Rome by Veſpaſian, lived in the palace, and had a yearly penſion allow'd him by the emperor; and having preſented his books of the Jewiſh war to Veſpaſian and Titus, the firſt ordered a ſtatue to be erected to him at Rome, the latter ſign'd his approbation of them with his own hand, and gave orders for them to be kept in all the publick libraries. As the Romans extoll'd him, ſo he conſtantly magnifieth and flatters the Romans, and gives very indifferent characters of the Jews; for which they generally condemn his writings. Abarbanel ſaith, that he falſified the truth to magnify the Romans, whoſe diſpleaſure he was afraid of, and wrote to pleaſe them. And though theſe cenſures of the Jews are falſe and groundleſs, yet I cannot but remark, that he ſo far complied with the rites and cuſtoms of the Romans, that Minucius Felix in the very next age after took him for a Roman; “ De Judæis ſcripta eorum relege; vel, ſi Romanis magis gaudes, Flavii Joſephi, vel Antonii Juliani de Judæis require, i. e. Concerning the Jews, either read their own writers, or if you would rather read Romans, inquire for Joſephus or Antonius Julianus.” This latter was without doubt the ſame Antonius Julianus that was procurator of Judea in the very time of the war, and is mentioned by Joſephus. He was by birth a Spaniard, a man very eloquent and learned, and one who publickly taught rhetorick at Rome. When Joſephus therefore wrote his books of the wars of the Jews, he was of opinion, that God had forſaken their nation, and was gone over to the Romans. He had ſeen his country laid waſte by a war that had exhauſted above 1100000 people, the whole city levelled, and God's temple ſo utterly deſtroyed, as that there was ſcarcely one ſtone left upon another; the ſacred books of Moſes, and the holy veſſels of God's houſe, firſt made part of the Roman triumph, and afterwards prophan'd to furniſh the temples of Jupiter Capitolinus, and that of Peace; and the very ſhekels which were formerly paid by the Jews all the world over to the temple at Jeruſalem, were now paid to Jupiter Capitolinus. By which and other circumſtances, Joſephus was thoroughly confirm'd in his opinion, that God had forſaken the Jews, and was become the God and favourer of the Romans, and that Veſpaſian was the promiſed Meſſiah. His opinion about government was, that no one could be promoted to a throne, but by God's ſpecial favour, and he makes king Agrippa thus addreſs the Jews: “ It's plain that God is now gone over to the Romans; for it's impoſſible that ſo great an empire ſhould be eſtabliſhed without God.” For theſe reaſons Joſephus conceived favourably of the religion of the Romans, and was pleaſed that many of the Jewiſh opinions agreed with theirs. The prodigies that he recounteth before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, would better become Livy or Tacitus, than a Jewiſh hiſtorian; and he could not tell whether he ſhould aſcribe his great deliverance at Jotapata to chance or providence. And when Judas, an Eſſene, foretold the death of Antigonus at Strato's tower, the prophecy was not fulfill'd at the famous Cæſarea, ſo called by way of eminence, but at another obſcure place of that name; which ſeems copied from the fable of the death of Alexander king of Epirus at Pandoſia, as it is recorded by Livy and others. And what he relates of the apples of Sodom and the Sabbatical river, is more like a romance, invented to divert his reader, than with any regard to truth; and the ridiculous ſtory of the root Baras ſeems borrow'd from the Moly of Homer, or Circea of Dioſcorides and Theophraſtus. The four colours of the veil of the temple at Jeruſalem, he makes to be an imitation of the four elements, and the ſeven candleſticks a Reſemblance of the ſeven planets. The flying open of the great brazen gate of the temple, is ſuch a like circumſtance as happen'd at Thebes juſt before the great battle of the Lacedemonians at Leuctra, when the great gates of Hercules's temple open'd of themſelves without any one's touching of them. [Cic. de Divinat.] I omit many other things of the like nature; from whence it's manifeſt, that Joſephus endeavour'd to grecize, and ſhape the hiſtory of the Jews as like as he could to thoſe of the Greeks and Romans.

And thus I have given a ſuccinct account of his ſentiments when he wrote the wars of the Jews; but his books of antiquities were not writ till the thirteenth year of Domitian the emperor, after the death of his three great patrons, two emperors, and a king; and now he betook himſelf to the patronage of Epaphroditus, to whom he dedicates his twenty books of antiquities, his own life, and two books againſt Apion. He had now ſeen his ſuppoſed Meſſiah die, without advancing the Jewiſh intereſt, or anſwering the characters given him by the prophets; by which means he ſeems to have altered his opinion, with reſpect to revealed religion, and to be grown very looſe in his ſentiments about its myſteries; a great latitudinarian, and chiefly adhering to the general notions of the excellency of virtue and goodneſs, and the agreeableneſs of moral religion to the nature of God, and ſuch other like ſentiments; wherein the wiſeſt of the Jews, Heathens, and Chriſtians were agreed, without any religious veneration to ſuch things as had been reveal'd to the Jews by Moſes and the Prophets; and of this it may be proper to give ſome inſtances. Circumciſion was one of the moſt ſacred rites of the Jews, which God gave Abraham, and by which they were known to be his ſeed; and yet when Joſephus is ſpeaking of the antiquity of it, he leaveth the matter undecided betwixt Herodotus and Moſes, whether the Egyptians learn'd it from the Jews, or the Jews from them. He does not ſcruple to ſay, that one might worſhip God without circumciſion, ſo that he reſolv'd to obſerve the Jewiſh laws: that this was far better than circumciſion, and that God would eaſily pardon one that did omit it for fear of perſecution. And in this it is evident, that Joſephus complied with the bad circumſtances the Jews were in under the emperor Domitian, by reaſon of their circumciſion, of which Suetonius hath theſe words: "Judaicus fiſcus acerbiſſimè actus eſt. Interfuiſſe me memi-" ni, cùm à procuratore frequentiſſimo concilio inſpiceretur nonagenarius ſenex, an circumſectus eſſet, i. e. "The Jewiſh tribute was moſt rigorouſly exacted. I remember that I was preſent when an old man of ninety "years of age was in a great aſſembly inſpected by the procurator, whether he was circumciſed or not." When Joſephus relates the miraculous paſſage of the Iſraelites through the Red Sea, he adds with an air of diffidence, That he tells every thing as it was in the holy books, and doubts whether the ſea went back of its own accord, or by God's ſpecial command, and ſeems inclin'd to think it ſuch a circumſtance as happen'd to Alexander's army at Pamphylia. In concluſion he adds, That every one might think of it as he pleaſed. When he mentioneth God's coming down to mount Sinai, he ſaith, Let every one believe of it as he pleaſeth, but he related no more than he found in the holy books. When he ſaith, That God was the author of the law of Moſes, he adds, But let every one think of theſe things as he pleaſeth. And the like reflections he makes upon Jonas's being ſwallowed by a great fiſh, and Nebuchadnezzar living ſeven years in the wilderneſs with the beaſts. In his ſecond book againſt Apion, he ſaith, "That "Moſes from his juſtice and piety might eaſily think that he had God for his guide; and when he was "once poſſeſſed with ſuch notions himſelf, he did well to perſuade the people to think ſo too; juſt as "the Greeks to gain a ſanction to their laws, pretended they were given by Apollo, whether they really "thought ſo, or thought that the beſt way to make them receiv'd of the people." He ſaith, "That the "Jews obſerve their own law, and never cenſure others, and do not rally, or rail againſt thoſe that are "thought Gods by others." Of which place Grotius remarks, that he undoubtedly flatter'd the Romans; and long before him Philoſtorgius made the like obſervation, that Joſephus was afraid to offend the Gentiles, and took great care in his books not to diſpleaſe them.

Now the diſeſteeming the rites and ceremonies of the law of Moſes, and paying ſo great a regard to the precepts of morality, are two conſiderable ſteps that Joſephus made towards the doctrine of chriſtianity; and whereas of all the ſects of the Jews, Joſephus gives the beſt character of, and ſeems to have the higheſt value for the Eſſenes, ſo it is obſervable, that of all the ſects of the Jews, they approach'd neareſt to the chriſtians. The Eſſenes were forbidden to keep any changes of coats or ſhoes, as Chriſt alſo forbad his diſciples, Matth. x. 10. The Eſſenes were forbidden to ſwear, as Chriſt alſo forbad the chriſtians. The Eſſenes excommunicated perſons that liv'd unbecoming their profeſſion; and of ſuch it was obſerv'd by them, that they uſually came to ſome untimely end: juſt as St. Paul obſerves of thoſe who prophan'd the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, in thoſe pureſt times of chriſtianity, that it often happen'd, that they were deliver'd to Satan. The Eſſenes never troubled themſelves with ſacrifices, but faſted often, and readily became martyrs for their religion; all which things comport with the precepts of the goſpel. Of the Eſſenes, Joſephus particularly obſerves, that they were endowed with the gift of prophecy, and could foretel things to come; to which may be added of them, in the laſt place, that though Chriſt vehemently cenſures the phariſees and ſadduces, yet he never once inveighs againſt the Eſſenes. And when Joſephus, at the end of his ſecond book againſt Apion, makes the Jewiſh religion to conſiſt in piety, juſtice, concord, and obſerving God and his providence, he comes very near the deſcription of chriſtianity.

And having thus far taken notice of Joſephus's ſentiments in religious matters, when he wrote his antiquities; let us ſee in the laſt place, whether there is any thing in that remarkable account he gives of our Saviour, that is not very agreeable to Joſephus, and the time when he wrote. The place is Antiq. B. XVIII. chap. 4. "There was about that time one Jeſus a wiſe man, if yet it be lawful to call him a man: he "was a worker of ſtrange miracles, a teacher of ſuch men as would readily embrace the truth, and had "many followers both of Hebrews and Helleniſts, (i. e. Jews and proſelytes.) This was the famous "Chriſt, who upon the accuſation of the chief men among the Jews was crucified by Pontius Pilate; and "yet thoſe who firſt lov'd him, did not forſake him; for he appear'd to them the third day alive again. "Their holy writers have declar'd theſe and many thouſand other wonderful things of him. The ſect of "chriſtians, which are ſo call'd from him, remain to this day." In all which I ſee nothing but what may agree to a Jew, giving an hiſtorical account of the affairs of his own nation to the heathens; eſpecially what may agree to Joſephus, who often tells his reader, that he did not aver the truth of every thing he related, but faithfully tranſcrib'd what he found in their books; and ſo indifferently related the opinions of the Phariſees, Sadduces, Eſſenes, and of the followers of Judas Galilæus, and gives a particular account of St. John Baptiſt, and St. James the brother of Chriſt; ſo that it would have been very ſtrange if Joſephus ſhould have paſs'd by Chriſt and the chriſtians in ſilence; eſpecially at the thirteenth year of Domitian, when they were grown ſo very numerous. At the end of Nero's reign, Hermas, Clement, Tacitus, Lactantius, and Sulpitius Severus call them a great multitude; but at the end of Domitian's reign, moſt nations abounded with chriſtians. Oroſius calls the chriſtian church at that time, Confirmatiſſimam toto Orbe Eccleſiam, a church firmly eſtabliſh'd in all the world. Pliny not long after ſhews that Pontus and Bithynia were full of chriſtians; and even at Rome they were ſo numerous, that Domitian was jealous of them, and their ſetting up of Chriſt's kingdom; and for that reaſon rais'd a perſecution againſt them. But becauſe ſo many learned men have employ'd their pens in cenſuring the authenticknеſs of this paragraph in Joſephus, I will examine it yet more particularly.

There was about that time one Jeſus (Ιησοῦς τις.) This is the proper language of the Jews uſed by Tryphon in Juſtin Martyr, (where Chriſt is call'd Jeſus, Ιησοῦς τις) and by Joſephus upon other occaſions, as in his wars of the Jews, lib. vii. cap. 11. and 12. Ιησοῦς τις; and even of Zenodorus a Tetrarch, Ant. lib. xv. cap. 13. Ζηνόδωρός τις. He calls Banus, Τίνα Βανοῦν; alſo Hyrcanus, lib. xviii. cap. 8. Theudas, lib. xx. cap. 4.

A wise man (σοφὸς ἀνὴρ) the old appellation of a philoſopher; and no more than what the ſame Joſephus ſaith of St. John Baptiſt, who is call'd by him a good man (ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ.)

If he ought to be call'd a man who was a worker of miracles, (εἴγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή.) Joſephus means that he ſeem'd ſuperior to a common man. So when Pilate wrote to Tiberius, it was de Chriſto Deo. Tertullian and Pliny, that the chriſtians ſang Chriſto quaſi Deo. i. e. concerning the God Chriſt, i. e. to Chirſt as a God. That he did miracles, is what the Jews own'd, John xi. 47. They ſaid, what do we? for this man doth many miracles. In Juſtin Martyr's dialogue with Tryphon the Jew, the Jews own that ſuch miracles ſeem'd to have been done, but imputed them to magick; and both Celſus and Porphyry, though bitter enemies to the chriſtians, confeſs'd that Chriſt did miracles. Phlegon acknowledges that Chriſt foreknew future things. Pilate gave the emperor Tiberius Nero an account of our Saviour's miracles, as Tertullian and Euſebius aſſure us. And from that account he underſtood, that he was a wiſe man, and doer of miracles (Φιλόσοφος ϗ θαύματα ποιῶν.)

A teacher of ſuch men as would with pleaſure embrace the truth. (Διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν σὺν ἡδονῇ τ' ἀληθῆ δεχομένων. Porphyry quotes many oracles in the praiſe of Chriſt, that declare him to be religious and immortal. To which Porphyry adds, that Chriſt was good, and carried to Heaven, and yet blames the chriſtians.

Trypho, a Jew, extolled the holy lives of chriſtians; and Galen, an heathen, ſaith of the chriſtians, "That they were chaſte, much addicted to prayer and faſting, abſtain'd from injuries, &c." Nor is it a leſs advantagious character that Pliny gives of them in his epiſtle to Trajan; and Joſephus alſo in giving an account of the martyrdom of St. James highly commends him, and thoſe that took his part, as men moſt juſt and exact about the obſervance of the law.

This was the famous Chriſt, (Ὁ Χριςὸς οὗτος ἦν,) viz. He that was the author of chriſtianity; for Joſephus wrote thoſe books to inform Epaphroditus and the heathens, who knew him beſt by the name of Chriſt; for ſo he is call'd by Suetonius, Tacitus, and Pliny, and they ſay expreſly that the chriſtians were ſo denominated from him. It's beyond the ſenſe and deſign of Joſephus to expound theſe words of true and ſaving Faith in Chriſt; for Joſephus was (τῶν ἀπίςων Ιεσοῦ ὡς Χριςοῦ) among thoſe that did not believe Jeſus to be the true Meſſias, as we are told by Origen: But Joſephus meant no more than only to let us know, that this Jeſus was the ſame that was uſually call'd Chriſt, and was the author of Chriſtianity: Thus elſewhere he tells us that St. James was Brother τοῦ λεγομένου Χριςοῦ, of him that is call'd Chriſt.

He was crucify'd by Pontius Pilate. This is a plain hiſtorical truth recorded alſo by Tacitus, and the Acts of Pilate: The truth is, that Tacitus's account of Chriſt agrees pretty much with this of Joſephus: Auctor nominis ejus Chriſtus, qui per Pontium Pilatum ſupplicio affectus erat. i. e. Chriſt who was crucify'd by Pontius Pilate was the author of the ſect of chriſtians. And ſince it's evident that Tacitus had read Joſephus, (for in his hiſtory lib. v. he ſaith, Expanſæ repentè delubri fores, & audita major humanâ vox excedere Deos, i. e. "on a ſudden the doors of the temple flew open, and a voice louder than human was heard to ſay that the Gods were departing the place," which is taken from Joſephus, lib. i. cap. 6. μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν, &c.) it is more likely he had his account from Joſephus than from the goſpel; and ſo he will be an early evidence of the authority and great antiquity of this paragraph in Joſephus.

He appear'd to them the third day alive again. Joſephus here doth not relate his own but the chriſtians faith; and this information he might get, not only from their goſpels, but even from the letter which Pilate ſent to Tiberius, and is in part extant in Juſtin, Tertullian, and Oroſius; in which we have an expreſs narrative of Chriſt's reſurrection from the dead on the third day; beſides Celſus teſtifies, that Chriſt appear'd to his followers after his death.

Their holy writers have declar'd theſe and many thouſand wonderful things of him (τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε ϗ ἄλλα μύρια περὶ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια εἰρηκότων.) Theſe words having reference to them, i. e. the chriſtians in the former ſentence, ought properly to be underſtood of the writings of the prophets. Thus Joſephus reckons the books of Maccabees among the Jewiſh prophets, and the holy books of the Eſſenes he calls Προφητῶν ἀποθέγματα, i. e. the doctrine of their prophets; and this ſenſe is here much confirm'd by the word εἰρηκότων, which hath no relation to the foretelling future things, but properly ſignifieth, hiſtorically declaring: thus Euſtathius upon Homer explains ἐρῶ by ἀγγέλλω, from whence cometh the word evangeliſt; and ſince the books of the goſpels were now generally receiv'd in the chriſtian churches, it does not ſeem at all improbable, but that Joſephus might have ſeen ſome of them. Tryphon, the Jew, tells Juſtin Martyr, that he had read them; and ſo the modern Jews do now. It is plain that he uſeth the chriſtian, and New Teſtament language in other places, as when he calls St. John the Baptiſt, St. James the brother of Chriſt.

So that I ſee nothing in all this account of Chriſt but what may be allow'd to come from Joſephus; and indeed it would be more ſtrange, if ſuch an accurate hiſtorian, and one that ſpeaks ſo fully of St. John Baptiſt and St. James, ſhould not ſay a word of Chriſt himſelf; and when afterwards he calls James the brother of Chriſt, it may very well be ſuppoſed, that he had given ſome account of Chriſt before. And, laſtly, we may make this probable conjecture, that at the writing of his antiquities, he began to have a good opinion of the chriſtians. He commends St. John Baptiſt and St. James as well as Chriſt, whom in his wars of the Jews he never mention'd; and never ſo much as once ſpeaks of Veſpaſian, whom he had before magnified as the Meſſiah. He thought formerly, that the murder of Ananus and Jeſus were the real cauſe of God's anger againſt the Jews, and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. But in his antiquities he makes the murder of St. James the apoſtle to have been the cauſe of it; if we may believe Origen and Euſebius. It cannot ſeem ſtrange, that Joſephus ſhould ſay ſo of St. James, when Maimonides himſelf declares, that this Jeſus who was put to death by the Sanhedrim, was the cauſe of the deſtruction of the nation of the Jews, and was propheſied of by Daniel. Now whereas Chriſt is term'd by the chriſtians, the ſtone cut out without hands, from Dan. ii. 45. (a place which many Jews, and particularly Tryphon in Juſtin Martyr, confeſs'd to relate to the Meſſiah) Joſephus, when he comes to give the meaning of it, expreſly owns, that it was ſuch as he had no mind to publiſh, and ſo tacitly acknowledges Jeſus to be the Meſſiah, though he would not openly confeſs it. But be this as it will, it is certain that though Joſephus often condemns the Sadduces, taxeth Theudas, Judas, and others, that ſet up for prophets to draw people after them, yet he never once accuſeth Chriſt or the chriſtians.

Upon the whole, there does not appear to me to be the leaſt reaſon to believe this paſſage ſpurious or interpolated; it is quoted in the very ſame words by Euſebius, St. Jerome, Iſidorus Peluſiota, Sozomen, Rufinus, Sophronius, Cedrenus, Freculphus, Suidas, Joan. Sariſb. Hegeſippus, Caſſiodorus, Nicephorus, and many other antient writers; it is extant in all copies and MSS. of Joſephus in the world, and in all tranſlations; particularly that of St. Ambroſe, which goeth under the name of Hegeſippus, hath it at large twice, viz. in the ſecond book, and again in the Anacephalæoſis; ſo that Tanaquil Faber, the great oppoſer of this paſſage of Joſephus, ſeems very aſſuming, when he ſays of this Hegeſippus, that "Joſephum eo accuſat nomine quod reſurrectionis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti non meminerit, i. e. Hegeſippus "accuſeth Joſephus, for not mentioning the reſurrection of Chriſt," which is not only weak, upon the account that Hegeſippus is nothing elſe but a corruption of the word Joſephus, and that book a free tranſlation of it; but alſo that this paſſage about our Saviour occurs in two different places at large. Ludovicus Vives was the firſt I met with who diſcover'd St. [illegible]broſe to have been the true author of the tranſlation that goes under the name of Hegeſippus: his words in his book De Tradenda Diſciplina are theſe: "Hegeſippus Latinus factus ab Ambroſio Mediolanenſi Antiſtite, i. e. The Latin Hegeſippus was made by "St. Ambroſe, biſhop of Milan." The old Latin verſion of his antiquities made by the care of Caſſiodorus recites this place alſo. This verſion hath been falſly father'd upon Rufinus, and though the old copy at Milan hath been by ſome learned men thought as old as Rufinus, if not the very ſame copy; yet it is plain from Caſſiodorus, that it was not at all tranſlated into Latin till one hundred and fifty years after Rufinus, by Epiphanius Scholaſticus. And, laſtly, the Hebrew verſion of ſome parts of Joſephus, commonly publiſh'd under the name of Ben Gorion, hath this paſſage of Joſephus about our Saviour; for though it be not in the imperfect edition of Munſter, which is but part of that work, yet it is certain that it was in the compleat copies of that book. P. Fagius in his edition of the Tisby of Elias Levita, at the word ושך, puts down the whole paragraph with this preface to it. "Ego Paulus Fagius interpres hujus li-"belli, in honorem Chriſti & redemptoris noſtri, huc referam quæ ſcripta inveniuntur in libro Joſephi filii "Gorion, cujus hæc ſunt verba: fuit iiſdem temporibus Jeſus, &c. i. e. I Paul Fagius, interpreter of this "book, will relate here, for the honour of Chriſt and our redeemer, what is found written in a book of "Joſephus, the ſon of Gorion, in theſe words; There was at that time one Jeſus, &c." and there ſets down this whole paſſage as it is in the Greek Joſephus. Baronius mentions an old Hebrew copy of Joſephus, in which this paſſage appear'd to have been inſerted, but was eraſed; and even our old Engliſh tranſlation of that book by P. Moriſyn hath this paragraph at large; and moreover Giraldus Cambrenſis tells us, that Robertus Canutus (the frier of St. Frideſwide, who lived about the year 1171. and was well ſkilled in Hebrew) declar'd that he found this teſtimony concerning our Saviour in two Hebrew copies of Joſephus; and that it was eraſed in others, as he made it appear to ſome Jews then living in Oxford.

So that in ſhort, there ſeems as much evidence for the authority of this place in Joſephus, as of any other in all his works; and it would have been a far greater wonder, if in his circumſtances, and at the time when he wrote, he ſhould have ſaid nothing of Chriſt, than that he ſaith what he doth; yet if any one deſires fuller ſatisfaction in this particular, let him conſult Andreas Boſius's Exercitationes Hiſtor. Critic. Chr. Arnoldus's collection of letters concerning the teſtimony of Joſephus. Voſſius's Chronologia Sacra, cap. xvii. Huetius's Demonſtratio Evangel. prop. 3. Biſhop Parker's demonſtration of the divine authority of the law of nature and the chriſtian religion, p. 222, &c. and Dr. Cave's Hiſtoria Literaria, Part II. p. 17, &c.

DISCOURSE II.

By Way of Enquiry into the Chronology of Joſephus *in his* Antiquities.

SINCE the copies of Joſephus have been alter'd and corrupted, the beſt method that I can propoſe to diſcover his chronology, is, to make an exact collection of ſuch paſſages of Joſephus, as were quoted from him within two or three hundred years after he wrote, and in thoſe books remain'd unalter'd; together with a careful peruſal of his other works, which, being written upon other ſubjects, and not containing the hiſtory of the bible, are leſs likely to have undergone alterations in favour of either verſion. In purſuance of this method, the firſt place that I ſhall pitch upon is that of Euſebius in his hiſtory, lib. iii. cap 10. where he cites a large paragraph out of Joſephus's firſt book againſt Apion, which aſſerts, that from the beginning of the world to the death of Moſes was almoſt three thouſand years; his words are ἔτος ὁ χρόνος ἀπολείπει τρισχιλίων ὀλιγον ἔτων, i. e. This ſpace of time falls but little ſhort of three thouſand years. Theſe words, Valeſius obſerves, are in all his old MSS. of Euſebius. The ſame words are alſo quoted by Nicephorus, Hiſt. Eccl. lib. i. p. 162. and are at this day to be read in all the verſions and manuſcripts of Joſephus: nor was this alter'd to comply with Greek and Hebrew chronology; ſince it manifeſtly departs from both. Our preſent Latin Joſephus turns theſe words thus, Hoc tempus de tribus millibus annorum paululum minus eſt, i. e. This ſpace of time is ſomething leſs than three thouſand years. In the tranſlation uſed by Bede and Hermannus Contractus, and which was probably the ſame that Epiphanius made, they are tranſlated thus; Qui paulo minus ad tria millia annorum continentiam gerunt, i. e. Which contains the ſpace of near three thouſand years. The word continentia is uſed after the ſame manner by Epiphanius in the Preface to the Antiquities. Theſe ſame words of Joſephus are twice quoted by Bede in his book de Ratione temporum, and his Apologetick Epiſtle, and alſo are in Hermannus Contractus A. M. 2493. From all which we are well aſcertain'd that this was the genuine text of Joſephus, and our belief herein is farther confirmed from Joſephus himſelf in other parts of his works. In the preface to his Antiquities he ſaith, That the holy books of the Jews contain'd the hiſtory of five thouſand years; and that he would have this to be underſtood from the beginning of the world to his time, is apparent, partly from the concluſion of his Antiquities, where he ſaith of his whole hiſtory, that it was taken from the ſacred writings; and more fully from the beginning of his firſt book againſt Apion, where he ſaith, That his books of Antiquities contain'd the hiſtory of five thouſand years. And to take away all doubt, Joſephus in three diſtinct places, where all copies agree, computes two thouſand years from Moſes to his time, as Philo doth likewiſe. Now if theſe two thouſand years from Moſes to his time be added to the almoſt three thouſand years from Adam to Moſes, it makes up the ſum of near five thouſand years from Adam to the time of Joſephus. Origen alſo ſaith, That from Adam to the ſeventieth year of Chriſt's oeconomy was four thouſand nine hundred years; and tho' he doth not there quote Joſephus, yet it is plain that he had it from him. For Firſt, That number widely differs from the Hebrew and Septuagint, but agreeth with Joſephus. Secondly, In that ſame homily he twice quotes the hiſtory of the Jews, and the wars of the Jews; by which he undoubtedly meant thoſe of Joſephus. Thirdly, the ſeventieth year of Chriſt's œconomy is the exact time when Joſephus's books end. And to ſhew that that number in Origen is right, he adds in the ſame place, that it was four thouſand eight hundred and thirty years from Adam to Chriſt; from all which it ſeems evident, that Joſephus computed almoſt three thouſand years from Adam to the death of Moſes, and almoſt five thouſand years from Adam to his own time.

The next place that falls under my conſideration, is in the ſame book of Origen, Hom. x. p. 25. where he obſerves, that it was as long from Adam to Noah, i. e. the flood, as from Moſes to Chriſt. Now, if with Origen we aſſign four thouſand eight hundred and thirty years from Adam to Chriſt; and if according to the Hebrew we reckon one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty ſix years to the flood, we ſhall find juſt ſo many years in Joſephus to Chriſt. And becauſe I would not as yet urge the authority of the preſent copies of Joſephus, we may take this period out of Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 250. where he quotes Joſephus from a yet elder author, who flouriſhed under Antoninus Pius, and ſo near to Joſephus's time, viz. that from Moſes, i. e. the coming out of Egypt, to David, was * five hundred and eighty five years, from David to the ſecond of Veſpaſian one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy nine years, both together one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty four years. Now if from that ſum we take the forty years that Moſes was in the wilderneſs, and ſeventy years of Chriſt's œconomy, there will remain one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty ſeven years from Moſes's death to Chriſt's birth; which he thus takes from Joſephus, and which plainly ſhews that in the time of Origen, Joſephus before the flood agreed with the Hebrew. And if we ſubtract twice 1656, i. e. 3312 out of 4830, there will remain for the ſpace betwixt the flood and the death of Moſes, 1518, which comes very near to what we now read for that period; and if we put all this together, the chronology of Joſephus will ſtand thus:

From Adam to the flood one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty ſix years, to the death of Moſes one thouſand five hundred and eighteen; to the birth of Chriſt one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty ſix, to the twelfth of Nero ſeventy years; in all four thouſand and nine hundred years: or according to Joſephus, almoſt five thouſand years from Adam to his own time, at the thirteenth year of Domitian.

Before I proceed to a more diſtinct conſideration of particulars, it will be requiſite to ſhew what evidence may be produced out of the preſent copies and manuſcripts of Joſephus, that he followed the Hebrew before the flood, and the Greek after it.

The period before the flood agreeth with the Hebrew. Firſt, in the age of Lamech's begetting Noah, the Hebrew is 182, and the Greek 188, the difference only in the laſt figure. Now all copies, verſions, and manuſcripts of Joſephus read two in the laſt place, according to the Hebrew, and not eight according to the Greek. Secondly, in the age that Enoch begat at, the Hebrew is ſixty five, the Greek 165. Now the copies and manuſcripts of Joſephus are herein alſo alike to the Hebrew, and contrary to the Greek. Thirdly, the Hebrew computes to the flood 1656, the Greek 2242 years. Now there are no copies of Joſephus conſonant to the Greek; but they have either 2656, or elſe 1-56, the number of hundreds being omitted; and either way there are plain marks of agreement with the Hebrew. Laſtly, Joſephus ſaith of this period, that he tranſcrib'd the years from the holy books with even a religious exactneſs, where by holy books he meant the Hebrew; and ſo in his preface to his antiquities, though the LXX tranſlated the books of Moſes, yet there are many more things in the holy writing, i. e. the Hebrew, which he intended to explain. And againſt Apion, Book I. he ſaith, that he compiled his hiſtory in Greek from the holy books, i. e. the Hebrew books; and again he ſaith, that he tranſlated his Antiquities from the holy books, as thereby meaning thoſe letters, i. e. the Hebrew books and letters.

The period next after the flood agreeth with the Greek. For firſt, moſt of the Greek extant here follow the LXX. Secondly, the old Greek copy of Epiphanius here certainly followed the LXX; for ſo Freculphus about A. D. 800. in Chron. T. I. l. i. cap. 35. "De numero annorum à diluvio uſque ad nativi-
"tatem Abrahæ aliter Joſephus atque LXX interpretes & Euſebius ſentiunt quam in Hebraica veritate con-
"tinetur, i. e. Concerning the number of years from the flood to the birth of Abraham, Joſephus, the
"Septuagint, and Euſebius diſſent from the teſtimony contained in the holy books of the Hebrews;" and afterwards adds, that the Hebrew has two hundred and ninety two years, the LXX and Euſebius nine hundred and forty two years, "A quibus Joſephus non longe exorbitat, i. e. from whom Joſephus departs
"but a little." Thirdly, Joſephus ſaith that Phaleg was born about the time that the diviſion of tongues happened. But thoſe who follow the Hebrew ſay, that wonderful event did not come to paſs till the death of Phaleg, finding a hundred years too few for the peopling of the world. Fourthly, they who follow the Hebrew, make Sem to be Melchiſedech, as living in the days of Abraham, according to their chronology: but Joſephus calls him a Chanaanitiſh king, and gives us not the leaſt hint of a thing ſo ſtrange, as that Abraham's great grandfather's great grandfather's grandfather Sem ſhould be then alive to bleſs him. Fifthly, ſince Jocktan in Joſephus is elder brother of Phaleg, and had thirteen ſons at the building of Babel, who gave names to countries, it is impoſſible that Phaleg ſhould be born in the thirtieth year of Heber, but muſt, according to the LXX, be born at leaſt in the hundred and thirty fourth year of his father.

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* In the firſt ſum is a ſmall miſtake of ε' for η', five for eight, and then both will be 1767.

father. And laſtly, in this period of time Joſephus hath no where intimated that he took his years from the Hebrew, as he has of the period before the flood. From all which it is highly probable, that he followed the Hebrew before the flood, and the LXX after it. Yet he ſeems to have departed both from the Hebrew and Greek in one inſtance before the flood, and one after it. In the period before the flood he departs from the Hebrew in the age of Jared's begetting Enoch, and adheres to the Samaritan writing ſixty two, inſtead of one hundred and ſixty two; and thereby making that number more ſuitable to the reſt, as may be ſeen by this table.

	Samaritan	Hebrew	Septuagint
Adam	130	130	230
Seth	105	105	205
Enos	90	90	190
Kainan	70	70	170
Maleleel	65	65	165
Jared	62	162	162
Enoch	65	65	165

In this table the Samaritan and Hebrew are alike in all but the age of Jared's begetting Enoch; the Septuagint exceed the Hebrew by an hundred years, in every one but in that of Jared; ſo that in the Hebrew copies which they uſed, it was ſixty two. Joſephus here made Jared's begetting at ſixty five, proportionable to that of his ſon after him; his father's at ſixty five; his grandfather's at ſeventy; and his great grandfather's at ninety: and that this was really the meaning of Joſephus, will appear, Firſt, from the adjuſting the particulars to the general ſums I have laid down, and making them to the death of Moſes to be almoſt three thouſand years. Secondly, from Joſ. Antiq. Book x. Chap. 11. where it is ſaid that the temple was deſtroyed 1950 years after the flood, and 3513 years after Adam. Deducting, therefore, the firſt ſum from the ſecond, we ſhall find 1556 years to remain betwixt Adam and the flood, that is, one hundred leſs than the Hebrew. And in theſe numbers there is a wonderful harmony among the Greek and Latin copies; ſo Zonaras read the Greek in his time, and ſo Freculphus read the Latin in his time; and the numbers, though wrong, yet are proportionable, and have juſt five hundred wanting in each of them. Thirdly, all the Greek manuſcripts of Joſephus, even thoſe that follow the Septuagint, attribute but ſixty five years to the age, at which Enoch begun to begat. They have left out one hundred years from Enoch, which ſhould have been taken from his father Jared, as in the ages after the flood in almoſt all manuſcripts of Joſephus; and the years of Ragau and Saruch are interchang'd, who are the ſixth and ſeventh patriarchs after the flood, as Jared and Enoch are the ſixth and ſeventh before the flood.

In the period next after the flood, Joſephus no where departs from the LXX, unleſs only in the age of Nachor's begetting Terah; and here is ſo great a variety and diſagreement in the manuſcripts and printed editions, that it is very difficult to tell what to truſt to.

Some editions of the LXX, as that of Complutum and Rome, have	179
Other editions of the LXX have only	79
Theophilus ad Autolycum	75
The Hebrew	29
The Samaritan	79
The vulgar Latin, and ſome copies of Joſephus have	28
The uſual Greek copies of Joſephus	120
As corrected by Voſſius	129
Freculphus Lexov. read in Joſephus ſome number above	79
Origen in the place above cited	109

For ſince Origen accounted fifteen hundred and eighteen years from the flood to the death of Moſes, and excluſively of the year wherein Moſes died, fifteen hundred and ſeventeen years, and the LXX leaving out Chanaan II. (as Joſephus did) account only fourteen hundred and eighty ſeven to that ſpace, it is evident that in Origen's copy of Joſephus he read forty years more than the LXX, and inſtead of ſeventy nine read ἔνατον ϗ ἑκατοστὸν, one hundred and nine. Amidſt this great variety and uncertainty, if we admit a ſmall alteration, and inſtead of Origen's ἔνατον ϗ ἑκατοστόν, read in this one place, ἔνατον ϗ εἰκοστὸν, twenty nine, which is conſonant to the Hebrew, Joſephus will agree exactly with all the obſervations I have made; and from Adam to the death of Moſes will be two thouſand nine hundred and ninety three years, i. e. almoſt three thouſand years.

These things being thus adjuſted, the chronology of Joſephus before and after the flood will ſtand thus:

Adam	130	Sem	2	To the promiſe made to Abraham,	75
Seth	105	Arphaxad	135		
Enos	90	Sala	130	To the coming out of Ægypt,	430
Kainan	70	Heber	134		
Maleleel	65	Phaleg	130	To the death of Moſes,	40
Jared	62	Ragau	132		
Enoch	65	Saruch	130		
Mathuſelah	187	Nachor	29		
Lamech	182	Terah	70		
Noah	600				
	1556		892		545

All three ſums together 2993, and ſo according to Joſephus, οὗτος ὁ χρόνος ἀπολείπει τρισχιλίων ὀλίγον ἐτῶν, i. e. This period of time falls but a little ſhort of three thouſand years. The ſums of the four firſt books (commonly printed at the beginning of Joſephus) have 3093. Now if we caſt away one hundred from the age of Jared, which ſeems to have crept into the text even before Origen's time, we have this very ſum of two thouſand nine hundred and ninety three years.

Several reaſons may be aſſign'd why Joſephus choſe to follow the Hebrew before the flood, and the LXX after it, (which though an affected way of writing chronology, has, however, been practiſed by St. Auſtin, De Civ. Dei, lib. xv. cap. 13. very probably in conformity to Joſephus's method.) The principal are theſe:

First that he being well skill'd in Hebrew and Greek, and highly eſteeming both editions of the Bible, did indifferently make uſe of both, ſometimes following one, and ſometimes the other.

Secondly, Hebrew was his mother tongue; he firſt wrote his hiſtory of the Jewiſh wars in that language, and addreſſed the Jews, his countrymen, in ſeveral eloquent Hebrew ſpeeches, to perſuade them to ſurrender; and in many places (where all copies agree) followeth the Hebrew Bible, where it differs from the Septuagint. As Firſt, Joſephus and the Hebrew omit the ſecond Chanaan, ſon of Arphaxad, who is in the LXX. Secondly, Gen. xlvi. 22. Joſephus and the Hebrew have fourteen, the LXX eighteen. Thirdly, Gen. xlvii. 27. Joſephus and the Hebrew have ſeventy, the LXX have ſeventy five, and ſo are quoted by St. Luke, Acts vii. 14, 15. Fourthly, Gen. xxii. 2. Joſephus and the Hebrew have the land of Moreah, the LXX have τὴν γῆν ὑψηλήν, i. e. the hill-country. Fifthly, Numb. iv. 3. Joſephus and the Hebrew have thirty years old, the LXX twenty five years old. Sixthly, 2 Sam. xxiv. 13. Joſephus and the Hebrew have ſeven years famine, the LXX three years. Seventhly, 1 Sam. iv. 18. Joſephus and the Hebrew have Eli govern'd forty years, the LXX have twenty years, as obſerv'd formerly by Syncellus, p. 176. Eighthly, 1 Kings iv. 32. Joſephus and the Hebrew have one thouſand and five, the LXX five thouſand. Ninthly, 1 Kings xv. 2. Joſephus and the Hebrew have three years, the LXX ſix years. Tenthly, Eſther i. 5. Joſephus and the Hebrew have ſeven days, the LXX ſix days. Eleventhly, Eſther ix. 16. Joſephus and the Hebrew have ſeventy ſix thouſand, the LXX fifteen thouſand.

Thirdly, he underſtood Greek alſo, had a great veneration for the verſion of the LXX, and relates its whole hiſtory from Ariſtæas, frequently making uſe of it in his Antiquities. As Firſt, Gen. vii. 11. Joſephus and the LXX have the twenty ſeventh day, the Hebrew and the Samaritan the ſeventeenth day. Secondly, Exod. xii. 40. Joſephus and the LXX have the Iſraelites in Chanaan and Egypt four hundred and thirty years, the Hebrew in Egypt four hundred and thirty years. Thirdly, 1 Sam. xi. 8. Joſephus and the LXX have Judah ſeventy thouſand, the Hebrew Judah thirty thouſand. Fourthly, 1 Sam. xv. 4. Joſephus and the LXX have Gilgal, the Hebrew Telaim. Fifthly, 1 Sam. xv. 4. Joſephus and the LXX have Iſrael four hundred thouſand, the Hebrew Iſrael two hundred thouſand. Sixthly, 1 Sam. xv. 4. Joſephus and the LXX have Judah thirty thouſand, the Hebrew Judah ten thouſand. Seventhly, 1 Sam. xxii. 18. Joſephus and the LXX have three hundred and five prieſts, the Hebrew eighty five prieſts, obſerv'd by St. Hierom, Tom. III. p. 71. Eighthly, 2 Sam. viii. 13. Joſephus and the LXX have Idumæans, the Hebrew Syrians. Ninthly, 2 Sam. xxv. 15. Joſephus and the LXX have till dinner time, the Hebrew till the time appointed. Tenthly, Eſther ix. 26. Joſephus and the LXX have Φρουραὶ, the Hebrew Purim. Eleventhly, Joſephus relates the contention of the Jews before Darius about what is the ſtrongeſt, which is not at all in the Hebrew, but Greek Eſdras.

Fourthly, Joſephus many times departed from them both: As firſt, Gen. xiii. 18. the Hebrew has the plain of Mambre, the LXX the Oak of Mamre; but Joſephus the Oak of Ogyges. Secondly, Gen. xxxv. 28. the Hebrew and LXX ſay Iſaac dy'd one hundred eighty years old; Joſephus, but Iſaac dy'd one hundred eighty five years old. Thirdly, Numbers iii. 39. the Hebrew and the LXX have twenty two thouſand, Joſephus twenty two thouſand eight hundred and eighty. Fourthly, 1 Sam. xviii. 25. the Hebrew and the LXX have one hundred foreskins, Joſephus ſix hundred, not foreskins, but heads, κεφαλάς. He thus alter'd it to make it more compliable to the way of the Romans. Fifthly, 2 Sam. iii. 14. the Hebrew and the LXX have one hundred, Joſephus ſix hundred. Sixthly, 2 Sam. xv. 7. the Hebrew and the LXX have forty years, Joſephus four years. Seventhly, 1 Kings vi. 1. the Hebrew and the LXX have four hundred eighty, or four hundred forty, Joſephus five hundred ninety two. Eighthly, 1 Kings xii. 33. the Hebrew and the LXX the eighth month, Joſephus the ſeventh. Ninthly, 1 Chron. xxii. 14. the Hebrew and the LXX have one hundred thouſand talents of gold, Joſephus ten thouſand talents of gold. Tenthly, 1 Chron. xxii. 14. the Hebrew and the LXX have one million of talents in ſilver, Joſephus one hundred thouſand talents of ſilver. Eleventhly, Neh. ii. 1. the Hebrew and the LXX have the twentieth of Artaxerxes, Joſephus the twenty fifth year of Xerxes. Twelfthly, Neh. xiii. 6. the Hebrew and LXX have the thirty ſecond year of Artaxerxes, Joſephus the thirty eighth year of Xerxes. Not to mention his making Solomon reign eighty years, and is therein follow'd by Theodoret on 1 Kings ix. 37. and Procopius on the ſame place, &c.

Fifthly, To reconcile numbers that were different, he took a middle proportion. As 2 Sam. viii. 4. the Hebrew has ſeven hundred horſemen, the LXX ſeven thouſand horſemen, in Joſephus five thouſand horſemen. 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. the Hebrew and the LXX have Iſrael eight hundred thouſand, but 1 Chron. xxi. 5. the Hebrew and the LXX have one million one hundred thouſand, Joſephus hath Iſrael nine hundred thouſand.

From all which it is evident that in compiling of his hiſtory, he made uſe of the original Hebrew, as well as Septuagint verſion of the old Teſtament alternately, as occaſion offer'd: nor ſcrupled, when he thought there was reaſon, to recede from both.

The next conſiderable period is, from the death of Moſes to the laying the foundation of Solomon's temple in the fourth year of Solomon, five hundred fifty two years: To which add the forty years in the wilderneſs, and it will be five hundred ninety two years from the coming out of Egypt: And ſo Joſephus hath it expreſsly in B. vii. of his Antiquities, and Chap. 2. Again, from Joſhua to David's taking Jeruſalem are five hundred fifteen years, Antiq. B. vii. Chap. 3. add thirty three of David and four of Solomon, and we have five hundred fifty two years. Add the forty in the wilderneſs, and they make five hundred ninety two, as before. Again Antiq. B. x. C. 11. Nebuchadnezzar burnt the temple in the year four hundred ſeventy after its building by Solomon, and in the year one thouſand ſixty two after the coming out of Egypt. Take the firſt number out of the ſecond, and there will remain five hundred ninety two from the coming out of Egypt to Solomon's temple. Again, the ſum of the fifth book is four hundred ſeventy ſix, of the ſixth book thirty two, of the ſeventh book forty, and four years of Solomon. All which make five hundred fifty two. So that if we add forty in the wilderneſs, the whole will be five hundred and ninety two. Clem. Alex. in Strom. i. p. 250. quotes Joſephus for ſaying that from Moſes, i. e. the coming out of Egypt, to David are five hundred eighty eight years. Add the four years of Solomon, and you have again five hundred ninety two years. Sulpicius Severus, omitting the four years, hath for that period only five hundred eighty eight years.

Now to make all this more evident, I will inſert the particulars thus:

Moſes in the wilderneſs	40
Joſhua	26
Othoniel	40
Ahod	80
Deborah and Barach	40
Gideon	40
Abimelech	3
Thola	23
Jair	22
Jephthe	6
Ibſan	7
Elon	10
Abdon	8
Sampſon	20
Eli	40
Samuel and Saul	32
David	40
Solomon	3
In all	480

Servitudes under	
Cuſhan	8
The Moabites	18
Jabin and Chanaanites	20
Midianites	7
Ammonites	18
Philiſtines	40
In all	111
The fourth year of Solomon	1
To which add	480
And the whole will be	592

The Greek copies of Joſephus ſay that Saul reign'd twenty two years after Samuel, and ſo Zonaras read it; but Epiphanius and the Latin verſions have only two. Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. i. p. 238. ſaith, That Saul dy'd two years after Samuel; and Theophilus ad Autol. giveth Samuel twelve, and Saul twenty, together thirty two years, according to Joſephus. The Jews in Seder Olam and other books give Saul only two years, that is, after the Death of Samuel. That Saul reign'd in all but twenty years is expreſs'd in Joſephus, Antiq. B. x. C. 11.

Some few things may be objected againſt this number of years for this period, which muſt be conſider'd.

I. 'Tis objected, that after the death of Joſhua they were eighteen years without a prince. Joſ. Antiq. B. vi. C. 6.

It may be anſwer'd, that it ought to be read only eight years; and is to be underſtood of their ſervitude under Cuſhan.

II. 'Tis objected, that according to Joſephus (Antiq. B. xx. chap. 8.) from the coming out of Egypt to Solomon's temple are ſix hundred and twelve years; and juſt ſo it is read in Photius and Hegeſippus, B. ii. c. 13.

I anſwer, Joſephus here gives an account of the time from the coming out of Egypt to the dedication of the temple, and the firſt prieſts that ſerv'd in it and left off the tabernacle. Now that was juſt twenty years from the foundation of it laid by Solomon. (Compare 1 Kings ix. 10. and 2 Chron. viii. 1. and the Septuagint 1 Kings viii. 1.) ſo that if to the five hundred and ninety two years to the laying the foundation of Solomon's temple we add twenty, we have this very ſum of ſix hundred and twelve years; ſo alſo Sulpitius Severus, p. 187. "Cœptum templi opus vigeſimo anno explicuit, i. e. The temple was finiſhed in the twentieth year after it was begun to be built."

The next period is from the foundation of the temple to its deſtruction by Nebuchadnezzar, viz. four hundred ſeventy years, ſix months, and ten days. Joſephus is expreſs as to this, Antiq. B. x. c. 11. in which place alſo from the children of Iſrael's going out of Egypt to the deſtruction of the temple, are one thouſand and ſixty two years. Take out thence the ſpace to the building of the temple, five hundred and ninety two years, and there will remain for the duration of the temple four hundred and ſeventy years; and the reading of that place is confirm'd by Zonaras and Freculphus. Again, Antiq. B. x. c. 11. the kings of the race of David reign'd five hundred fourteen years, ſix months, and ten days; from which number take away forty of David, and four of Solomon, and there will remain four hundred and ſeventy years, ſix months, and ten days. Again, Antiq. B. xi. c. 4. the kings reign'd five hundred and thirty three years. Take away from Saul twenty, David forty, and Solomon four, there will remain from the foundation of the temple to the captivity, four hundred ſeventy years, ſix months, and ten days. There is, I confeſs, a ſmall difference in the Latin edition, and in that of Freculphus, and the Greek of Zonaras, p. 126. who have but five hundred thirty two years, ſix months, and ten days.

The particulars of this ſum we may eaſily collect from ſeveral parts of Joſephus thus:

From Solomon's laying the foundation of the temple to his death, Joſ. B. viii. c. 2, 3.	77 years.
From Rehoboam to the captivity of the ten tribes, B. ix. c. 14.	260 years, as it ſhould be read.
From thence to the captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, B. x. c. 11.	133 years, corrected ſo by Voſſius.
	In all 470 Years.

In moſt of the preſent copies of Joſephus, B. ix. c. 14. there is two hundred and forty, inſtead of two hundred and ſixty; and in B. x. c. 11. we have one hundred and thirty, inſtead of one hundred and thirty three.

Again the ſum of the eighth book	163 years	So Voſſius,	the Greek 182. the Latin 230.
of the ninth book	177 years		
of the tenth book	203 years		
In all	543		
Take away three years of Solomon, and ſeventy years of the captivity,	73		
There remains from the building to the ruin of the temple,	470 years.		

It may be objected, that Antiq. B. xx. c. 8. we have from Solomon's temple built, to its deſtruction, four hundred and ſixty ſix years.

To which is anſwer'd, that the tranſlation by Ambroſe had in this place of Joſephus four hundred and ſixty years, ſix months, and ten days. It ſhould be four hundred and fifty years, ſix months, and ten days, and there are to be accounted from the dedication of the temple ſix hundred and twelve years after the coming out of Egypt.

It is obſervable, that whenſoever Joſephus gives the time of the burning of the temple, whether from Solomon's building it, from the flood, or from Adam, yet ſtill he adds to the ſum ſix months and ten days; whereas it is certain that the temple was burnt the tenth day of the month Ab, which is the fifth month. Joſephus therefore is to be underſtood according to the order of the months among the Romans, for whoſe ſake he wrote, and ſo calls Adar March, Niſan April, Jiar May, Sivan June, Tamuz July, Ab Auguſt, or Sextilis, the ſixth month among the Romans; and therefore in his wars of the Jews, B. vii. c. 9. he ſaith the temple was burnt Auguſt 10. and in his wars with the Jews April is Niſan.

In Joſephus, B. x. c. 11. the Greek and Latin copies ſay, that from David, twenty one kings reign'd to the captivity, five hundred and fourteen years, ſix months, and ten days. Take away forty four for David and Solomon, and there are four hundred and ſeventy years, ſix months, and ten days.

Vossius, p. 129. ſaith, that the old Paris manuſcript of Joſephus, hath from Adam to the burning of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, four thouſand years. According to my account it comes to four thouſand and fifteen, and perhaps the odd fifteen may be in the manuſcript, though omitted by Voſſius.

From the burning of the temple, to the firſt of Cyrus, Joſephus hath ſeventy years; for

First, Antiq. B. xi. c. 1. The firſt of Cyrus is the ſeventieth year from the beginning of the captivity. Now the captivity began at the burning of the temple; for (B. x. c. 11.) the twenty third year of Nebuchadnezzar is the fifth year of Iſrael's captivity.

Secondly, Antiq. B. xi. c. 1. Seventy years after the burning of the temple they return'd from Babylon, and that undoubtedly was the firſt year of Cyrus.

Thirdly, Antiq. B. x. c. 11. From Iſaiah to the burning of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, one hundred and forty years. From Iſaiah to the firſt of Cyrus, two hundred and ten years; therefore from the burning of the temple to the firſt of Cyrus are ſeventy years.

Fourthly, B. xi. c. 1. From the burning of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar to the firſt of Cyrus, when the Jews return'd from captivity, are ſeventy years.

Fifthly, B. xi. c. 1. The temple lay deſolate ſeventy years, and they ended the firſt of Cyrus.

Sixthly, Joſephus (Antiq. B. x. c. 12.) hath the particulars thus:

Nebuchadnezzar forty three years; Evilmerodoch eighteen years; Niricolaſſar, or Egreſſarius forty years; Laboſadarchus nine months; Balthaſar, or Nabonidus, ſeventeen years; Cyrus one; in all one hundred and nineteen years and nine months; ſo that if we take out ſeventeen years of Nebuchadnezzar, there will be left for the captivity, one hundred two years, and nine months, which is certainly wrong, and ſhould be thus: Nebuchadnezzar forty three years; Evilmerodoch twelve years; Niricolaſſar fourteen years; Laboſadarchus nine months; Nabonidus ſeventeen years; Cyrus one year; in all eighty ſeven years and nine months. If we then take out ſeventeen years of Nebuchadnezzar, there will remain ſeventy years and nine months; ſo that the firſt year of Cyrus was the ſeventieth of the captivity; and this account, though falſe, yet agreeth with Joſephus, and was taken thence by that anonymous author whom Sulpicius Severus, B. ii. c. 31. hath tranſcrib'd thus: Nebuchadnezzar forty three; Evilmerodoch twelve; Belthaſar fourteen; Darius Medus eighteen; Cyrus one; in all eighty eight.

From the firſt year of Cyrus to the conqueſt of Darius by Alexander (i. e. the whole ſpace of the Perſian monarchy) Joſephus hath two hundred and forty ſix years. So Antiq. B. x. c. 12. from the prophecy of Daniel in the firſt year of Darius, who with Cyrus took Babylon, to the deſtruction of the temple by Antiochus, are four hundred and eight years, as 'tis quoted by Cedrenus, p. 191. Now that prophanation by Antiochus was in the hundred and forty fifth year of Seleucus, (Antiq. B. xii. c. 15.) which Æra began the eighteenth year after Alexander's conqueſt of Darius. If we therefore take one hundred and forty four, and eighteen (i. e. one hundred and ſixty two,) from four hundred and eight, there will remain two hundred and forty ſix years for the duration of the Perſian monarchy.

Secondly, Antiq. B. xx. c. 8. From the firſt of Cyrus to Antiochus Eupator, are four hundred and fourteen years; which words are cited from Joſephus by Photius and Hegeſippus. Now Joſephus ſaith of Antiochus Epiphanes, that he, dying in the hundred and forty ninth year of Seleucus, left the kingdom to Eupator, Antiq. B. xii. c. 14. and Eupator's firſt year was the one hundredth and fiftieth of Seleucus, to which add eighteen from the conqueſt of Alexander over Darius (i. e. in all one hundred and ſixty eight) and ſubſtract that from four hundred and fourteen, there will remain for the Perſian monarchy, two hundred and forty ſix years.

Thirdly, the ſum of book xi. is two hundred and fifty three years, and contains the ſpace from the firſt of Cyrus to the death of Alexander. Now from Alexander's conquering Darius, and putting an end to the Perſian monarchy, were ſeven years; if therefore we take ſeven from two hundred and fifty three years, there will remain for the Perſian monarchy two hundred and forty ſix years.

Now it is certain that the duration of the Perſian monarchy was not ſo long; but Joſephus, miſtaking him for Xerxes, in whoſe time Nehemiah came to Jeruſalem, and built the walls of it, (making Nehemiah cup-bearer to Xerxes,) it was neceſſary for him to aſſign to his reign above thirty two years; which we find mention'd Neh. xiii. 6. Joſephus ſpeaks of the ninth month of the thirty eighth year of his reign, and added twenty years to his reign, as he did forty to Solomon's. The chronology of Joſephus, as to thoſe Perſian kings, ſeems to have been thus:

Cyrus	30	Artaxerxes	46
Cambyſes	6	Ochus	21
Magi	1	Arſes	2
Darius	36	Darius	4
Xerxes	41		
Artaxerxes	41	In all	247
Darius	19		

All theſe agree with the Canon Ptolemaicus, except one year wanting to Cambyſes and the Magi, and twenty added to Xerxes; ſo that if we caſt away the firſt of Cyrus, which was accounted to the ſeventy years captivity, there were juſt two hundred and forty ſix years.

Some old authors make the empire of the Perſians to laſt two hundred and forty eight years, including the firſt of Cyrus; and ſo Euſeb. Dem. Ev. p. 393. but they were to be underſtood of the whole ſpace, from the firſt of Cyrus, to the firſt of Seleucus, or the * Æra Seleuci.

From Alexander's conquering Darius to his own death, are ſeven years; for if we deduct two hundred and forty ſix (the duration of the Perſian monarchy) out of two hundred and fifty three, (the number of years from Cyrus to the death of Alexander, as in the ſum of book xi.) there will remain ſeven for the number of years betwixt the end of the Perſian monarchy and the death of Alexander.

From Alexander's death, to the beginning of the Æra Seleuci, are eleven years, as is evident thus: Joſephus allows from the firſt of Cyrus to Antiochus Eupator, four hundred and fourteen years, and his firſt year was the hundredth and fiftieth year of Seleucus. Now if we take the one hundred and fifty, and two hundred and fifty three (from the firſt of Cyrus to the death of Alexander) out of four hundred and fourteen, there will remain eleven years betwixt the death of Alexander and the beginning of the Æra Seleuci.

From the Æra Seleuci to the Maccabees, one hundred and forty ſix years; for ſo we read in Antiq. B. xii. c. 7, & 8. that Matthias and Judas Maccabæus began to prevail in the year of Seleucus, 146.

From the Æra Maccab. in the year of Seleucus, 146. to the beginning of Herod, are one hundred and twenty ſix years, as Antiq. B. xiv. at the end; or if the Æra of the Maccabees began the year following, i. e. in the year of Seleucus 147. then Joſephus aſſigns them but one hundred and twenty five years, as B. xviii. c. 8. which therefore muſt end in the year of Seleucus 272. for Herod was made king at Rome in the year of Seleucus 273. and yet Joſephus makes theſe end at the death of Antigonus, in the year of Seleucus 276. and ſo accounts three or four years ſhort, as is evident to any one that ſhall add the particulars.

Aristobulus (Joſeph. Antiq. B. xiii. c. 19.) began to put on a regal diadem four hundred and ſeventy one years after the return from the captivity; ſo likewiſe in his wars of the Jews, lib. i. In Freculphus it is falſely read four hundred and ſeventy five, in the preſent Greek and Latin copies four hundred and eighty. But the four hundred and ſeventy one years are thus made out, viz.

From the firſt of Cyrus to the Æra Seleuci	264 years.
Thence to Jonathan's high-prieſthood	160 years.
To Simon's high-prieſthood	10 years.
Simon's high-prieſthood	7 years.
Hyrcanus's	29 years.
In all	470
Ariſtobulus began in the year	471

From the beginning of Herod, after the death of Antigonus, to the deſtruction of the temple, in the ſecond year of Veſpaſian, are one hundred and ſeven years, Joſ. Antiq. B. xx. c. 8.

These laſt ſums put together ſtand thus:

From the firſt of Cyrus to the Æra Seleuci	264 years.
From the Æra Seleuci to the Maccabees	146 years.
The duration of the Maccabees	126 years.
The duration of the Herods to the ſecond of Veſpaſian	107 years.
	In all 643 years.

The ſums of the ten laſt books are thus:

	y.	m.	d.		y.	m.	d.
Book xi.	253	5	0	Book xvii.	14		
Book xii.	170			Book xviii.	32		
Book xiii.	82			Book xix.	3	6	10
Book xiv.	32			Book xx.	22		
Book xv.	18						
Book xvi.	12			In all	638	11	10
From the twelfth of Nero to the ſecond of Veſpaſian					4 complete years.		
				The whole ſum	642	11	10.

The

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* An Æra is a reckoning of time from ſome memorable event, as from the creation of the world, Noah's flood, the Iſraelites coming out of Egypt, &c. The famous Æra of Seleucus began in the reign of Seleucus, firſt founder of the Syrian kingdom, ſoon after the expiration of the Grecian monarchy, eighteen years after the end of the Perſian monarchy, according to Joſephus; and in the year of the world, 3636. before the birth of J. C. 312. according to other chronologers.

The ſums in the old Latin Joſephus are almoſt the ſame, and differ but in three years and five months.

The whole chronology of Joſephus will be thus:

From Adam to the death of Moſes,	2993
To the building of Solomon's temple,	552
To its deſtruction by Nebuchanezzar,	470
The Babyloniſh captivity,	70
From the firſt of Cyrus to the twelfth of Nero,	639
Sum total	4724
From the twelfth of Nero to the thirteenth of Domitian,	28
In all	4752

And that ſum Joſephus accounted numero rotundo to be five thouſand years. There are alſo in Joſephus, many ſums of years which are certainly falſe, as Antiq. B. vii. c. ult. From David to Hyrcanus's opening of his ſepulchre, when Antiochus beſieg'd Jeruſalem, are thirteen hundred years; and ſo Freculphus alſo read it, T. I. l. iii. c. 3. and yet this was but eight hundred and eighty four years. Joſephus, againſt Apion, B. II. ſaith, that the Jews had been a free people, under the Maccabees, to Pompey's taking Jeruſalem, for one hundred and twenty years. It is plain that it ſhould be only one hundred and two years; for it was in the year of Seleucus 230. which was one hundred and two years after Judas's defeating of Antiochus, and purging the temple, in the year of Seleucus 148.

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AN

AN
APPENDIX
TO THE
Two Preceding Diſcourſes.

BESIDES the reaſon already adduced, many others may be alledged that make the chronology of the Septuagint in the ages after the flood more probable than the Hebrew.

First, It ſeems abſurd and prepoſterous, that the ſeven firſt patriarchs after the flood, who liv'd three hundred, and four hundred years, ſhould beget at thirty, or thereabouts, as the preſent Hebrew ſays; and yet the ſucceeding patriarchs, who did not live half ſo long, ſhould not beget their firſt-born till they were twice as old; Terah at ſeventy, Abraham at eighty ſeven, Iſaac at ſixty, Jacob at eighty four, Levi, Chaath, and Amram, at about ſixty each of them; for from the birth of Levi, to the birth of Moſes, the ſon of Amram, were about one hundred and eighty years.

Secondly, It is not likely that Noah, who liv'd ſix hundred years before the flood, ſhould ſee ten generations ſucceed each other after the flood, and live till the fifty eighth year of Abraham; that Sem ſhould ſee nine generations after him ſucceſſively die, and ſurvive Abraham many years, the ninth perſon lineally deſcended from him; who yet died in a good old age, an old man, Gen. xxv. 8. That Sala ſhould outlive Phaleg, Ragau, Lamech, Nachor, Terah, and Abraham, for ſix generations, lineally deſcended from him; and even the laſt of them liv'd to be an old man; that Heber ſhould outlive Phaleg, Ragau, Lamech, Nachor, Terah, Abraham, and Iſaac, ſeven ſucceſſive generations that deſcended from him; and yet Abraham and Iſaac ſhould both live to be old men, Gen. xxv. 7. and xxxv. 29.

Thirdly, It is not poſſible that Jocktan ſhould have thirteen ſons when Phaleg was born, at the diviſion of tongues, if Phaleg was born at the thirty fourth year of Heber, as it is in the Hebrew; and to fancy Phaleg firſt call'd ſo at the time of his death is ridiculous, and expreſly contrary to Joſephus. At the diviſion of tongues we are told, that Mizraim, Chanaan, Sidon, Elam, Aſſur, Aram, &c. gave names to countries, and yet they died before Phaleg. Sem, Arphaxad, Salah, Heber, &c. according to the Hebrew, were living when God inſtituted circumciſion; and yet none of them order'd to be circumcis'd, which was then the ſign of being in covenant with God.

But how evidently ſo ever preferable to the Hebrew in this period the LXX may ſeem in the judgment of moſt, yet I foreſee ſeveral things that may be objected, and which it may not be improper to conſider.

First, 'Tis objected, that it is not probable that the ante-diluvian patriarchs, who lived to be nine hundred years old, ſhould beget their firſt-born at ſixty or ſeventy years old, as is affirm'd in the Hebrew and Joſephus; and yet thoſe after the flood, who did not live half ſo long, ſhould not beget their firſt-born till about one hundred and thirty years old.

To which I anſwer, that could we be certain theſe mentioned after the flood were the firſt-born, the objection would be very weighty and material. But it is much more probable that they were not; for Sem was younger than Japhet, Gen. x. 27. and therefore Japhet is placed firſt in the genealogies, Gen. x. 2. and 1 Chron. i. 5. Arphaxad younger than Elam or Aſſur, 1 Chron. i. 5. Gen. x. 2. vi. 21. Phaleg younger than Jocktan, who at Phaleg's birth had thirteen children, Gen. x. 25, 26, &c. Abraham younger than Haran, Haran born at the ſeventh, and Abraham at the hundred and thirtieth year of Terah, Gen. xi. 27, 28, 29, 32. Acts vii. 4. and Abraham married Haran's daughter.

It is very probable that it was ſo alſo in the other patriarchs, (though we cannot prove it from ſcripture, where the hiſtory we have of them is very ſhort,) becauſe God continued this method afterwards. Iſaac was younger than Iſhmael, Jacob than Eſau, Judah than Reuben, of whom it is obſerv'd, 1 Chron. v. 1. Now the ſons of Reuben the firſt-born of Iſrael, (for he was the firſt-born, but becauſe he defiled his father's bed, his birthright was given to the ſons of Joſeph, and the genealogy is not to be reckon'd after the birthright, &c.) St. Auſtin de Civ. Dei, lib. xv. c. 15. obſerves of the patriarchs after the flood, that "Magis credibile eſt non hic primogenitos commemoratos, ſed eos per quos ſucceſſionis ordo duce-"retur, i. e. It ſeems more probable to believe, that they who are here reckon'd up, were not the firſt-"born, but they by whom the order of ſucceſſion was to be derived."

Secondly, 'Tis objected, that the Jews were ſuch faithful tranſcribers of the law, that if ever the Hebrew had agreed with the Samaritan and Septuagint, they would not have alter'd it.

I answer, that the words of Philo (in Euſeb. Præp. Ev. lib. viii.) and of Tryphon (in Juſtin Mart.) are certainly to be underſtood of the Septuagint, and not of the Hebrew; and what Joſephus ſaith to the ſame purpoſe, muſt either be underſtood of the Septuagint, or elſe in ſo large a ſenſe, as that according to him the LXX tranſlators were prophets, and did not make any alterations in any thing; and indeed whatever is to be met with in other books to this purpoſe, is taken from Deut. iv. 2. and xii. 32. and muſt be underſtood of their not adding to or diminiſhing the precepts of the law of Moſes; and it is manifeſt, that the verſion of the Septuagint, the Targum of the Onkelos, the books of Irenæus, Euſebius's chronicle, and Rufinus, had ſolemn adjurations added to them not to change or interpolate any thing; and yet it is certain, that they have been much corrupted. The Rabbies mention thirteen places alter'd by the LXX interpreters, but not one of them that relates to the chronology of the patriarchs. The preſent Hebrew bibles in twenty ſix places leave a ſpace to ſhew that ſomething is wanting, which is ſupplied by the LXX. The marginal readings vary from the text in eight hundred and forty eight places, and they are generally reckoned the trueſt. Ezra vii. wants one whole verſe, which is in 1 Chron. vi. though the genealogy, Neh. vii. is only a tranſcript of that we find in Ezra ii. yet it is very different from it. And in Pſal. cv. betwixt Ver. 13 and 14, is the omiſſion of a whole verſe, as appears by the alphabet in that pſalm, which was in the text when the LXX tranſlated it; ſo that it is plain that there are corruptions of the Hebrew text of the bible, and many of them ſince the time that the LXX tranſlated it And ſince it is evident, that in the time of * Origen, when he compiled his Hexapla, the Hebrew text was the ſame as now, it is certain that the alterations therein were made before that time; and as it ſeems moſt probable, about the reign of Adrian and Antoninus Pius. The Hebrew of the bible was at, and after the time of our Saviour, a dead language, not underſtood by any but ſcholars; the common language of the Jews being at that time a mixture of Syriack and Chaldee; and the Jews wondered how Chriſt underſtood letters, having never learn'd, John vii. 15. And Luke x. 26. Chriſt ſaid to one of the ſcribes, as being his peculiar ſkill, How readeſt thou? And the reading of the law in Hebrew was not uſual in the ſynagogues, without an explanation of it, which they read alſo. Now their ſcholars and bibles were generally deſtroyed by the perſecutions they ſuffered in the ages after the apoſtles. Veſpaſian deſtroyed four hundred and ſixty ſynagogues; and Trajan forbad the Jews the reading of their law; and in his time R. Ananias was burnt, and the book of the law with him. R. Akiba had two thouſand and four hundred ſcholars kill'd by Adrian, in the rebellion of Cochab; and R. Simeon, the ſon of Gamaliel, had two hundred and fifty thouſand ſcholars ſlain, and not one left. And the very reading of the law had been utterly loſt, had not R. Judah, the ſon of Baba, with the expence of his own life, preſerv'd five copies, by hiding them; for Adrian made a law, by which it was death to ordain doctors, and keep up their ſchools; and learning was at the ſame time brought to ſo low an ebb at Babylon, that two of Juda's ſcholars were ſent thither to inſtruct them; and the very reaſon why R. Judah collected the traditions into the book of the Miſna, was, that learning was likely to be aboliſhed, and the law made void. Moſt of the Moſaick rites ended with the temple, and thereby the book of the law was leſs eſteemed, and the Jewiſh learning was become little elſe than a multitude of idle traditions. R. Judah took great care, that in all the cities of the land of Iſrael there ſhould be ſuch as taught traditions. Alting. tells us, that "Tanta fuit Miſnæ auctoritas, etiam vivo auctore, ut "ſepoſitis codicibus propheticis, in hoc uno explicando & interpretando omnem operam collocaverint, "i. e. The authority of the Miſna became ſo great, even in the author's life time, that neglecting the "books of the prophets, they [the Jews] ſpent all their pains in explaining and interpreting this only." So that here was a very fair opportunity for thoſe few ſcholars that were left to a lter the Hebrew text as they pleas'd, and for the few Hebrew copies that were then extant to ſuffer corruption. The Jews in their diſperſions for the moſt part learn'd Greek, and in their ſynagogues uſed Aquila's verſion; ſo that the Hebrew was in a great meaſure neglected. And to make all this plain, I will give ſome inſtances of

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* Origen died in the 69th year of his age, in the reign of Gallus and Voluſianus, according to ſome; or as others, of Valerian and Gallienus, A. D. 253. ſo that his Hexapla muſt have been compiled betwixt the beginning and middle of the third century.

the Jews altering the text and changing their opinions, as to the matters I am ſpeaking of, after the deſtruction of the temple, and before the compoſing of the Miſna in the time of Antoninus Pius; or at leaſt before Origen publiſh'd the Hebrew.

First, Gen. ii. 24. the Samaritan and Septuagint have the word Two, and Mat. xix. 5, 6. our Saviour urgeth the Phariſees with the force of that word; and they, though well ſkill'd in Hebrew, were unable to anſwer the force of the argument; whence it appears, it was then in the Hebrew, though not now; and probably left out by R. Akiba, in the age I am ſpeaking of, who allow'd the Jews to marry any woman they ſaw fairer than their own wife.

Secondly, Pſal. xxii. 16. They pierc'd my hands; ſo the Septuagint, Syriack, Arabick, Ethiopick, and ſome few manuſcripts of the Hebrew. Aquila likewiſe read it ſo; for he tranſlates it by a verb; but the Rabbins, to evade ſuch a plain prophecy of our Saviour's crucifixion, alter the word of the text, and read, As a lion.

Thirdly, Joſh. xv. 59, &c. there are two verſes in the LXX, which ſhew Bethlehem to be in the tribe of Judah, wanting in the Hebrew. St. Jerom, on Micah v. thinks them eraſed by the Jews, ſince the time of our Saviour, that it might not appear that Bethlehem was in the tribe of Judah.

Fourthly, After the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and before the Seder Olam Rabbah was made by R. Joſe in the days of Adrian, the Jews ſo curtail'd the Perſian monarchy, as to make Daniel's weeks to begin with the Babyloniſh captivity, and end at the deſtruction of the temple. Joſephus knew of no ſuch chronology in his time, and it could not be chance, but a contrivance of the Jews after the ſecond of Veſpaſian, that with the loſs of two hundred years made Daniel's four hundred and ninety years exactly end at that time.

Fifthly, The great diſagreement of the opinions of the Jews before and after the deſtruction of the temple. Before that time the verſion of the LXX was held in great eſteem by Philo and the Egyptians, (who kept a feaſt yearly in memory of it) and by the Jews in all the Greek diſperſion, and at Nazareth, Luke iv. 16, 17, 18, 19. and by thoſe of Jeruſalem, as appears by Joſephus, who magnifieth it, and the account given by Ariſteas. In Adrian's time the LXX were rail'd at by the Jews, and the Jews kept a faſt upon the day it was tranſlated, viz. Tebeth the eighth, and made another Greek verſion to oppoſe it, and deliver'd it as a tradition, that darkneſs overſpread the world for three days after the verſion of the LXX was made, and that it was as unlucky a day to the Jews, as when the golden calf was made.

Sixthly, Phaleg was born at the diviſion of tongues, ſaith Joſephus, according to the opinion of the Jews that then prevail'd; but the Rabbins who have lived ſince tell us, that he died at that time.

Seventhly, Melchiſedech was a Canaanitiſh king, ſaith Joſephus, according to the opinion of the Jews in his age, and 'tis agreeable to St. Paul; but the ſucceeding Jews ſuppoſed him to be Sem.

Eighthly, Daniel's weeks, according to Joſephus, ended at the deſolation of the temple by Antiochus, which was according to him four hundred and eight years, from the firſt year of Darius; to which add the ſeventy years from the burning of the temple, and it comes very near to Daniel's number; but the following Jews curtail the Perſian monarchy; and though they begin the weeks at the beginning of the Babyloniſh captivity, yet they end them at the ſecond of Veſpaſian.

Some will object, what end or deſign ſhould the Jews have in ſhortening the period betwixt the flood and the birth of Abraham.

First, It may be anſwer'd, that it might be for the eaſier bringing down their pretended traditions from Adam, Noah, &c. for ſo the Jews boaſt, in Seder Olam Rabbah, that ſeven men meaſure the world, Adam, Methuſelah, Sem, Jacob, Amram, Ahaja Salonites, and Elias, who is ſtill alive; when as, according to the chronology of the Samaritan Septuagint, and Joſephus, there muſt be added at leaſt Heber, Saruch, and Abraham, betwixt Sem and Jacob; and even ſo Saruch would be but eight years old at the death of Heber, and Jacob but fifteen years old at the death of Abraham; ſo that there would be need of two more perſons to be inſerted for carrying on their traditions, and ſo from Sem to Jacob would be as many perſons as they made in all the world. Secondly, That it might be done to obviate the prophecy of the houſe of Elias, that Chriſt ſhould come at the beginning of the fifth millenary. Now ſince the fourth millenary, according to the preſent account of the Jews, ended A. D. 242. it is evident that this curtailing their chronology was long before that time, in which they expected the Meſſiah. But when they found themſelves miſtaken alſo in the account, they took up that ſaying, Curſed is he that numbereth the times. Thirdly, that it might be done to baffle the argument that St. Paul puſhed the Hebrews with, that Melchiſedech's prieſthood was above Aaron's; which we find urged alſo by Juſtin Martyr againſt Tryphon, by Tertullian, and other early Chriſtians. For if Melchiſedech be Sem, then Aaron, who was lineally deſcended from him, inherited his prieſthood alſo; and ſo the argument of St. Paul and the chriſtians of a ſuperior prieſthood to the Aaronitical, would be deſtroy'd. And here it is probable, that as the old Rabbies talk'd much of the ſchools of Sem and Heber, and that Jacob ſtudied in them; ſo at firſt they deſigned Heber to be Melchiſedech, and cut off the years only of the patriarchs after him; for the preſent Hebrew ſaith, that he lived after he begat Phaleg four hundred and thirty years, where the Samaritan and Septuagint agree in the number of two hundred and ſeventy years; and if after Heber we follow the preſent Hebrew, Heber lived to the hundred and fifth year of Abraham; and to this agreeth what Epiphanius tells us in the hereſy of the Melchiſedechians, that ſome Hebrew copies from the birth of Sem to the time that Melchiſedech met Abraham in the eighth or ninth year of Abraham, have about ſix hundred and twenty eight years, thus:

Sem	102	Ragau	32
Arphaxad	100	Saruch	30
Sala	100	Nachor	29
Heber	150	Terah	70
Phaleg	30	Abraham	85
		In all	628

But this project not taking, they choſe rather yet to ſhorten this period, and make Sem to be Melchiſedech; for ſince the Chaldee paraphraſe ſaith that Rebecca conſulted the ſchools of Sem, and the Rabbies added that Jacob ſtudied in the ſchools of Sem, they the eaſier concluded that Sem was alive in the time of Jacob. Now that this was contrived after the deſtruction of the ſecond temple, appears from hence, that not only Joſephus tells us that he was a Canaanitiſh king, but that it is impoſſible for the Samaritan or Septuagint, or ſuch as uſed either of thoſe pentateuchs, to take him for Sem. Indeed all the early fathers who mention him (Irenæus, Hippolytus, Theophilus, Euſebius, Hieronymus, Theodoret, &c.) aſſent to Joſephus, and make him a Canaanitiſh king; and St. Paul, when he wrote to the Hebrews, ſeems an intire ſtranger to any ſuch extravagant fancy as that of making Melchiſedech to be Sem, but all along takes it as a ſettled confirm'd opinion, and a thing univerſally agreed on, that he was not concerned in the genealogy of Aaron; and ſo according to the laws of the Jews could have no right to the prieſthood.

Some others of the Jews endeavour'd to evade St. Paul's argument, by making Melchiſedech an angel; an opinion that Origen and Didymus borrow'd from them, and which St. Ambroſe, De Fide, lib. iii. cap. 5. calls Judaicum Ludibrium, i. e. a ridiculous Jewiſh notion.

But the ſubterfuge, which chiefly prevail'd among them, was the curtailing the period of the poſt-diluvian patriarchs, and making Sem to be Melchiſedech, and then Aaron lineally deſcending from him to inherit his prieſthood alſo; and to make this probable, it may not be improper to obſerve, how induſtrious the Jews have been to pervert the hiſtory of Melchiſedech, and anſwer St. Paul's argument taken from him.

First, They tell us that Melchiſedech was a baſtard; and becauſe his name was not to be found in the genealogies, therefore ſaid to be without father, &c. (See Epiphanius of the hereſy of the Melchiſedechians, p. 7.) But how this will agree with his being Sem, I cannot conceive.

Secondly, They denied Melchiſedech's prieſthood, and tranſlates כוהן prince, contrary to the opinions of the ſeventy Jews that tranſlated it ἱερεὺς, to Eupolemus in Euſebius's Præp. Ev. lib. xix. c. 17. to Philo the Jew in his book of Abraham, to Joſephus in Antiq. lib. i. c. 7. to ſeveral Jews in Epiphan. T. i. p. 473. and to St. Paul in his epiſtle to them, c. 7.

Thirdly, they make Sem elder than Japhet, and to inherit the prieſthood by right of primogeniture, contrary to the LXX, Gen. x. 21. and to Joſephus, Antiq. B. i. c. 7. who calls Sem the third ſon of Noah.

Fourthly, They give a different expoſition of the text, ſo as to make Melchiſedech pay tithes to Abraham, contrary to the Septuagint, to Joſephus, Antiq. B. i. c. 11. to Philo, and St. Paul, Heb. vii. 2.

Fifthly, They corrupted the text, Pſal. cx. 4. where by adding a jod, they apply it to David, contrary to the Septuagint, to St. Paul, Heb. v. 6. and vii. 17. and to the Scribes and Phariſees, who expounded that pſalm of the Meſſiah, Matth. xxii. 42, 43.

Upon all which accounts it may not ſeem improbable, that as [*] Aquila made his verſion of the bible in the time of [†] Adrian, to oppoſe chriſtianity, and depreciate the verſion of the Septuagint, which was uſed by the Chriſtians; ſo the few learned Jews that lived about that time, did agree to make ſome alterations in the Hebrew alſo, in order to oppoſe the Chriſtians, and to magnify their traditions; and then the true chronology of the Hebrew will be that preſerv'd by Joſephus in his Antiquities, which followeth the ſhorter account before the flood, and the longer after it.

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[*] This Aquila was a man of unſettled principles; firſt a judicial aſtrologer, then a chriſtian, and after that, upon ſome diſguſt or other, he turn'd Jew, and was circumciſed, and became a bitter enemy to the chriſtian religion. Whoever has a mind to know more of him, may conſult Epiph. in l. de Menſ. & Ponderib.

[†] Adrian begun his reign A. D. 117. and died A. D. 138.

THE

LIFE of JOSEPHUS,

Written Originally by Himſelf.

AS different nations ſet a value on dignity of birth and illuſtrious extraction, according to their ſeveral conceptions and notions of honour; ſo with us nothing more ennobles a family, than the diſcharge of the ſacerdotal function; upon which account I may look upon myſelf by birth, ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar, as I am deſcended not only from holy progenitors, who bore the ſacred office, but from prieſts of the firſt courſe of the * Four and twenty, amongſt which there are different degrees of diſtinction. By my mother's ſide I am related to royal blood; for the Aſamonæan family, from whom ſhe derived her deſcent, ſucceſſively bore the office of king and prieſt in our nation for a great many generations. I ſhall ſet down the ſucceſſion in order. Simon, ſirnam'd Pſellus, was my great grandfather's grandfather, who lived when Hyrcanus, the ſon of Simon the high-prieſt, and firſt of that name, held the pontificate. This Simon Pſellus had nine ſons, Matthias for one, otherwiſe called Aphlias, who took to wife the daughter of Jonathan the high-prieſt, by whom, in the firſt year of the reign of Hyrcanus, he had a ſon called Matthias Curtus; to whom, in the ninth year of the reign of Alexandra, was born Joſeph; and to him Matthias in the tenth year of king Archelaus; and to Matthias in the firſt year of the reign of † Caius Cæſar, I myſelf, who have three ſons alſo; Hyrcanus, the eldeſt, was born in the fourth year of the reign of Veſpaſian Cæſar; Juſtus in the ſeventh, and Agrippa in the ninth; and this account of my family I have ſet down as I find it upon record, little regarding the malice of my enemies, who may endeavour to traduce my family, and calumniate my character.

Joſephus's extraction.

Joſeph the ſon of Matthias.

Joſephus had three ſons, Hyrcanus, Juſtus, and Agrippa.

My father Matthias was highly reſpected all over Jeruſalem by perſons of all degrees and conditions, not only for his noble birth and extraction, but much more alſo for his integrity and juſtice. I had an own brother of my father's name, and he and I were educated at ſchool together from children. Now being endued with a tolerable good underſtanding and memory, by the age of fourteen I had acquired ſuch a reputation for learning, that the chief prieſts and rulers would frequently come to conſult me about the more difficult and abſtruſe points of the law. After I had arrived at ſixteen, I determin'd to dip into the doctrines of the principal ſects among us, whereof there are three, the Phariſees, the Sadducees, and the Eſſenes; concluding after I had tried them all, I ſhould be the better able to chuſe that which I liked beſt; ſo I paſſed through the requiſite auſterities of them all, with much labour and mortification; nor did I think fit to ſtop here, but hearing of one Banus, who lived like an hermit in the wilderneſs, I became a follower of him alſo. His cuſtom was to uſe no other cloathing than the leaves of trees; to eat no other food than what the earth naturally produced; to bath often in cold water, the better to reſtrain the irregularities of his appetites, and preſerve his chaſtity. After I had ſtaid with him three years under theſe diſciplines, and fully gratified my inclination herein, I returned into the city. And

He applies himſelf to the ſtudy of the three ſects.

Becomes a diſciple of one Banus, a man of great auſterity.

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* The four and twenty were inſtituted by king David in the latter end of his reign, out of the four and twenty families of prieſts, ſixteen of which were deſcended from Eleazar, and eight from Ithamar, the two ſons of Aaron. By this appointment every family was to officiate in the temple eight days, or from ſabbath to ſabbath, and ſo to do duty one after another, each in his turn or courſe, which was at that time determin'd by lot, and enter'd upon roll. The firſt family, and ſo the ſecond, the third, &c. in order, according as it happened.

† Caius Cæſar Caligula, the fourth Roman emperor. He begun his reign, A. D. 173.

Joſeph. inclines to the way of the Phariſees.

now being nineteen years old, I betook myſelf to a ſecular courſe of life, adhering to the ſect of the Phariſees, whoſe doctrines approach neareſt to the opinions of the Stoicks amongſt the Greeks.

Felix ſends ſeveral prieſts priſoners to Rome.

Joſeph. takes a voyage to relieve them.

The ſhip is loſt, and Joſephus is wonderfully preſerv'd.

He is made known at Rome to Poppæa, who gets the priſoners their liberty.

The people in a deſperate uproar.

Joſephus gives them good counſel.

Manahem, and ſome of the ringleaders put to death.

WHEN I was ſix and twenty years old, there fell out a very particular occurrence, which occaſioned me a voyage to Rome; it was this: Felix being procurator of Judea, had for ſome ſlight affront or other, ſent priſoners to Rome, ſeveral prieſts of unblameable characters, who were my intimate acquaintance, in order to take their trial before Cæſar. Upon the news of my friends misfortunes, I imbarked for Rome, reſolving to uſe my utmoſt efforts, to effect their deliverance, eſpecially when I heard they continued ſtedfaſt to their principles, though reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, and neceſſitated to feed upon figs and nuts, to ſupport life. In my paſſage thither I went through innumerable dangers at ſea; for our ſhip foundered in the middle of the Adriatick gulph, and out of a matter of ſix hundred of us, who were in company, only I, and ſome others, about eighty in all, who outſwam the reſt, were by God's ſpecial providence preſerved, being taken up early next morning by a ſhip of Cyrene, after we had been a whole night in the water. After this deliverance I contracted an acquaintance at Dicearchia, or Puteoli, as the Italians chuſe rather to call it, with one Alityrus, a comedian and favourite of Nero, who was by nation a Jew, and by whoſe intereſt I became known to Nero's wife Poppæa, of whom I quickly obtained, that thoſe prieſts ſhould be ſet at liberty; and ſo I returned to my own country, diſmiſs'd not without conſiderable preſents over and above. At my arrival there, I found the minds of the people diſpoſed for an inſurrection, and ready to revolt from the Romans; whereupon I endeavour'd all I could to bring the mutineers to better reaſon, by laying before them the power of the enemy they had to do withal, a people much their ſuperior in martial diſcipline, policy, and fortune; wherefore I adviſed them not inconſiderately and raſhly to hazard the ruin of their country, themſelves, their wives, and children, upon ſuch unequal terms. At this rate I plied them with all the arguments I could think of, to diſſuade them from enterprizing on a war, which I plainly foreſaw would involve them in the moſt diſmal and deſtructive conſequences; yet all to no purpoſe, their reſolutions were deſperate, and their madneſs incurable. Fearing therefore leaſt I had by a frequent and importunate repetition of the ſame counſels, incurr'd their diſpleaſure, and given them cauſe to ſuſpect I was a favourer of the enemy, to avoid the danger of being ſeized, and put to death, I withdrew into the temple, the faction having already made themſelves maſters of fort Antonia. After * Manahem and the ringleaders of his faction were cut off, I came out of the temple, and converſed frequently with the chief prieſts and principal men among the Phariſees, who were in great fear and perplexity; for we ſaw the people up in arms, and what to do we knew not. To appeaſe the conſpirators was beyond our skill, beſides dangerous to attempt, wherefore we pretended to approve their proceedings, but yet adviſed them not to be too raſh, but let the enemy † draw off a little, hoping that Geſſius || would come ſpeedily with a power ſufficient to ſuppreſs the ſedition. Geſſius came back indeed to his coſt; for his troops were intirely cut to pieces in the attempt, and himſelf ſlain; and this blow proved the utter ruin of our nation; for the ſucceſs of this action made the conſpirators vain enough to think they were able to conquer the whole Roman power with the ſame eaſe. Juſt at this time happened a very tragical occurrence, which was as follows:

Geſſius Florus defeated.

A maſſacre of the Jews.

The barbarous ingratitude of the Scythopolitans.

A war of neceſſity.

THE Syrians and Jews living promiſcuouſly together in ſeveral great towns bordering on Judea, the Syrian inhabitants took occaſion to murder all the Jews, men, women, and children, who lived with them in thoſe cities, without any provocation at all; for they had neither ſhewn any publick tokens of diſaffection to the Romans, nor been guilty of doing any wrong to them in their private circumſtances. But above all, the barbarity of the Scythopolitans was moſt tranſcendently wicked and inhuman; for being invaded by Jews, who did not live amongſt them, they not only forced the Jews of the place, their fellow-citizens, to take up arms againſt thoſe of their own country, which is a thing forbidden by our laws; but after they had with their help diſperſed the enemy, and obtained a complete victory, contrary to gratitude, to juſtice, and common faith, they maſſacred all of that nation amongſt them without diſtinction, to the number of ſeveral thouſand perſons. The Jews that inhabited in Damaſcus fared no better; but of this I ſhall ſpeak more at large in my hiſtory of the wars of the Jews, that the reader may ſee we did not begin this war by choice, but were forced to it by extreme mere neceſſity.

Commiſſioners ſent to quiet the common people.

AFTER the defeat of Geſſius, the chief men amongſt the Jews finding themſelves left naked and defenceleſs, and the mutineers well furniſhed with arms, apprehended, what afterwards proved true enough, that they ſhould be expoſed to their inſults; and underſtanding that but one part of Galilee had revolted from the Romans, and that the other was peaceably inclined to them, they commiſſioned me and two other prieſts, Joazar and Judas, men of good repute, to go thither, to intreat the diſaffected party to lay down their arms, and to convince them that it was much better at preſent to ſurrender them up into the hands of the governors, who would be ſure to let them have them again whenever there was an occaſion to make uſe of them; and by all means to forbear hoſtilities at preſent, till they ſhould know more certainly the real intentions of the Romans.

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* This Manahem was wont to upbraid the Jews, for profeſſing to worſhip one God, and at the ſame time owning the Romans for their maſters: he was a perſon of mean extraction, of a very turbulent and ſeditious temper, and the head of a faction againſt the Romans. Setting himſelf up for a prince, he was put to death, together with the chief of his accomplices, by Eleazar the high-prieſt's ſon the head of another faction, and the firſt who excited the Jews to rebel againſt the Romans.

† A party of Roman ſoldiers, beſieged by the mutineers in Agrippa's palace at Jeruſalem.

|| Geſſius Florus, the Roman governor of Judea, appointed to that office by the emperor Nero.

A quarrel betwixt the Galileans and the Sepphorites

WITH theſe inſtructions I went into Galilee, where I found the Sepphorites ingaged in defence of their country, that was in great danger of being overrun by the Galileans, who had invaded them becauſe they continued firm in their alliance to the Romans, and would not violate their faith with Senius Gallus then governor of Syria. But I found an expedient to make the Sepphorites eaſy, and to pacify the Galileans, by procuring them a licence to ſend as often as they pleaſed to Pora, a city of Phœnicia, to their hoſtages there, whom they had given to Geſſius.

Tiberias in arms. Three factions.

As for the men of Tiberias, I found them all in arms, and the quarrel was this: There were three parties in this city; One conſiſting of well-affected people, headed by Julius Capellus, who was joined by Herod the ſon of Mirarus, Herod the ſon of Gamalus, and Campſus the ſon of Campſus; but as for Criſpus his brother, who had been ſome time governor of that city by the appointment of Herod the Great, he at this time lived at his own eſtate beyond Jordan. Theſe all of them abode by the king and the Roman people, and ſo too did all the reſt of the nobility to a man, ſave Piſtus, who in compliance with his ſon Juſtus ſtood out. The ſecond party conſiſting of ſcoundrels and rabble, declared for a war. At the head of the third was Juſtus the ſon of Piſtus, who though he did not give his opinion in expreſs words for a war, yet at the ſame time from the bottom of his heart wiſhed for nothing more than a revolution, in hopes thereby of gaining ſome conſiderable poſt, and advanceing his fortune; to which end he made a ſpeech to the people in a full aſſembly, endeavouring to perſuade them, "That their city was always reckoned to belong to Galilee, and that it had once been the metropolis of that country in the time of Herod the Tetrarch, who being the founder of it, made Sepphoris ſubject to it; that it continued to enjoy this preheminece even under the government of Agrippa the Father, till Felix became governor of Judea; and that it but very lately loſt its right of precedency, no longer ago than the time it was beſtowed upon Agrippa the Younger by Nero; and that the Sepphorites were never favour'd with any privilege above their neighbours, till their ſubjecting themſelves to the Roman power, and the removal of the records and the king's houſhold thither upon that revolution." With theſe and many other the like invective expreſſions againſt the king, when Juſtus perceived he had excited a ſpirit of rebellion in the minds of the people, he ſaid, "Since the Sepphorites obſtinately reſolved to continue their alliance with the Romans, now was the only time to aſſert by force of arms their juſt right of precedency over the whole; and in conjunction with the reſt of the cities of Galilee, who all bore them an antipathy, to fall upon them with their whole force, and do them what miſchief they could." With this plauſible and popular harangue, which ſeemed to carry the air of reaſon in it, he gained over the multitude: beſides he was ſo well verſed in Græcian literature, as to be able to compile the hiſtory of thoſe times, whereby he diguiſed the truth of things at pleaſure, as he found it made moſtly for his purpoſe. But of this man's wickedneſs, and how near he and his brother went to the total and irrecoverable deſtruction of their country, an account ſhall be given in the ſequel of this diſcourſe. When Juſtus therefore had prevailed upon ſome of the citizens by fair means, and others by force to take up arms, he marched out with them all in a body, and laid in aſhes the villages of the Hippenes and Gadarenes adjoining to the country of Tiberias and Scythopolis.

Juſtus ſtirs up the people againſt the Romans.

Juſtus burns the Hippenes and Gadarenes out of their houſes.

To paſs over from the ſtate of affairs at Tiberias to that of Giſchala: John the ſon of Levi obſerving ſeveral of his countrymen grown weary and impatient of bearing the Roman yoak any longer, did all he could to keep them in their allegiance and duty; but all to no purpoſe: for their neighbours the Gadarenes, Gabaraganeans and Tyrians, gathering together in a ſtrong body, aſſaulted and carried by ſtorm Giſchala, which after they had burnt, and laid level with the ground, they retired. John was ſo provoked at this outrage that he marched with all the Troops he could raiſe againſt them, engaged, and vanquiſhed them; and after that rebuilt the city, and for ſecurity environed it with a wall.

Giſchala laid in aſhes.

John the ſon of Levi defeats the rebels.

Gamala firm to the Romans.

Philip's wonderful eſcape and deliverance.

BUT the people of Gamala all this while continued firmly attached to the Roman intereſt, as may be ſeen by what follows. Philip the ſon of Jacimus Agrippa's lieutenant, having unexpectedly got off whilſt the enemy were ſtorming the palace at Jeruſalem, fell into another danger every jot as bad, and had like to have had his throat cut by Manahem and his barbarous crew; but was, however, happily ſaved at the interceſſion of ſome of his Babylonian relations, who were then at Jeruſalem; and five days afterwards by diſguiſing himſelf in a cap of falſe hair, he made his eſcape to a certain village near the caſtle of Gamala, ſituate in his own dominions; where when he was arrived he ſent for ſeveral of his ſubjects to come to him. In this place he happen'd to be ſeiz'd ſuddenly with a fever, which by a wonderful providence proved the occaſion of ſaving his life; for while he lay ſick he wrote letters to Agrippa and Berenice by a certain freedman, with orders to deliver them to Varus, to whom at that time, by the king and queen's appointment, was committed the care of the palace, they being on their journey to Berytus to meet Geſſius. When Varus upon the receipt of the letters underſtood that Philip was got ſafe off, he took it to heart exceedingly, fearing leſt the king and queen ſhould diſmiſs him, as ſoon as Philip ſhould return in ſafety. Wherefore Varus expoſes the meſſenger to the people as a cheat, and one that had come to him with a lie in his mouth, ſince to his certain knowledge (as he ſaid) Philip was then in the Roman army at Jeruſalem, fighting againſt the Jews; and accordingly upon this accuſation ſentenced him to be ſeverely puniſhed. The former meſſenger not returning Philip diſpatches a ſecond with another packet, requiring him to bring him word what had befallen the firſt that he did not come back; Varus took occaſion to deal by him alſo as he did by the firſt; for the Syrians of Cæſarea had puffed up Varus with an opinion that he ſhould become a great man, perſuading him that the Romans would put Agrippa to death for this rebellion of the Jews, and that they would confer the crown upon him as a near relation of the royal family; for it was

Philip writes to Agrippa and Berenice.

Varus puts a meſſenger to death as an impoſtor.

He puts a ſecond meſſenger to death upon the ſame pretence.

well known he had royal blood in his veins, being deſcended from Sohemus the Tetrarch of Libanus. Elated with theſe hopes Varus therefore made bold to detain the letters, and took particular care the king ſhould never have them; and for fear leſt any one ſhould eſcape privately, and inform the king of his proceedings, he ſet guards in all the paſſes: moreover to ingratiate himſelf with the Syrians of Cæſarea he put great numbers of the Jews to death, determining likewiſe with the aſſiſtance of the Trachonites of Batanæa to fall upon the Jews of Ecbatana, who are called Babylonians. To which end calling to him twelve of the chief men among the Cæſarean Jews, he ordered them to go immediately and tell their countrymen in his name, that he had received intelligence they were making preparations of war againſt the king, which he was not willing to believe; but notwithſtanding, that he ſtrictly enjoined them to lay down their arms, as the moſt convincing proof they could give of their innocence, and that the report was without foundation; adding farther, that he inſiſted upon their ſending ſeventy of their principal men to clear them of the crime wherewith they were charged. The twelve deputies faithfully executed their orders; but when they came to Ecbatana they found their countrymen about no ſuch deſign; however in conformity to their orders they prevailed with them to ſend the ſeventy perſons required along with them back to Cæſarea. Varus in the mean time, with a party of the king's ſoldiers, intercepted them on their journey, fell upon them, and cut them and the deputies likewiſe, all off to a man; after which, he advanced upon his deſign againſt the Jews at Ecbatana: but by a ſtrange providence one of the ſeventy eſcaped the maſſacre, and had the good luck to get there before him with the news of this moſt treacherous and inhuman action: whereupon the inhabitants immediately armed themſelves, and with their wives and children took refuge in the caſtle of Gamala, leaving their effects and cattle to a conſiderable value, behind them. So ſoon as Philip heard of this adventure he went thither to them, where the people gave him an univerſal and hearty welcome, intreating him that he would by all means undertake the war, and be their commander againſt Varus and the Syrians of Cæſarea; for there was a current report abroad that they had killed the king. But Philip did all that lay in his power to appeaſe their fury, by reminding them of the many and great favours the king had conferred upon them, and of what dangerous conſequence it would be to riſe in rebellion againſt the vaſt and formidable power of the Romans: inſomuch that they were brought, at laſt, by his arguments to a better temper. Herod coming at laſt to hear that Varus had a deſign to have maſſacred all the Jews of Cæſarea, with their wives and children, to the number of ſeveral thouſand perſons, he diſcarded him, and ſent Equus Modius to ſucceed him, as we ſhall take notice of elſewhere, whilſt Philip kept Gamala and the adjacent countries in obedience to the Romans.

The Jews treacherouſly inveigled and cut to pieces.

Varus advances againſt Ecbatana.

The inhabitants withdraw upon it into Gamala.

Philip goes to them there.

The people offer to chuſe him for their leader againſt Varus.

Philip reaſons them into a better temper.

Varus diſplaced and Equus Modius ſucceeds him.

AT my arrival in Galilee, having received certain intelligence of theſe things, I wrote to the council at Jeruſalem for inſtructions what to do; and the anſwer I received was to continue in Galilee, and provide for the ſafety of the place as well as I could, and to retain my colleagues ſtill with me, if they could be prevailed upon to ſtay; for having received ſome conſiderable ſums of money that were in arrear for the prieſts tithes, they had ſome thoughts of returning home again; but being intreated to ſtay till we had eſtabliſhed peace and quietneſs in the place, they readily conſented: ſo we went all together from Sepphoris to Bethmaus, a place about four furlongs diſtant from Tiberias; from whence I ſent a meſſenger to ſummon the ſenate of Tiberias, and ſome of the heads of the people to come over to me. Upon their arrival, and Juſtus among the reſt, I told them I had a commiſſion from the council at Jeruſalem, together with my aſſociates, to confer with them about the demoliſhing the palace which Herod the Tetrarch had built there, and adorned with ſeveral curious images and figures of living creatures, being a thing expreſly forbidden by our laws; preſſing earneſtly that it might be done out of hand. Capella, and the people of his faction, oppos'd it a long time; but at laſt, after a hard conteſt, we carried the point; now while this debate was a foot, Jeſus the ſon of Saphia, at the head of a ſcandalous crew of tarpaulins, and other ſcoundrel fellows, with the help of a band of ſeditious Galilæans, ſet fire to the palace royal, in expectation of a conſiderable booty; for he had obſerved the roofs of ſeveral of the rooms to be richly adorned with gold: and in effect they ſpoiled and carried off a great many things of value in deſpite of all we could do to hinder it. So ſoon as this conference with Capella and the governors of Tiberias was over, we betook ourſelves from Bethmaus into the Upper Galilee; at which time the faction of Jeſus put all the Greeks in Tiberias to the ſword, and all others likewiſe that had been enemies to them before the war. Upon the news of this outrage, I went in a great rage to Tiberias, to try what I could ſave of the king's goods upon this pillage; for there were ſeveral rich candleſticks of Corinthian work, precious tables, and a great deal of ſilver in the maſs; and, in fine, reſolving all this while to depoſite what goods ſoever I laid hold on, for the king's uſe: ſo that ſending for ten of the chief ſenators, and Capella the ſon of Antyllus, I deliver'd all the rich veſſels and other things of value into their cuſtody, with an expreſs charge not to part with them to any body but myſelf. I went from thence with my aſſociates to Giſchala, to inform myſelf what John intended to do; whom I found manifeſtly engaged in the promoting of an inſurrection, and ſetting up for himſelf. The emperor had ſeveral ſtorehouſes fill'd with corn in ſeveral parts of the Upper Galilee, and John would fain have had the exporting and vending of it, with an intent, he ſaid, to employ the profit in building walls and fortifications. I ſoon ſmelt what he would be at, and told him plainly, that it was a thing I would by no means conſent to; for being obliged by virtue of my commiſſion from Jeruſalem to take care of all things within that juriſdiction, I could not diſpoſe of thoſe ſtores any other way than either to the ſervice of the emperor, or the good of the province. When he found I was not to be prevailed upon, he applied himſelf to my aſſociates, who, betwixt want of foreſight and love of money, were brought over by bribes and fair words to comply with his demands; and being two to one, they muſt needs carry it.

Joſeph. confers with the ſenate and great men of Tiberias about demoliſhing Herod's palace.

The rabble ſet fire to it and rifle it.

The faction puts all the Greeks in Tiberias to the ſword.

Joſephus depoſites the king's good's for the king's uſe.

it. John had no ſooner gained this point, but he bethought himſelf of another ſtratagem: The inhabitants of Cæſarea Philippi had made complaints to him, he ſaid, that they wanted pure virgin oil, and deſired him to ſupply them, the Greek oil being forbidden them, and the king's prohibition reſtraining them from going out of town to fetch it. Now this was done by him not ſo much out of a principle of generoſity, as ſelf-intereſt; for he knew that this oil bore forty times the price at Cæſarea that it did at Giſchala; ſo that he ſent away all the oil from one place to the other, under colour of my licence. Certain it is, I did thus far licence the tranſporting of it: I durſt not preſume to hinder it, for fear of being tore in pieces by the people; and ſo far only I yielded to it. This, in ſhort, was a wicked contrivance that John turned greatly to his advantage.

From this place I ſent my aſſociates back again to Jeruſalem; and after that, made it my whole buſineſs to arm, fortify, and in ſhort, to provide all that in me lay for the defence of my province. The Free-Booters, I found, were not to be reduced by force; and ſo I put the people upon trying what might be done by compoſition; whereupon we treated with ſeveral leading men among them to take them off by money; being all convinced, that the expence of the penſion would not amount to near the ſpoil they'd make by rapine and pillage.

Joſeph. comes to an agreement with the Free-booters. The conditions of the treaty.

We came, in ſhort, to an agreement; and I took their oaths for performance of articles, and ſo we parted. The conditions were theſe, That they ſhould not offer any violence, either to Romans or Natives, nor ever ſet foot in our country, unleſs when invited, or elſe to receive their pay. But above all other things, it was my peculiar care to keep Galilee quiet; and in order thereto, I made choice of ſeventy of their moſt reputable men to attend me, whom I made uſe of as companions, counſellors, and aſſiſtants; nay, I govern'd myſelf in a great meaſure by their advice, ſaving an inviolable reſpect to integrity and juſtice; ſo that under the appearance of friends, they ſerved me likewiſe in the quality of hoſtages.

Joſeph. takes ſeventy Galilæans to his aſſiſtance and council.

I was now in the thirtieth year of my life; an age wherein all the virtue and precaution in nature is not able to ſecure a man from the laſh of envy and detraction; eſpecially in a poſt of honour and power.

The modeſty and juſtice of Joſephus's adminiſtration.

But I can ſay this for myſelf however, that I was never charged with any miſdemeanor, either in relation to incontinency, or corruption. I wanted nothing, and I coveted nothing: nay, I was ſo far from taking any thing I had no legal right to, that I refuſed my very tenths, though properly my dues as a prieſt, even when they were offer'd me. As for the ſpoils taken from the Syrians upon the defeat I gave them, it is very true that I ſent part of that booty to my kindred at Jeruſalem; and ſo, after two overthrows given to the Sepphorites; four to the people of Tiberias; one to the Gadarenes; and John himſelf, after ſeveral treacherous practices againſt me, made my priſoner, I paſſed it all over without taking any revenge, either of the one or the other; and God who ſaw the innocence of my heart in this whole affair, was ſo gracious as to deliver me from the ſnares of my perfidious enemies; and not upon that occaſion only, but divers times afterwards, as will be ſeen in its proper place.

The Galilæans have a great reſpect for Joſephus.

The people of Galilee had all of them ſuch a reſpect and veneration for me, that though they ſaw their towns deſtroy'd, and their wives and children hurried away into captivity, they had yet a much greater concern for my hazards and ſufferings, than for their own.

John's malicious envy.

John was ready to burſt all this while with envy at the thought of my being ſo popular; and under the pretext of a preſent indiſpoſition, he wrote to me for leave to go to the hot baths of Tiberias for his health; which I not only granted him at firſt word, without ſo much as dreaming of any trick in the bottom of it, but gave him recommendatory letters alſo to the cities then under my adminiſtration to furniſh him and his train with meat, drink, lodging, and all other conveniencies, and to take care that they wanted nothing. I was at this time in a village of Galilee called Cana.

John tampers with the People of Tiberias againſt Joſephus.

John was no ſooner come to Tiberias, but he fell preſently to work upon debauching the inhabitants into a ſedition, and inveigling them to break off with me, and come over to his party. There were a great many among them forward and factious enough to hearken to any thing that tended towards the promoting of a change, and overjoy'd too of ſuch an occaſion: as among others, Juſtus, and his father Piſtus, who immediately cloſed with the propoſition, and join'd intereſts with John againſt me.

Juſtus and Piſtus join intereſts with John.

Silas gives Joſephus notice of the plot upon him.

But by my coming there the plot was ſeaſonably diſappointed; for Silas, my deputy-governor of Tiberias, diſpatched a meſſenger to me with an account of the whole ſtory, from point to point, and how the caſe ſtood at that time, and what they intended: adviſing me by all means to make what haſte I could thither, and prevent the miſchief before it was too late, or elſe the government would quickly be in other hands.

Joſeph. poſts away for Tiberias.

Upon reading this intelligence, I poſted away for Tiberias with two hundred men, ſent a meſſenger before to inform my friends I was a-coming, and ſo travelled the whole night. The people, early in the morning came out of the town to meet me upon the way, and John himſelf among the reſt; but ſo out of countenance and confounded, that he betray'd his guilt in his face. Being now conſcious to himſelf that his neck was at ſtake, if he was diſcovered, he made a haſty reverence, and that inſtant withdrew to his lodging. In the mean time, I went directly to the publick place of exerciſes, where I diſcharged all my own train, except one perſon of note, and ten ſoldiers that I kept about me.

Joſephus' diſcourſe upon the ſubject of good faith and treachery.

After this, I mounted a lofty precipice, from whence I harangued the Tiberians upon the ſubject of good faith and allegiance; the honour of a generous conſtancy; and the actual baſeneſs, as well as dangerous conſequences of violating their faith; for one treachery, I told them, would moſt certainly be avenged upon the head of the traitor by another; and that after one act of perfidy, their credit would be loſt for ever. The words were hardly out of my mouth, but I heard ſome body call vehemently and earneſtly to me immediately to come down, and provide for my own ſecurity, for my enemies were juſt upon me; and that this was no time for ſpeeches. Now the truth of it was, that having me at an advantage in a place where I was little better than alone, John drew a ſelect number of men out of the thouſand that he commanded, with orders to kill me; and they were already advanced

Joſephus eſcapes very narrowly.

advanced within a very little of executing their deſign; which they had certainly done, if I had not leaped down that very moment by the help of one of my own guards, whoſe name was Jacob, and one Herod of Tiberias, who conducted me ſafe to the lake; where, by divine providence, beyond all expectation, I found a veſſel ready that carried me off to Taricheæ, and out of the reach and power of my enemies.

He ſhips himſelf off for Taricheæ.

The people enraged at the treachery.

The people of the place were ſo incenſed at the Tiberians upon this ſtory of their barbarous treachery, that they immediately armed themſelves, and importunately begged of me in a body, to march at the head of them againſt thoſe perfidious traytors, that they might do me right upon them for ſo horrid a villainy. The report of this outrage was quickly ſpread all over Galilee, with an invitation to come in and join with them againſt Tiberias, and to ſubmit themſelves to the direction and conduct of their governor, to do whatever he ſhould think fit. The Galilæans armed themſelves preſently in great numbers; and with great earneſtneſs entreated me to aſſault Tiberias, and upon the taking of it, utterly to demoliſh it; and to expoſe the inhabitants with their whole families to ſale for ſlaves at a publick outcry. Nor was this the ſenſe of the Galilæans only, but my very friends who came to me out of Tiberias, gave me the ſame advice alſo:

The moderation of Joſephus.

but I was ſo tender of making myſelf the author and abettor of a civil war, that I could by no means bring myſelf to reſolve upon ſuch deſperate enterprizes; and therefore urged it as their own intereſt, not to fall to cutting one another's throats for a ſpectacle to the Romans, who were to ſtand looking on. By this means I appeaſed the rage of the Galilæans in the concluſion; though not without much difficulty.

John leaves Tiberias and goes to Giſchala.

John excuſes himſelf to Joſephus with dreadful oaths and imprecations.

When John found that all his deceitful machinations againſt me ſtill miſcarried, it was high time now, he thought, to look to himſelf; ſo that taking what armed men he had about him, he left Tiberias, and went to Giſchala, and from thence he wrote me an apologizing letter, wherein he excuſed himſelf of the fact; owning that it was indeed a very baſe action, but done without his knowledge or approbation. He begged of me that I would believe him, ſwearing by all that was good and ſacred, that what he ſaid was every word of it true to a tittle. But this did not ſatisfy the Galilæans at all; for they knew him too well for a perjur'd wretch, to believe one ſyllable he ſaid, ever the more for his ſwearing it:

The people were for deſtroying John and Giſchala both at once.

ſo that they ſtill importuned me to lead them on to the aſſault, that they might utterly deſtroy, at once, both him and Giſchala, the place of his nativity. I gave them a thouſand thanks for their demonſtrations of reſpect and good-will, and aſſured them of all the beſt offices I could do them in requital; but at the ſame time I adviſed them by all means to be temperate and compoſed, and to give me leave to try a little, if the quarrel might not be decided without blood, and to their liking too, before any farther miſchief enſued.

Joſeph. pacifies the multitude.

The Galilæans conſented, and we came ſoon after to Sepphoris. The inhabitants being reſolved to continue their allegiance with the Romans, were not without ſome apprehenſion upon my advance, and ſo, for their own ſecurity, plotted how they might give me a diverſion ſome other way.

Jeſus the head of the banditti makes war upon Joſeph.

Jeſus the captain of the Banditti, was at that time upon the borders of Ptolemaïs, with a body of eight hundred men under his command; and they could not do better, they thought, than preſently to diſpatch a meſſenger to him with the promiſe of a conſiderable ſum of money to make war upon us. The temptation prevailed; and the way he pitched upon, was, to take us at unawares, and unprovided; and ſo to do the work by ſurprize. Upon this, he ſent word to me by a meſſenger, that he ſhould be glad if I would give him leave to make me a viſit. I readily agreed to it; for I had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of any treacherous deſign: ſo that he took a troop of his robbers, and haſtened his journey with all expedition.

Jeſus ſets a trap for Joſephus; and is taken in it himſelf.

But the deſign miſcarried; for upon his approach within a little of the town, a deſerter from him, who came over to me, gave me intelligence of the whole contrivance. Upon this information, I went directly into the market-place, as if I had known nothing of a plot againſt me, attended with a numerous train of Galilæans in arms, and ſeveral Tiberians among them. I gave order then for the guard of the paſſes, and to the porters of the gates to let in only Jeſus himſelf, with ſome few of his company, and then ſhut the gates upon the reſt; and if they ſhould offer to break in by violence, to repel them with blows. They punctually obſerved my orders, and admitted Jeſus with a ſmall number of his followers; and then ſhut the gates upon the reſt. So ſoon as he was in, I bad him ſurrender his arms, or expect immediate death, which he did, finding himſelf ſurrounded with a guard of ſoldiers. Upon this, thoſe of his men that were ſhut out, hearing how it was with their leader, betook themſelves immediately to flight: So calling Jeſus apart, I addreſſed him after this manner: "I have "you now in my hands, you ſee: I knew all "your contrivances, your counſels, and your "adviſers; and yet after all theſe provoca-"tions, if you will paſs your word now to "be an honeſt man, and never engage in any "deſign againſt me for the future, all that "you have hitherto done I will freely forgive "and forget."

Joſephus's generoſity to John, and to the Sepphories.

He promiſed he would; and ſo I diſmiſſed him, giving him the liberty to rally his diſperſed men again, whom but juſt before he had under his conduct. And for the Sepphorites, I only charged them to be quiet and peaceable for the future, at their peril.

Two noblemen of Trachonitis come over to Joſephus with men, horſes, &c.

THERE came to me, at the ſame time, two noblemen, and ſubjects of the king of Trachonitis, with men, horſes, money, and arms. The Jews were abſolutely againſt the receiving of them, unleſs they would conſent to be circumcis'd; but I told them that every man was to worſhip God according to the dictates of his own conſcience, not of another man's; and therefore I was utterly againſt the giving of them any trouble upon that account; beſides, that it would be an inhoſpitable rigour, to make people that came to them for ſanctuary in their diſtreſs, repent the good opinion they had of their charity. Upon debating the matter, my arguments were convincing to the multitude; and ſo I gave them an entertainment ſuitable to the circumſtances and occaſion.

Agrip. ſends Equus Modius to take the caſtle of Magdala.

KING Agrippa, in the mean time, ſent Equus Modius with a conſiderable power, to take by force the caſtle of Magdala. He was not in a condition to beſiege it in form, but

all

Ebutius comes to Simonias to attack Joſephus

He quits his deſign, and marches to Gaba.

all that he could do, was to poſt guards upon the avenues, and ſo to block up Gamala. Ebutius, the Decadarch,* who had the command of the great plain, underſtanding that I was to come to Simonias, a village upon the confines of Galilee, and a matter of ſixty furlongs off from the place where he was, drew out a hundred horſe that he had then about him, near two hundred foot, and ſome auxiliary troops from Gaba, and marching them by night, came up to the village where I was; whereupon I fac'd him with a very ſtrong body of men, which he obſerving, would fain have drawn me into the open field, relying upon the ſtrength of his horſe; but my ſtrength conſiſting chiefly in foot, I found I ſhould have much the worſt of it, if I ventur'd myſelf upon that odds of ground, and ſo ſtirr'd not a foot from my ſtation. Ebutius did all he could to force me from my poſt; but when he ſaw his deſign impracticable with horſe, he ſounded a retreat, and march'd off to Gaba, having loſt only three men in the action. I follow'd immediately cloſe at his heels, with a body of two thouſand men; and when I came to Beſara, a town upon the confines of Ptolemais, and about twenty furlongs from Gaba, where Ebutius at that time was, I poſſeſs'd myſelf of all the paſſes about it, to ſecure my quarters from any ſudden attack of the enemy, and in the mean time carried off the wheat and other grain, to a prodigious quantity, which had been taken from the adjacent villages belonging to queen Berenice, and was there laid up in ſtore. This proviſion I order'd to be carried to Galilee upon a great number of camels and aſſes which I had brought thither for that purpoſe. So ſoon as this work was over, I offer'd Ebutius battle; but when we ſaw he durſt not venture upon an engagement, being diſhearten'd at our reſolution, I bent my courſe toward Neapolitanus, who was then in garriſon with a body of horſe at Scythopolis, and committing ravage in the country about Tiberias. By this means I deliver'd Tiberias from any farther vexation from this enemy; and my whole care, in the next place, was how to provide for the ſettling of Galilee.

John enraged at the reputation and ſucceſſes of Joſephus.

Now John the ſon of Levi, being, as I ſaid before, at Giſchala, was gall'd to the very ſoul to ſee all my enterprizes attended with ſucceſs, and to find how much I was reſpected by my people, and fear'd by my enemies; and in the rancour of this envy, projecting with himſelf how he might turn the hearts of my ſubjects againſt me, he ſolicited the Tiberians and the Sepphorites to join in his deſign, flattering himſelf that he might gain over to his ſide the Gabarenes too; theſe being the moſt conſiderable people in galilee, repreſenting to them, how much eaſier their condition would be under his government than they found it in mine; and reckoning upon it all the while, that juſt ſo much advantage, or reputation as I got, he himſelf loſt. The Sepphorites were, in truth, neither for him, nor for me, but for the Romans. The Tiberians would not be prevailed upon to revolt, but promiſed however to maintain an amicable correſpondence with him; only the Gabarenes eſpouſed his intereſt, and came into his meaſures, at the inſtigation of Simon an eminent citizen, and a particular friend and companion of John's; and they were not altogether bareſac'd neither, in the new alliance, for fear of the Galilæans, of whoſe friendſhip and reſpect to me, they had ſeen ſo many inſtances; but they never fail'd, however, of acting their part in any underhand practices againſt me; and it was very narrowly that I eſcaped them upon one particular inſtance. There was a party of Dabarittenians, a parcel of bold young fellows, who upon intelligence that the wife of Ptolemy, the king's intendant, was travelling with a pompous train of horſe and other equipage over the great plain, out of the king's juriſdiction, into a province of the Romans, way-laid, and ſet upon the company, forced the lady to ſhift for herſelf, and made prize of what ſhe had. This happened while I was at Taricheæ, and thither they brought four mules laden with rich cloaths, and other coſtly furniture, a vaſt number of ſilver veſſels, and five hundred pieces of gold. Now theſe being the goods of Ptolemy, a man of my own tribe, (and our law not admitting us ſo much as to rob our enemies,) I told the people who brought them, that they were by all means to be carefully preſerv'd, until they could be ſold to the beſt advantage, and the money thereof to be then laid out upon repairing the walls of Jeruſalem. Theſe ruffians laid it ſo to heart to be diſappointed of a booty, they thought themſelves as good as ſure of, that they currently reported it all about Tiberias, that I had a deſign in my head to betray the province to the Romans. I pretended indeed, they ſaid, to employ the profit of the purchaſe upon rebuilding the walls of Jeruſalem; but upon the whole matter, that my real intention was to reſtore it to the former maſter, and they were not much miſtaken in their opinion; for after the departure of the young men, I call'd two citizens to me of the firſt quality; that is to ſay, Daſſion and Jannæus, the ſon of Levi, both in great favour with the king, and order'd them to make reſtitution of the prize, and upon pain of death not to divulge the ſecret to any one living. The rumour was by this time ſpread all over Galilee, that I had form'd a deſign to deliver the country up to the Romans; and all people were tamper'd with againſt me to take a revenge. The men of Taricheæ among others, gave ſo much credit to the ſtory, that they dealt with ſeveral of my guards, and other ſoldiers, to ſteal away from me when aſleep, and come into the Circus to conſult there with other people concern'd, how to depoſe me, and diſpoſe of the government. When they came thither, they found a huge concourſe of people aſſembled together beforehand, all with one voice calling out for juſtice upon the traitor; but the ringleader of the tumult was Jeſus, the ſon of Saphias, who was at that time the chief magiſtrate of Tiberias, and one of the falſeſt, and moſt ſeditious wretches in nature. He preſented himſelf, with the two tables of Moſes in his hand, and preſſing into the middle of the crowd, addreſs'd them after this manner: "If ſo be, ſays he, that you are grown "careleſs and forgetful of your own good and "ſafety, let it be recommended to you, however, ſtill to preſerve a veneration for theſe

The Gabarenes ſide with John.

The wife of Ptolemy robbed by the Dabarittenians.

They carry the ſpoil to Taricheæ.

Joſeph cauſes the booty to be reſtored.

Joſephus charg'd with treachery.

A plot to depoſe Joſephus

Jeſus the ſon of Saphias, head of the faction.

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* A Decadarch, is the governor of a tenth part of a country.

“ holy laws, which that ſame Joſephus, your
“ governor, has made no ſcruple to betray,
“ and conſequently to render himſelf ſo odious
“ to all good men, that no puniſhment can be
“ too exemplary and ſevere.” Theſe words of his were entertain'd with acclamations and applauſes, whereupon taking ſoldiers along with him, he hurried away immediately to my lodging, with a full determination to take away my life; and there lay I, quite tired, and faſt aſleep, without ſo much as the leaſt thought or apprehenſion of a tumult. But at laſt, all on a ſudden, Simon, one of my body guards, and the only man that ſtaid with me, upon the ſight of a crowd of people preſſing in upon me, rous'd me up, and awaken'd me, ſhewed me the danger I was in, and adviſed me in one word, rather, like a ſoldier and man of honour, bravely to ſuffer death from my own hand, than to die ſhamefully and ignominiouſly under the inſults, and at the will and pleaſure of an inſolent enemy. Upon this advice I committed myſelf to providence, chang'd my cloaths, diſguis'd myſelf in black, and hanging my ſword round my neck, out I went by a by-way, where I was ſure to meet none of my adverſaries, ſtrait to the multitude in the Circus; where when I was come, I fell proſtrate on my face, weeping and wailing in ſo moving a manner, that the generality of the people themſelves could not but pity me. When I found the temper of the people in ſome meaſure wrought upon and ſoften'd, I did what I could to divide them in their opinions of me, and of my condition, before the return of the ſoldiers from my lodgings. I told them I did not poſitively deny but that there was ſomewhat indeed of truth in the matter, wherewith I was charged: I deſir'd only that they would firſt rightly inform themſelves of the fact, and what uſe I intended to make of that booty; and then, if they thought me deſerving of death, let them take my life and welcome. The multitude were for hearing me, and bad me proceed, only the ſoldiers being juſt now return'd, were for cutting me to pieces immediately, without any more ado; but upon the clamour of the common people to the contrary, they were prevail'd upon to reſpite the execution, taking for granted, that after the diſcovery, and confeſſion of the treaſon, and that I did really intend to reſerve that money for the king, they ſhonld have a better excuſe and pretence for going thorough with the work at laſt. Upon this they gave me the hearing, and ſilence being proclaim'd, that which I ſaid was ſhort, and to this effect.

Joſeph. beſet in his houſe with ſoldiers.

Joſeph. ſlips away in a diſguiſe.

He goes to the Circus, and addreſſes himſelf to the people.

The multitude are for hearing him; the ſoldiers for cutting him to pieces.

Joſephus's appeal.

“ MEN and brethren, if it ſhall be your
“ opinion that I have deſerved to die, I free-
“ ly ſubmit, provided I may but give you a
“ true ſtate of the caſe before I ſuffer; I have
“ ever look'd upon this city as a ſanctuary to
“ ſtrangers; and indeed the comforts and con-
“ veniences it affords to mankind, are ſo great
“ and general, and the manners and conver-
“ ſation of the inhabitants ſo taking and agree-
“ able, that multitudes of ſtrangers have been
“ tempted to forſake their native ſoil, and
“ tranſplant themſelves hither, reſolving to
“ take the common fortune of the place, good
“ or bad. And what's my crime now, but
“ only a deſign to devote a ſum of money, out
“ of a zeal to the publick good, toward the
“ repairing of your walls? This is, in ſhort,
“ the whole ground of your diſpleaſure.” The Tarichæans and foreigners, with infinite thanks encouraged me to go on, and fear nothing; but the Galilæans and Tiberians, on the other hand, continued as untractable and outragious, ſo that it came to a direct feud betwixt them; the one ſide aſſailing me with menaces and hard words, and the other engaging for my ſecurity and protection. But upon promiſing the Tiberians to do as much for them too, and ſo likewiſe for other towns, where the ſituation would bear it, they dropped the conteſt, took my word for the performance, and every man withdrew to his own home, one after another; after which unexpected and wonderful deliverance, I return'd with ſome friends, and a matter of twenty ſoldiers, to my own quarters. The ruffians and heads of this ſeditious tumult, apprehending themſelves now in ſome danger to be called to an account for what they had done, gather'd together about ſix hundred of them, and marched directly to the houſe where I lodged, with a reſolution to ſet fire to it. Being inform'd of their coming, and of their purpoſe, I thought it would look cowardly to fly before them; ſo that I rather choſe to ſhut the doors againſt them, and make the beſt of a bad game. Upon this I call'd to them out of my upper chamber window, that if money was what they made a rout about, they had no more to do then but to appoint any body they thought fit to receive it, and never give themſelves any farther trouble or uneaſineſs about the matter. So they ſent over a party to fetch the money; and upon their entring the houſe, finding one particular perſon to be more inſolent and troubleſome than the reſt of his companions, I order'd him to be ſeiz'd, whipt, one hand cut off, and hang'd about his neck, and ſo turn'd out again, to tell his tale to thoſe that employ'd him upon this errand. The whole company was ſo aſtoniſh'd at this treatment, that taking for granted I had a ſtrong guard in my houſe, they all ſcour'd off as hard as they could drive, for fear of being ſerv'd with the ſame ſauce; and by this ſtratagem I brought myſelf off for this bout. After this diſappointment, they had recourſe to another invention (as they would never be without ſome pretext or other to ſtir up the multitude.) They pick'd a quarrel with the two noblemen that apply'd themſelves in their diſtreſs to me for ſanctuary; alledging they were ſpies and poiſoners, in the intereſt of the Romans, and not to be protected in any place where they refus'd to conform to the faſhions of the country. This popular way of hint and inſinuation put the multitude in a ferment again; but upon hearing which way it wrought, I told them plainly that it was not either generous or diſcreet to ſeize and inſult people who caſt themſelves upon us for ſuccour; for we did not know how ſoon their caſe might come to be our own. And then to fancy their coming hither was with an intent to poiſon us, nothing could be more ridiculous; for what ſhould the Romans be at the charge for, of maintaining ſo many legions in arms, and in pay, if they thought they could ſubdue their enemies by ſpells or poiſon? This pacify'd them a little for the preſent; but their choller was up again immediately, inſomuch that away they

The multitude are divided; part for him, part againſt him.

Another deſign upon Joſephus in his lodgings.

Joſephus brings himſelf off by a ſtratagem.

The levity of the common people.

Joſeph. reaſons the matter with them.

they went with a band of deſperate ruffians together to Taricheæ, to beſet the lodgings of theſe ſtrangers, and take away their lives. In the very inſtant of hearing what they were about, I got what men I could together, and ſo poſted away with all poſſible ſpeed to prevent the miſchief; for the ſufferance of ſo barbarous an inhumanity, would have made me odious to mankind. In ſhort, I made a ſhift to get up time enough to ſecure the door, and make good the houſe, till I could run a trench from the backſide into the lake there cloſe by, where I took a boat, and ſo croſs'd over to the borders of the Hippenians, with my two noble gueſts aboard, where I allow'd them the value of their horſes, which in ſuch a hurry they could not bring off with them; and at parting earneſtly beſought them to bear their preſent lot with conſtancy and honour; for I abhorr'd from the bottom of my heart, the very thoughts of doing a thing ſo like treachery, as to reſign up any man to the mercy of an enemy's country, who had caſt himſelf into my arms, in confidence of good faith and protection; but of the two, I rather choſe, how hazardous ſoever, to leave them to providence and the mercy of the Romans one way, than expoſe them to a certain deſtruction by the perfidy of my own people, the other. But after all this, they were preſerv'd at laſt; Agrippa pardon'd them; and this was the end of theſe broils.

The people of Tiberias offer their ſervice to Agrippa.

The Tiberians entertaining ſome thoughts of going over to king Agrippa, offer'd him their ſervice by letter, provided he would furniſh them with troops ſufficient to protect them. Upon the firſt notice of this overture, I went to look after them, and upon my arrival, they put me in mind of my promiſe for the rebuilding of their walls, being inform'd, it ſeems, that I had been as good as my word at Taricheæ already. I told them it ſhould be done, and gave orders for the providing of materials and workmen to ſet about it immediately. After three days ſtay there, I took a journey to Taricheæ about thirty furlongs off; in which time it ſo fell out, that certain Roman troops being upon their march within ſight of Tiberias, the inhabitants taking them to be of Agrippa's party, fell preſently into the higheſt commendations imaginable of the king; and at the ſame time reflected upon me as bitterly and contemptuouſly as was poſſible. Soon after news was brought me by a meſſenger in great haſte, that the people were upon the very point of a revolt, which put me to my wits end what to do; for the ſabbath being now at hand, I had diſmiſs'd the ſoldiers from Taricheæ, for the quieter celebration of the feſtival; beſides that, I ſeldom kept any life-guards about me in that place, in confidence of the known loyalty and good affection of the people; ſo that having but ſeven ſoldiers, and a few friends with me, I was in a great perplexity what courſe to take. It would have been to no purpoſe to recal my troops now in the evening, which I could have no uſe of at all the next day; ſuch a thing being forbid by our laws, though upon ever ſo neceſſary and emergent an occaſion;* and then for the people of Taricheæ, ſtrangers and all, in caſe I could have engaged them to my aſſiſtance, as perhaps I might, by the hope and promiſe of pillage and booty, yet their ſtrength would have been too weak and inſufficient to have done my buſineſs; and there was no room for conſideration or delay, for fear of the enemies prepoſſeſſing themſelves of the city in the interim, and ſhutting me out; ſo that I bethought myſelf of this politic invention; I gave ſtrict orders to ſome of my very particular and truſty friends, to keep a watchful eye upon the gates, and not ſuffer any perſon to paſs out of the town; I likewiſe appointed the heads of the chief families in the city, every man to mount his boat, and put out into the lake, with only one mariner to every boat, and ſo to follow me, while I myſelf, with ſeven ſoldiers, and ſome few of my friends in another boat, ſtood away directly for Tiberias, where the people were by this time informed of their miſtake, and that there were no troops of the king's at hand, as they imagin'd. The inhabitants obſerving the lake, however, cover'd over with veſſels, and ſurmiſing nothing leſs than an army aboard, ready to break in upon the city, betook themſelves in this fright, upon ſecond thoughts, to other meaſures; for laying down their arms, they came out with their wives and children, and with all the ſubmiſſion in the world, welcom'd me at my arrival, wiſhing me ſucceſs in my undertakings, and inviting me into their city, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting all this while that the plot was diſcover'd. Upon drawing near the ſhore, I gave order for all my followers to come to an anchor ſo far from land, that the people might not diſcern this formidable fleet at ſuch a diſtance, to be only an amuſement of empty boats. In the mean time I came up myſelf to the very key, and ſeverely rebuked them for the wickedneſs and folly of their breach of faith. However, at laſt, I ſaid, I was content freely to pardon their miſdemeanor, provided they would promiſe to continue for the future more ſtedfaſt in their duty, and for ſecurity ſend me aboard ten of their firſt quality; which they conſenting to, I directly ſhipp'd them off for Taricheæ, with orders for them to be kept there in cuſtody; and by this trick I got the whole ſenate into my hands, and by degrees a great part of their principal citizens too, one after another. The remainder of the multitude reflecting upon the condition they now were in, laid the blame wholly upon one Clitus, a bold, hot-headed, young fellow among them, as the chief incendiary, and deſir'd me that I would command juſtice to be done upon him. I could not in conſcience puniſh with death a man of my own tribe, and yet lying under an abſolute neceſſity of making an example of him ſome way or other, I commanded one Levi, a ſoldier in my guards, to cut off one of his hands. The fellow was afraid to venture upon it alone, for fear of the people; and I was as much afraid on the other ſide, leaſt the people ſhould take notice of his boggling at the execution; ſo that without any farther ceremony, I called out to Clitus myſelf. "Come, "ſaid I, thou vileſt of miſcreants, I do here "condemn thee to the loſs of both thy hands,

The inhabitants are ready to revolt.

Joſephus's invention to bring the people to their wits again.

Joſephus gets the ſenate and the chief citizens of Tiberias for his ſecurity.

Clitus the principal incendiary. The people call for juſtice upon him.

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* The Jews were ſo religiouſly, not to ſay ſuperſtitiouſly, ſtrict in the obſervance of their ſabbath, that they ſuffer'd Jeruſalem to be taken twice, rather than fight on that day.

“ for thy ingratitude and treachery, and as
“ much as in thee lies, to be thine own executioner,
“ wherefore be quick and diſpatch,
“ or it ſhall be worſe for thee.” The man begg'd hard to be excuſ'd for one of them, and after ſome ſeeming difficulty having obtain'd it, he immediately with a ſword cut off his left hand with his right; and this put an end to the tumult: From hence I return'd to Taricheæ. The Tiberians coming afterwards to know the ſtratagem I had made uſe of, were in great admiration at my putting a ſtop to ſo furious an uproar, without blood-ſhed. Matters being now quiet, I ſent for the Tiberian priſoners to eat with me, Juſtus and his father Piſtus among the reſt. I was ſaying in the freedom of table diſcourſe, that I look'd upon the Romans as the moſt powerful people under the ſun; but yet in regard of the preſent faction I had to do withal, I reckon'd it good diſcretion to keep my thoughts to myſelf, and I told them I thought it would be well if they did ſo too, till times ſhould be better, adviſing them in the mean while to live quiet under my adminiſtration, for they ſhould never find any governor eaſier to them than myſelf; ſo I reminded Juſtus of the Galilæans cutting off the hands of his brother upon a pretence of forgery, before my coming from Jeruſalem; and likewiſe how the Gamalites upon a diſpute they had with the Babylonians after Philip's departure, put his near kinſman Chares to death; whereas I had not treated his brother in law Jeſus, I told him, at that barbarous rate. This was the ſubſtance of what paſs'd at ſupper, and the next morning early, I commanded Juſtus and his companions to be all diſcharg'd.

Joſeph. adjudges Clitus to cut off his left hand with his right.

Joſeph. invites Juſtus and Piſtus, and other priſoners, to eat with him.

Joſephus's diſcourſe at the table.

Juſtus and his companions diſcharg'd.

It was a little before this, that Philip the ſon of Jacimus left Gamala upon this account. News being brought him of the revolt of Varus from Agrippa, and that Modius Equus, his very good friend, was put in his place, he inform'd Modius by letter, how it was with him, and of the preſent ſtate of his affairs, with a packet alſo for the king and queen, who were then at Berytus. Modius was overjoyed to find him in health, and in ſo good a condition, and ſent away the other packet according to the addreſs. So ſoon as the king underſtood by theſe letters, that the ſtory of Philip's putting himſelf at the head of the Jews againſt the Romans, was a falſe report, he ſent for him to court, by a party of horſe; and taking him into his arms upon his arrival with great honour and kindneſs, told the commanders about him, that this was the perſon they heard was gone off from the Romans. Soon after this he ſent him with ſome troops of horſe to the fort of Gamala, with orders to bring away all his family, reſettle the Babylonians in Batanæa, and to take all poſſible care to keep the people quiet. Philip had no ſooner receiv'd his inſtructions, but away he went immediately upon his commiſſion. About this time upſtarted a kind of a quack doctor, whoſe name was Joſeph, with a crew of deſperate young rogues at his heels, and not without ſome conſiderable citizens in the medley, for the better countenancing of the tumult. The buſineſs of this mountebank, was to debauch the people from their allegiance to the king, by encouraging them to take up arms, and with ſword in hand to aſſert their antient rights and liberties. The faction grew quickly to ſuch a head, that they put to death all who durſt oppoſe them, or ſpeak one word in contradiction to their proceedings; amongſt the reſt, they killed Chares, and his kinſman Jeſus, with the ſiſter of Juſtus of Tiberias, of whom we have ſpoken already. They wrote to me after this, to ſend them troops for a garriſon, and workmen to encompaſs the town with a wall, for its better ſecurity; both which I agreed to.

Agrippa ſends for Philip to court,

and gives him honourable commiſſions.

One Joſeph, a mountebank, ſtirs up the people to a rebellion.

The faction in a tumult, and divers killed therein.

At the ſame time the country of the Gaulanites revolted from Agrippa, as far as the village Solyma. I wall'd in Sogannis and Seleucia, two places of very great ſtrength by ſituation; and I fortified ſeveral towns in the Upper Galilee, as Jamnia, Amerytha, and Charabe, all ſituate among the rocky mountains. In Galilee I very ſtrongly fortified the towns alſo of Taricheæ, Tiberias, and Sepphoris, and the villages of the cave of Arbela, Berſobe, Selame, Jotapata, Capharath, Comoſogana, Næpapha, and the mount Itabyr. In theſe places I had my magazines of corn and arms.

The Gaulanites fall off from Agrippa.

Joſeph. walls, and fortifies ſeveral places.

This proſperous courſe of my affairs was ſo diſpleaſing to John, the ſon of Levi, that it increaſed his hatred towards me every day more and more; ſo that he fully determin'd with himſelf to work my deſtruction, let the conſequence be ever ſo fatal. To which end, after the walling in of Giſchala, he diſpatch'd his brother Simon with a hundred men, to Simon the ſon of Gamaliel at Jeruſalem, to try if he could get the council of the city to remove me from my government of Galilee, and to ſubſtitute John in my place. Now this Simon was a citizen of the firſt rank; by ſect, a Phariſee, and conſequently a more than ordinary ſtrict obſerver of the laws of his country; a perſon of extraordinary prudence, than whom no man was better qualified for the rectifying and compoſing any dangerous diſorders in the ſtate, by the wiſdom of his councils; and beſides, that he had been known for a long time to be John's particular friend, and at that juncture, my inveterate enemy. He was, in ſhort, ſo far wrought upon by ſolicitation and intreaty, that he ſuggeſted it to Ananus the high-prieſt, and Jeſus the ſon of Gamala, with others of the party, to cut me off betimes, whilſt they had it in their power, and to prevent me from arriving at the higheſt pitch of glory, to which I was aſpiring; beſides, it would be highly conducive to their intereſt, he ſaid, to have me turn'd out of the command of Galilee, and to ſee it done without delay too, before the deſign could take air; for fear of my preventing the execution of it, by falling in upon them with a powerful army. Ananus the high-prieſt told him on the other hand, that I had ſo many of the chief prieſts and heads of the people that could bear witneſs to the conduct and juſtice of my adminiſtration, that it would be a difficult matter to obtain a vote againſt me; and to paſs a definitive ſentence upon any man, without being able to aſſign his crime, was an unjuſt and wicked action. So Simon deſir'd them to take no notice at all of what had paſs'd, but leave it to him to lay a project for the diſplacing of me ſome other way. Upon this he applied himſelf to the brother of John, and propoſed

the

John deals with Simon to get Joſeph. remov'd from his government.

Simon, an eminent citizen, and by ſect, a Phariſee.

Ananus the high-prieſt, and Jeſus the ſon of Gamala, tamper againſt Joſephus.

Simon gains his point with money and preſents.

The manner of the contrivance and the agents employed.

A plot againſt Joſephus.

the diſtribution of money and preſents among the friends of Ananus, as the moſt likely courſe he could take for the obtaining his point. By this method, in ſhort, Simon compaſſed his end; for Ananus and his companions, upon the receiving of theſe bribes, laid their heads together immediately how they might depoſe me from my government, and with ſo much ſecrecy, as not to make any man beſide privy to the counſel. The way they pitched upon was to employ four agents upon the commiſſion; two of them noble, and the other two plebeians; but all four equally qualify'd for their learning, and ſkill in the laws, ſo there was Jonathan and Ananias, both phariſees, for two of them; Joazar, a man of a ſacerdotal family, and a pharaſee alſo, for a third; and then the fourth was Simon, of the pontifical line too, and the youngeſt of the four. Theſe men had their inſtructions given them to argue the matter at the next meeting of the Galilæans, with the members of the aſſembly, and to expoſtulate why they ſhould honour me with their choice before another. If they ſhould alledge, becauſe I am a native of Jeruſalem; it might be anſwered, ſo were they; and if for my knowledge of the laws, the ſame thing might be ſaid for them too; or if they ſhould ſay they did it out of a reſpect to the prieſthood, they might make anſwer that two of their number had the very ſame pretence. With this leſſon, and forty thouſand pieces of ſilver, taken out of the publick treaſury, Jonathan and his companions went away about their buſineſs.

Joſephus' father ſends him intelligence of it.

Joſephus would have quitted Galilee, but the people would not part with him.

About this time one Jeſus a Galilæan, came to Jeruſalem, with a band of ſix hundred ſoldiers; with him theſe commiſſioners agreed for three months pay advance, to follow Jonathan and his colleagues, and to act in obedience to them, and their orders. To theſe ſoldiers they joined three hundred citizens, whom they furniſhed with money ſufficient to defray the expence of their own journey, and that of all the reſt likewiſe. Thus equipped and provided for a march, the deputies ſet out, and the brother of John, with his company of an hundred men along with them. Their order was this; in caſe I ſhould voluntarily lay down my arms, to take me priſoner, and ſend me alive to Jeruſalem; but if I made any oppoſition, they were to kill me out of hand; and their commiſſion ſhould be a ſufficient warrant for ſo doing. From the ſame hands there were letters diſpatched away to John alſo to be in readineſs to make war upon me. And the Sepphorites, the Gabarenes, and the Tiberians, were likewiſe engaged to fall in with the party. Now Jeſus the ſon of Gamala, one who wiſhed me well, and was privy to the whole contrivance, gave my father intelligence, from time to time, of every thing that paſſed; and from him I received a particular account of the whole matter. It very ſenſibly affected me to conſider the ingratitude and malicious practices of a faction in the city againſt me; and my affliction was as great to find the trouble my father was in for my ſake, and with what earneſtneſs he preſſed me to come over to him, upon a ſuggeſtion that it was only to ſee me once more before he died. In this unhappy ſituation of my affairs, I communicated my intentions to my friends, and told them, that I was determined within the compaſs of three days, to lay down my command, and go back again into my own country. They all fell into tears and lamentations upon the hearing of it; begging and intreating of me, not to leave them upon any terms to the certainty of periſhing when I was gone. But my life being at ſtake on the one hand, againſt their prayers aud importunities on the other, I ſtill perſiſted in my purpoſe. The Galilæans were poſſeſſed with ſuch a terrible apprehenſion of being expoſed to the inſolence and oppreſſion of thieves and out-laws after my departure, that they immediately ſent notice up and down, through the whole province, that I was upon the point of leaving them. This news brought a great multitude of people together, with their wives and children, into the great plain of Aſoch, where I then was, to try if they could prevail with me to ſtay; not ſo much out of an affection to me, perhaps, as for fear of the danger they were in themſelves; for they reckoned all to be ſafe ſo long as I was among them.

A prophetical dream of Joſephus's.

The Galilæans prevail upon Joſephus not to leave them.

It was a wonderful dream I had that very night: as I was in my bed, my head and my heart overwhelm'd with ſorrow, being extremely troubled upon the account of my father's letters, I ſaw, methought, the viſion of a man at my bed ſide, and a voice ſpeaking to me after this manner: "Ceaſe to diſquiet thy heart, good man, and fear nothing; for all theſe calamities will blow over, and only lead to thy greater advantage and ſatisfaction; not only for the preſent, but likewiſe for the time to come; wherefore trouble not yourſelf, but remember that you are to have a war with the Romans." Upon waking out of this dream, I got up with an intent to go out into the plain, and I had no ſooner ſhew'd myſelf, but a world of the Galilæans, men, women, and children, caſt themſelves upon their faces at the very ſight of me, and with tears and ſupplications beſought me not to leave them in this extremity, expoſed to the inſults of their enemies. When they found prayers and importunities would do no good, they preſſed me with adjurations not to forſake them, caſting many a contumelious reproach upon the people of Jeruſalem, who would never let them be quiet. This to me was ſo ſad a hearing, and ſo rueful a ſpectacle, that it made my bowels yearn with compaſſion to conſider the diſtreſs of ſo many thouſands of miſerable creatures, and brought me over, in the end, to a reſolution of running any hazard whatſoever for the ſervice of ſo vaſt a multitude of forlorn harmleſs people: ſo that in the concluſion I was over-perſwaded to ſtay. Upon this, I bad them draw five thouſand men out of their whole number, and furniſh them with arms and victuals for a march, the reſt inſtantly to depart, every man to his own home. So ſoon as this five thouſand was ready, I joined them with three thouſand more that I had of my own, and eighty horſe; and ſo advanced with them to Chabolo, a village upon the borders of Ptolemais, where I took up my ſtation, as if my deſign had been to fall upon Placidus, whom Ceſtius Gallus had ſent into thoſe parts with a troop of horſe and two companies of foot, to ſet fire to the villages of the Galilæans thereabouts. Placidus intrenched himſelf not far from the walls of Ptolemais, while I lay at the ſame time a matter of ſixty furlongs toward Chabolo. We drew out our army ſeveral times on both ſides, as if we were for joining battle immediately; but there paſſed only ſome few skirmiſhes; for the more I preſſed the bringing of it to an engagement, the more the other declined it; not daring to ſhew his head out of the protection of the town.

WHILE matters were in this poſture, Jonathan with his companions came into thoſe parts; the ſame perſons, who as I told you before, were ſent from Jeruſalem by the faction of Simon, and Ananus the high-prieſt; and the plot was now how to compaſs their ends by treachery, which they durſt not attempt by downright force. To this purpoſe they laid their heads together, and ſent me this following letter.

Jonathan and his Deputy-Colleagues from the council at Jeruſalem to Joſephus, greeting:

Jonathan's letter to Joſephus.

“WHEREAS our principals at Jeruſalem are given to underſtand that John of Giſchala hath been engaged in ſeveral perfidious practices againſt your perſon, they have ſent us in their name to give him a ſevere reprimand for ſo doing, and to require him for the future to pay all due reſpect and obedience to your commands. And to the end that we may agree upon ſome better proviſion for the regulation of things hereafter, we make it our requeſt that you will come hither to us with all ſpeed: the village is but ſmall; and therefore we deſire you will not bring any great train of guards along with you, for fear of being ſcanted for room.”

THIS letter was contrived on purpoſe to plunge me, as they thought, into a dangerous and inextricable difficulty: for if I truſted myſelf without a ſtrong guard, they could take me up, and uſe me as they pleaſed: and on the other hand, if I approached them with the formality of military troops, I might be liable to be proſecuted as a rebel. This letter was brought me by a horſeman; a bold young fellow, who had been formerly in the king's ſervice. It was now about the ſecond hour of the night, when being at ſupper with ſome of my friends, and ſeveral Galilæans of the firſt quality, word was brought me at the table by a ſervant, of a certain Jew on horſeback, who deſired to ſpeak with me: I ordered him to be called in; and accordingly he came, and without ſhewing any manner of deference or reſpect to the company, delivered me the letter, which he brought, he ſaid, from the Jeruſalem deputies, requiring me to return a ſpeedy anſwer; for that they had ſtrictly enjoined him to make all imaginable haſte back. The company were all amazed at the confidence of the ſoldier; but however, I invited him to ſit down, and take part of a ſupper with us, which he refuſed; and ſo keeping the letter in my hand, without opening it, I took occaſion to paſs away the time with my company in diſcourſes upon indifferent ſubjects, and going now and then out of the door, as in civility to wait on ſome of my gueſts that were going to bed, I took the opportunity, when I was out of ſight, to open the letter, and glance it over with my eye, ſo as to perceive the contents of it; and then inſtantly folding it up again, I held it ſtill in my hand, as before; without diſcovering that I had read it. The company was now all gone but four intimate friends, and a ſervant to fill the wine. I gave the ſoldier twenty drachmas* to bear his expences, and regale himſelf with, on his way back; for which he was ſo very wonderfully thankful that I found the love of money was his weak ſide, and ſo I reſolved to attack him on that quarter. “Come, ſaid I, if you will drink with us, and do as we do, you ſhall have a drachma for every cup you drink.” The fellow readily accepted the terms, of the more wine the more money, and carouſed ſo immoderately, that he became too drunk to keep the ſecret any longer; ſo he blabbed the whole myſtery of the villainy, without any pumping at all; telling me of his own accord, that there was a ſnare laid for me, and a ſentence of death pronounced againſt me: Upon which diſcovery, I gave him the following anſwer to his letter.

The meſſenger diſcovers the treachery.

Joſephus to Jonathan and his Fellow-Deputies, Greeting:

Joſephus's anſwer to Jonathan.

“I AM very glad to hear that you are in health, and that you are come into Galilee; and the rather becauſe I am preparing myſelf for a journey into my own country, which I have an earneſt deſire to ſee, and have been thinking of a long time; and this will be a fair opportunity for my delivering up the care of the publick adminiſtration into your hands. I ſhould be very willing to come, not only as far as Xallo to wait upon you, but a great deal farther, even without any other motive to invite me to it; but hope you'll be ſo good as to excuſe me at preſent, ſince I am not now at liberty for ſuch a journey, being forced to ſtay at Chabolo to obſerve the motions of Placidus, and keep him from breaking into Galilee; and therefore I think it more adviſeable, upon the receipt of this letter, for you to come hither; and ſo I bid you farewel.

THIS letter I delivered to the ſoldier, and appointed thirty perſons of the beſt quality among the Galilæans to go along with him, giving them orders only to do their reverence to the deputies, without entering into any other diſcourſe. With them I ſent a like number of my own ſoldiers that I could beſt confide in, whom I ſet as ſpies upon each of other, to watch them narrowly if they entertained any private converſation with Jonathan. After the departure of theſe people, the deputies finding that their plot did not take, wrote a ſecond letter to me to the following effect.

The meſſenger diſmiſſed, and thirty perſons of quality along with him. Joſephus makes one of them a ſpy upon the other.

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* The Drachma [Attic.] was very near the ſame as the Roman Denier, which was about eight-pence half-penny farthing in our money, ſeven of them being made out of an ounce Troy weight in the time of Tiberias, as Celſus plainly informs us, B. v. c. 17. “Sciri volo, in uncia pondus denariorum ſeptem eſſe, i. e. I aſſure you, that there is the weight of ſeven deniers in one ounce.” And we read of no higher value either before or after that time, which alſo continued the legal weight in the time of Veſpaſian. See Plin. 33. 9 After this they weighed leſs, eight being made out of the ounce, which reduced them to ſeven-pence half-penny of our money; for whereas their libra before contained but eighty-four, it now contained ninety-ſix of them. In the lower empire they ſcarce weighed half ſo much in pure ſilver.

Jonathan and his Colleagues to Joſephus, greeting.

A peremptory ſummons to Joſephus to appear at Gabara.

“THIS is to require you to appear within three days from the date hereof, before us at Gabara, without any guard of ſoldiers to attend you, there to make good the charge, which you have exhibited againſt John of Giſchala.

AFTER they had wrote this letter, and in an honourable and reſpectful manner diſmiſſed the Galilæans whom I had ſent, they went to Japha, one of the largeſt, ſtrongeſt, and moſt populous villages of Galilee. They were no ſooner entered the place, but the people were all up with open mouth, men, women, and children, crying out to them to be gone again, and to let them alone, while they were well; for Joſeph, they ſaid, was the beſt governor they could have, and no other would they own. This was the voice of the whole multitude, one and all. So that the deputies finding that was not a place for their turn, went away to Sepphoris, the faireſt city of all Galilee, and a people well affected to the Romans. Many of the citizens of the town went indeed to receive them; but without one word ſpeaking of me, either good or bad; and from thence they went to Aſoch, where they met with full as bad entertainment as they had before at Japha. Theſe contempts made them ſo outragious, that they ordered the ſoldiers to quiet them with clubs and cudgels: from thence they went forward to Gabara, where they were joined by John with a body of three thouſand men to ſecond them. Now being forwarned by letter, that they intended to practiſe open hoſtilities againſt me, I drew out three thouſand ſoldiers, and took them along with me to Jotapata, about forty furlongs from the place, to be within diſtance of communicating upon any occaſion with the reſt, whom I left behind me in the camp, under the command of a truſty friend. And from thence I wrote the deputies the following letter.

The people one and all, for Joſephus, and no other governor.

Joſephus to the deputies.

“IF you find it ſo abſolutely neceſſary for me to come to you, there are four hundred cities and villages in Galilee, name any one of the four hundred, and I will meet you there, ſaving only in Gabara and Giſchala; the one of them is the place of John's nativity; and the other of his alliance.

The deputies plot the deſtruction of Joſephus.

THE deputies gave over writing, upon the receipt of this letter, and calling a cabal of their friends, entered into a conſultation, John himſelf being one of the council, how to do my buſineſs ſome other way. John was for ſending circulatory letters to all the towns and villages of Galilee, upon a preſumption of finding out of all of them, ſome one or more diſaffected to my intereſt, and that would be forward enough to do me any ill office, and eaſily brought over, when appealed to, to give judgment againſt me as a publick enemy: now there would need no more toward the gaining of the citizens of Jeruſalem over to the opinion of my being an enemy to the Galilæans, than to ſend them theſe atteſtations well certified, which would undoubtedly have ruined my credit with that people. The reſolution being taken, Sachæus, a deſerter, about the third hour* of the night, brought me a particular account of the whole tranſaction.

Sachæus informs Joſeph. of their plot.

I FOUND I had now no time to ſpare; ſo that I called for Jacob immediately (a brave man, and my true friend,) and ſent him away with two hundred men upon the ſcout, betwixt the roads of Gabra and Galilee, with inſtructions to take up all the paſſengers he could light of, and ſend them to me in cuſtody; eſpecially ſuch as had any letters about them: and at the ſame time I diſpatched Jeremy, (my very particular friend too,) with ſix hundred ſoldiers into the confines of Galilee leading to Jeruſalem to watch the paſſes: to him likewiſe I gave orders to ſeize all couriers, and to ſecure their perſons in chains upon the ſpot, and to bring me their papers. I ſent abroad my mandates alſo through the whole province of Galilee, requiring all perſons to attend me at Gabra the next morning, with their arms and three days proviſions. The ſoldiers I had about me I divided into four bodies, the moſt truſty of which, for ſecurity, I reſerved near my perſon, with a ſtrict order to the officers not ſo much as to admit a ſtrange face into their company. About eleven next day, coming to Gabara, I found the whole plain before the town, covered with armed troops out of Galilee, to my aſſiſtance; beſides a confuſed multitude of country people. Juſt as I was going to addreſs them, my mouth was ſtopped with ſuch acclamations of joy, that there was nothing to be heard but ſhouts, at the ſight of their benefactor and preſerver, as they were pleaſed to call me: And this was the unanimous voice of the whole company. I gave them my acknowledgments for this inſtance of their good-will and reſpect, but deſired them at the ſame time to make an innocent and temperate uſe of their power, without wronging any creature, either in their perſons, or their eſtates. They had proviſion enough, I told them, for the preſent occaſion; and there was nothing my heart was ſo much ſet upon, as to put an end to the tumult without blood.

Joſeph. ſummons the people to attend him at Gabra with their arms.

Joſephus way lays the roads to intercept meſſengers.

THE people I had employ'd to way-lay the roads, had the good fortune, the very firſt day they went out, to intercept Jonathan's meſſengers in their way toward Jeruſalem; together with their packets. They ſecured the men, according to my order, and brought me the letters; which I found upon the peruſal to be ſtuffed with opprobrious and ſcurrilous invectives againſt myſelf. I took no notice at all of the matter, but kept on march directly againſt them, as if nothing had been done. So ſoon as ever they underſtood I was marching that way, they retired every man of them, John and all, into the houſe of Jeſus; a large and a ſtrong place and built much after the manner of a citadel. They kept a party of ſoldiers privately in the houſe, all the gates ſhut but one, and the guards ordered, that upon my coming thither, (as they expected a viſit from me,) to take me in alone, and not to ſuffer any one man of my train to follow me: by which means they made no doubt of getting me abſolutely into their power with eaſe; but their expectations were fruſtrated; for having ſome jealouſy and miſtruſt of their deſigns, I went immediately upon my arrival, to a lodging over-againſt the houſe, as if to refreſh myſelf, pretending to be weary and ſleepy with the fatigues of the march. The deputies taking it for granted that I was faſt aſleep, went out

The men ſecured, and the letters carried to Joſephus.

A deſgin againſt Joſeph. happily diſappointed.

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* (viz.) About our nine o' clock at night.

The people ſtand up for their governor. Joſeph. goes out to them.

He addreſſes himſelf to the deputies.

Joſephus appeals from the deputies to the people,

who with one voice declare him innocent.

Joſephus reads Jonathan's two ſcandalous letters.

The people enraged at Jonathan.

Joſephus after this pardons him and his accomplices.

into the plain, to try if they could alienate the affections of the multitude, and poſſeſs them with a hatred and abhorrence both of me and my adminiſtration. But their endeavours met with ſucceſs quite different to what they expected; for the Galilæans had no ſooner fixed their eyes upon them, but they fell to extolling me and my conduct up to the ſkies, and at the ſame time to reviling them with clamours and reproaches for diſturbing their publick peace and tranquillity, without any offence given or wrong done on their ſide, to provoke ſuch uſage; bidding them to be gone about their buſineſs, and meddle with their own affairs; for as for their governor, a very good one, they ſaid, they had already, and him and him only were they reſolved to accept. Being informed how matters went, I thought this a proper juncture to go down among them to hear what Jonathan and his companions had to ſay. The multitude had no ſooner ſet eye on me, but they came thronging about me with all the demonſtrations of Joy, ſatisfaction, and acknowledgments in their looks, words, and actions imaginable; enlarging upon the obligations I had laid upon them during my government, to ſuch a degree, that Jonathan and his confederates could not think themſelves ſafe under ſo violent a prejudice. They would gladly have gone off, I perceived; but upon my entreaty they ſtay'd, (that is to ſay, in truth, there was no getting off;) ſo there they ſtood in an amazement, without ſenſe or reaſon, and almoſt frighted out of their wits. Upon this I quieted the noiſe, ſet guards of the moſt truſty men I had upon all the avenues, for fear of any incurſion or ſurprize from John and his party; and ſo with my people about me in arms, I addreſſed myſelf to the deputies. I reminded them in the firſt place of a letter they had ſent me, pretending a commiſſion from Jeruſalem to hear and determine upon certain matters in controverſy betwixt John and myſelf, producing the letter at the ſame time in proof of my aſſertion. Now put the caſe, ſaid I to Jonathan, that you and your companions had any authority to call me to an account for the management of my government, upon John's information or complaint, would not you yourſelves pronounce me innocent, upon the clear teſtimony of two or three witneſſes of unqueſtionable probity, in my juſtification? but what will you ſay now if I appeal, not only to two or three competent vouchers, but to every ſoul that is here preſent, whether my behaviour in the exerciſe of my function has not been ſuch as became a perſon of honour and juſtice? "As for you, good people of Galilee, ſpeak the truth and the whole truth, I adjure you, as if you were ſworn evidences in the cauſe, and theſe men the judges. Pray tell them and ſpare not, the worſt you know of me." The words were ſcarce out of my mouth; but the whole multitude with one voice and conſent made a frank and open declaration of the comforts and benefits they had enjoyed under my care and protection, as their benefactor and defender; and that they were ſo well ſatisfied with me for what was paſt, that they wiſhed no more than the continuance of the ſame goodneſs for the time to come: affirming alſo with oaths, that I had been as tender of either offering any violence to, or ſuffering any to be committed upon the perſons of their wives and daughters, as I had been of invading the common freedom and property of the ſubject. After this, I pulled out and read, in the hearing of a great many Galilæans, the two intercepted letters of Jonathan, that were brought me by my ſcouts. They were ſtuffed with ſcandalous and impudent calumnies, traducing me to the higheſt degree, and giving me the character of a tyrant rather than a governor, with a great deal of ſhameleſs ribaldry over and above. I was not willing to let my enemies know that I had their meſſengers in cuſtody, for fear it ſhould diſcourage them from ſending for the time to come; ſo I pretended they were brought to me voluntarily by the meſſengers themſelves. The inſolence and villainy of theſe two letters put the people into ſuch a violent outrage againſt Jonathan and his companions, that they were going to tear them to pieces; and had undoubtedly done execution upon them, if I had not in the very height of their rage prevented it; ſo I gave the deputies their pardon, and diſmiſſed them, upon condition they would repent and mend, and ſpeak no otherwiſe of me and my government when they came home, than as they found it, which they promiſed to do. Hereupon I gave them their diſcharge, and diſmiſſed them; but taking it for granted before-hand, that they would never do as they ſaid. The people were ſtill ſo implacably bent upon the ruin of theſe men, that all the ſkill and intereſt I had was little enough to prevent it. How did they beg of me, only to be turned looſe upon them! but when a ſedition is once begun, no body knows where it will ſtop, nor what miſchief it may do to the commonwealth; ſo that I did what I could to divert them: but in the rage of this impatience, they took up a joint reſolution, one and all, to fall upon Jonathan in his quarters.

Joſephus ſends commiſſioners to Jeruſalem with a complaint againſt the rioters.

WHEN I ſaw there was no reſtraining them I took horſe immediately, and bad them follow me to Sogane, a village of Arabia, at about forty furlongs diſtance; and by this artifice I took care to avoid the ſcandal and imputation of having made myſelf the author of a civil war. When we were advanced within a little of the place, I commanded my troops to make an halt; and after a few words of neceſſary precaution to them, not to be intemperate and vindictive, I made choice of an hundred of the beſt men for quality and underſtanding that I could pick out of the whole number, and bad them prepare themſelves for a journey to Jeruſalem, with a complaint againſt the ſeditious heads and ring-leaders of theſe broils. I gave them moreover in charge, that if they found the people well inclined and eaſy to me, they ſhould endeavour to procure me a new commiſſion for my continuance in the command of Galilee, and to get John recalled. With theſe orders I diſpatched them away on the third day after this meeting, allowing them five hundred ſoldiers for their convoy. I wrote alſo to my friends at Samaria to uſe their endeavours to procure my commiſſioners a ſafe and free paſſage through their country; for the city was at that time under the power of the Romans; and this was the ſhorteſt cut to make a three days journey of it to Jeruſalem. I conducted them myſelf to the frontiers of Galilee, and ſet ſuch diligent watches upon the way, that there was ſcarce any body knew of this expedition: after which I made a ſhort ſtay at Japha.

Jonathan ſends John to Giſchala, and goes himſelf to Tiberias.

Jonathan and his companions finding themſelves wholly diſappointed, ſent back John to Giſchala, and they themſelves went in the mean time to Tiberias, in hopes of making themſelves maſters of that place; for Jeſus being head magiſtrate there, had undertaken by letters to bring the people over to eſpouſe their intereſt. In confidence of having this made good to them, they undertook the journey; but Silas, my lieutenant there, ſent me a full account of all their proceedings by a meſſenger, and preſs'd me by all means to return with what ſpeed I could. I follow'd his counſel, and by ſo doing, fell into a ſtrait that had like to have coſt me my life.

Jonathan makes large profeſſions to Joſephus, but with a deſign to betray him.

Joſeph goes to Taricheæ, but keeps his ſcouts and ſpies abroad for intelligence.

A meeting in the oratory to ſupplant Joſephus.

Jonathan and his companions having made a dangerous faction againſt me in Tiberias, were not a little ſtartled upon my coming thither, but gave me, however, the compliment of a viſit immediately, wiſhing me joy over and over of the reputation I had gotten in the world by the juſt conduct of my adminiſtration in Galilee; and not without aſſuming to themſelves ſome ſhare in the honour of it, both as their fellow-citizen, and in ſome ſort their diſciple; profeſſing all along that they entertained a much greater kindneſs for me than for John, adviſing me without any more ado, to go back again, and depend upon them for the delivering up of John into my hands very ſpeedily; and to convince me of the reality of their intentions, they bound themſelves with the moſt ſolemn and ſacred oaths and proteſtations for the performance of all this; ſo that I muſt have been the greateſt villain in the world not to have believed them. After which, they deſir'd me by all means to withdraw to ſome other place, ſuggeſting for the better countenance of the matter, that the morrow being the ſabbath, they ſhould be very ſorry to occaſion any diſturbance among the people on that day. Upon this pretence I went my way to Taricheæ, not ſuſpecting any thing; but yet for better ſecurity ſake, I planted my ſpies and informers up and down in the town, to obſerve and hearken out what was ſaid and done concerning me; and I had too ſo diſpos'd my agents all along the road from Taricheæ to Tiberias, as to be able to hand from one to another, with the greateſt expedition, the intelligence ſent me. On the day following, the people met together in the oratory, a place of publick worſhip, and large enough to hold a vaſt number of perſons; and thither came Jonathan among the reſt. "It "was a thouſand pities, he ſaid, that this ci-"ty had not better governors;" and there he ſtopp'd; for he durſt not encourage them to a downright rebellion at once; but Jeſus, the chief magiſtrate, urg'd the point a little cloſer home, and told them without farther ceremony, that it was infinitely better for them to put themſelves under the obedience of four rulers than one, eſpecially if they were men of honourable extraction and known prudence, as thoſe perſons were, pointing to Jonathan and his companions that ſtood by. Juſtus concurr'd in the ſame opinion too with Jeſus, and brought over a great many more to be of the ſame mind; but the common people ſhew'd a great diſlike and diſapprobation of their notions; ſo that without all doubt, their diſſent would have come to a deſperate tumult, if the hour of the day had not parted them; for it was now twelve at noon, which on ſabbath days is the hour for all our people to go to dinner; ſo the deputies adjourn'd the debate till the day following, without coming to any preſent iſſue. Upon the firſt notice of this proceeding, which was as early as hands could bring it, I immediately reſolv'd to ſet out the next morning by break of day for Tiberias. As ſoon as I came there, I found all the people aſſembled together in the foreſaid oratory, without ſo much as underſtanding the true reaſon or intent of their meeting. The deputies did ſo little expect to ſee me there at that time, that the ſurprize put them to a ſtand what to do next, till at laſt it came into their heads to raiſe a ſham ſtory of a body of Roman horſe, that were ſeen near Homonæa, about thirty furlongs from the city. This rumour was ſo induſtriouſly improv'd, that Jonathan and his adherents, who were the inventors of it themſelves, preſently fell to bawling and clamouring what an intolerable ſcandal it was to have their country burnt and deſtroyed under their noſes, and they to ſtand ſtill all the while looking on. Now the true intent of this ſtratagem was to draw me out of the town to engage the enemy, and in the mean time get poſſeſſion of it themſelves, by turning the hearts of the citizens againſt me. I perceived well enough what it was they aim'd at, and yet for fear of appearing leſs ſolicitous for the good of the Tiberians than I ought to be, in caſe I ſhould have declin'd the undertaking, I found myſelf under ſome kind of neceſſity to comply with the very deſign of my enemies; ſo that I poſted away immediately to look after theſe troops according to the intelligence. But diſcovering upon the place, that there was no ſuch body to be ſeen or heard of, I made all the haſte back again that was poſſible; and there did I find the ſenate and the people aſſembled in council, and the deputies virulently inveighing againſt me, as a man that minded my pleaſure more than buſineſs, and one who took no care at all for the defence of the publick. Upon this occaſion they produced four letters, writ to them as they pretended, from four of the moſt remote parts of Galilee, ſetting forth the danger they were in, and the neceſſity of a preſent and ſpeedy ſuccour; for that the Romans with a ſtrong body of horſe and foot, had form'd a deſign to enter and lay waſte their country in three days time at the fartheſt. The credulous Tiberians ſwallow'd the whole ſtory for current, and broke out unanimouſly into exclamations, that it was high time now to look about them, and to ſend a ſeaſonable relief to their countrymen. Upon this outcry (underſtanding the myſtery of the cheat) I told them that I was ready to make one which way ſoever the neceſſity of the war ſhould call me; but in regard, ſaid I, that your advice comes from four ſeveral places, and makes mention of four ſeveral incurſions, I am of opinion your army ſhould be divided into ſo many bodies; and the four deputies, to command every man his party; for it is the duty of good patriots and valiant men, to ſerve their country with their ſwords, and in their perſons, as well as with their conduct and counſel; and it is not for me to undertake upon

The debate deferr'd till the next morning.

Joſephus upon notice of this, ſets out next morning for Tiberias, by break of day.

The people in the oratory again, and the deputies ſurpriz'd at the ſight of Joſephus.

A falſe report given out, of a body of Roman horſe advancing toward the city.

The alarm of this rumour improv'd into an uproar.

Joſephus marches out to look after them, and no ſuch troops to be heard of.

Joſephus comes back immediately, and finds the deputies in an invective againſt himſelf.

Four counterfeit letters of news produced from four ſeveral places, and of as many incurſions.

Joſephus offers his ſervice, and propoſes a diviſion of the army into four bodies, and every deputy to command one.

on this diſtribution, the command of any more than one part of the army. The people were all abundantly ſatisfied with the reaſon of what I ſaid, and order'd the matter ſo, that the deputies were obliged to take upon them the office of command in the expedition, but were enraged at the ſame time beyond meaſure to find all their underhand perfidious practices by me defeated and countermin'd. One of theſe four deputies, whoſe name was Ananias, a man of a perfidious and miſchievous temper, propounded the proclaiming of a publick faſt for the next day, with a command, that we ſhould all meet at the ſame hour, and at the ſame place, without arms, to humble ourſelves before the Almighty, to acknowledge our own weakneſs, and implore his aſſiſtance, without whoſe aid the ſtrength of man, and the utmoſt efforts of human force were impotent and ineffectual. Now the real deſign and main drift of this propoſal, was under this pretext of piety, to diſarm me and my ſoldiers; and I was fain to comply again with this propoſal, that I might not ſeem to diſregard or ſlight ſo religious a motion.

The hypocriſy of Ananias.

A plot to be executed next morning.

Joſephus provides to encounter it.

Joſephus and his friends go to the oratory.

Odious and captious queſtions put to Joſephus.

Jeſus clears the place of all but ſenators.

Joſephus ſet upon, and reſcued.

Joſephus meets John at the head of his troops; avoids him, and makes off to Taricheæ.

IMMEDIATELY upon the breaking up of the aſſembly, Jonathan and his colleagues wrote in all haſte to John, to be ſure to be early with them next morning, with all the force he could make; for if they could but get me into their hands once, the buſineſs was done. The letter came ſafe, and John made no difficulty at all of complying with the orders. On the day following, I call'd out two of the truſtieſt and ſtouteſt fellows I had in the guards; accoutred myſelf with a corſlet and a good ſword, as ſecretly as I could, and bad the ſoldiers take each of them a ſhort ſword, privately too, and follow me. This I did that we might be in a condition to defend ourſelves, in caſe of an aſſault; and ſo to the oratory we went together, where I myſelf and my friends were admitted; but Jeſus having a guard at the door, would not ſuffer ſo much as any one of the reſt of my people to enter with me. Juſt as we were upon the point of beginning our devotions, after our manner of worſhip, Jeſus ſtood up, and aſk'd me what was become of the rich furniture, and the maſs of ſilver, that was taken away upon the firing of the royal palace? where it was to be found? and who had it in keeping? Now theſe were only words to prolong time, till John came up with his army: I anſwer'd him, that it was all depoſited in the hands of Capella, and ten of the principal citizens of Tiberias; ſo that it was but aſking them whether I ſpoke truth or not; whereupon Capella and the reſt acknowledged the having of it all in their cuſtody. They put it to me then, what I had done with the twenty pieces of gold that I receiv'd for the like value in ſilver bullion, that I diſpos'd of. I told them that I had given them to my envoys, whom I had ſent to Jeruſalem, to defray the expence of their journey. Jonathan and his colleagues replied, that it was very ill done, to pay my particular agents out of the publick treaſure. The common people perceiving them wholly actuated by malice and a ſpirit of contradiction, were tranſported to ſuch a degree of impatience and fury, that it fell little ſhort of a violent ſedition; and finding how it wrought, I could not do better, I thought, than help it forward. And ſo I went on, telling him, that if in truth it was ill done, as he was pleaſed to ſay it was, to gratify my meſſengers out of the publick ſtock, I bad him never give himſelf or me any farther trouble or uneaſineſs on that ſcore, for I myſelf would take care to ſee thoſe twenty pieces of gold repaid. The fairer matters appear'd on my ſide, the more outragious was the multitude upon it, when they found the whole ſtory from end to end, to have nothing more in it than ſpite and calumny. This fell out ſo contrary to expectation, that Jeſus commanded the place to be clear'd of all but the ſenators; for the buſineſs they were about was not to be done, he ſaid, in ſuch a hurry and confuſion; the people crying out on the other ſide, that they were reſolv'd, whatever came of it, not to leave Joſeph alone with them. While they were in the heat of this clamour, in came a meſſenger, and whiſper'd Jonathan in the ear, that John would be with him immediately with his party; ſo that Jonathan, upon this encouragement, breaking out into a moſt providential impatience, (for I had certainly been loſt elſe.) "Good men of Tiberias, ſays he, let all debates concerning the buſineſs of the gold drop; for I would not have you imagine, that I adjudge Joſeph worthy of death on that account, but for oppreſſing and impoſing upon the common people of Galilee, in the tyranical affectation and exerciſe of an arbitrary power." At that word, certain ruffians that were of the plot ſet upon me, and had without doubt deſtroyed me, if my friends there upon the place had not immediately drawn their ſwords, and kept them off, by threatening to cut them to pieces if they attempted any manner of violence. The common people at the ſame time alſo offering to ſtone Jonathan; ſo that betwixt them both, I was reſcued for that bout out of the hands of my enemies. Upon my withdrawing to make my eſcape, whom ſhould I meet upon the way, but John with his troops, upon their march to the aſſiſtance of Jonathan. The ſurprize ſtartled me, but I made a ſhift, however, to decline them, by taking a by-way, and ſo got to the lake, where taking boat, I preſently arriv'd at Taricheæ. A wonderful deliverance, and beyond all expectation.

The people enrag'd againſt John, Jonathan, and their companions.

THE firſt thing I did after my arrival, was to call a council of the chief men of the province, and give them a narrative of the barbarous treatment I had receiv'd from Jonathan and the Tiberians, and how narrowly I had eſcaped being aſſaſſinated by them, contrary to common faith, humanity, and Juſtice. This put the whole multitude of the Galilæans into ſuch a fury, that nothing would ſerve them, but immediately to declare war againſt John, Jonathan, and their companions, and utterly to confound them; which they themſelves, they ſaid, would undertake, if they might but have leave from me to enter upon the work. I did what I could by fair means, towards the compoſing of this impetuous humour; adviſing them for the preſent, rather to reſpite the matter a-while, till we might ſee what our deputies had done at Jeruſalem; for there was no reſolution to be taken without their approbation. With theſe words they were pacified, and John, after another baffle, return'd back again to Giſchala.

The deputies bring word from Jeruſalem that great offence is taken at the inſolences of Ananus and Simon.

SOME few days after this, our deputies brought us an account from Jeruſalem, that the government there was mightily offended with Ananus, and Simon the ſon of Gamaliel, for preſuming, without any publick authority, to ſend their agents to remove me from my government of Galilee; and that the common people were ſo incenſed at this proceeding, that they had like to have ſet fire to their houſes.

Joſeph. confirmed in his government.

They brought letters alſo, by which the head men of Jeruſalem, with the authority and conſent of the people, confirmed me in my government;

John and his aſſociates ordered to depart.

and commanded John and his aſſociates inſtantly upon the notice of that order, to depart the place. Upon the receipt of theſe letters, I went to Arbela, where I had appointed an aſſembly of the Galilæans;

The deputies make the like report to the aſſembly at Arbela.

at which meeting my deputies made a report of what paſſed at Jeruſalem; how heinouſly the people reſented the inſolences of Jonathan; and thereupon ſent me a commiſſion ratified for the government of that province, with a command to Jonathan and his people immediately to reſign their pretences, and depart the place.

Joſeph. ſends the order to the deputies.

This order was ſent them accordingly, with an expreſs charge to the bearer, to obſerve their countenances upon the delivery of it. The ſurprize of this letter put them to ſuch a plunge, that they preſently called a cabinet to adviſe what was to be done, John himſelf and the chief men of Tiberias and Gabara being of the council.

Who immediately call a cabinet.

The Tiberians adviſed them to continue the power ſtill in their own hands, at all adventures, and not to abandon a people who had reſigned themſelves up to their protection: eſpecially againſt an enemy that threaten'd them with an invaſion, as they falſely and maliciouſly pretended I had done. John was of the ſame opinion, with this addition, that it would be proper to ſend two of their deputies to Jeruſalem, with a charge of male-adminiſtration againſt me; which, betwixt the credit of the accuſers, and the variable humour of the men they had to do withal, could not fail, he ſaid, of making an impreſſion upon the common people, and working the effect they deſired. The thing, in ſhort, was agreed upon;

Jonathan and Ananias ſent commiſſioners to Jeruſalem with a complaint againſt Joſeph.

and ſo they ſent Jonathan and Ananias ſoon after to Jeruſalem, upon the commiſſion, with a guard of a hundred ſoldiers for their ſafe paſſage; the other two ſtaying behind at Tiberias. The Tiberians fell to work immediately upon repairing their walls, armed all the men they had in the town, and ſent to John, who was then at Giſchala, for a conſiderable body of troops, to be in a readineſs, if there ſhould be any occaſion, to aſſiſt them againſt me.

Joſeph's out-guards intercept Jonathan upon the way.

JONATHAN and his people being now upon their march, and advanced as far as Dabaritta, (a village ſituate on a large plain upon the utmoſt borders of Galilee,) fell about midnight into a party of my out-guards, who took away their arms, and kept them priſoners upon the place, according to my order. Levi, who commanded the party, gave me information of the encounter, which for about two days I made no words of; but ſent meſſengers to Tiberias, to adviſe the people to lay down their arms,

The Tiberians treat Joſephus with foul language.

who ſent me only ribbaldry and foul language back for anſwer, in confidence that Jonathan was by this time got to Jeruſalem. This unhandſome uſage did not at all diſcourage me from making any farther attempt upon them by art and ſtratagem; for I would not for the world have made myſelf the ring-leader of a civil war. It came into my head to try if I could inveigle them out of the town; and ſo I took to the number of about ten thouſand choice men, and divided them into three bodies; part of them I planted privately in Dora; a thouſand of them in another village upon the mountains; and ſome about four furlongs from Tiberias, with orders to be ready upon the firſt ſignal to make a ſally. Upon this, I ſhewed myſelf out of the village within ſight of the Tiberians, who preſently made toward me with all the ſcoffs and reproaches imaginable: nay, to ſuch an extravagant pitch did their inſolence and vanity carry them, that they had provided a mock-funeral for me, and with a phantaſtical pomp of ſolemnity, expoſed my body in the field, with my mourners about me, by way of deriſion:

Joſephus ridiculed with a mock-funeral.

but it was my buſineſs to ſee and ſay nothing, and to leave them to the fate of their own folly. I had a great deſire all this while to get Simon and Joazar into my hands; and the propereſt method I could think of, for the gaining my point, was to try if I could decoy them and their friends out of town, with what troops they themſelves thought fit for their own ſecurity, under the pretence of an expedient I had thought of for the adjuſting of all differences, by ſharing the adminiſtration among us. Joazar, who was crafty and ſuſpicious, kept himſelf at a diſtance for fear of a trick;

Joſephus gets Simon out of town by a wile.

but Simon being weak and covetous, ſwallowed the bait, and came over to me at firſt word, with his friends and his guards about him. I receiv'd him with all becoming reſpect and acknowledgment for the honour he had done me; and upon walking and diſcourſing together a pretty while, I contrived to draw him off a little farther from his company, as if it had been only to confer with him about ſomething that required a little more privacy; when all on a ſudden I caught him up by the middle, and ſent him away by ſafe hands to the next village.

Joſeph. takes up Simon and carries him off.

I gave the ſignal at the ſame time for my men to come out to me, and ſo marched away with them directly for Tiberias. We had a very ſharp encounter by the way, and the enemy maintained the fight with ſo much reſolution, that they obliged my men at firſt to give ground; till animated by my encouragment they renewed the fight, aſſailed the Tiberians with freſh ardour, and at laſt, though with much difficulty and hazard, forced them within the walls of the town.

Joſeph. beats the Tiberians back into the walls, after a ſharp encounter.

I had now ſent another party by the way of the lake, with orders to ſet the firſt houſe on fire they could come at, which being done juſt in the nick of time, the Tiberians giving it for granted that the city was taken by force, threw down their arms, and with their wives and children caſt themſelves at my feet for mercy, as a conquer'd people.

Tiberias taken by ſtratagem.

Upon this ſubmiſſion, I put a ſtop to the fury of the ſoldiers, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and it being toward evening, I withdrew to refreſh myſelf, and ſent for Simon to ſup with me; with this comfortable aſſurance, that I would take care to ſend him ſafe back again to Jeruſalem with all neceſſaries and conveniencies for his journey.

Joſeph. treats Simon with great humanity and honour.

Joſephus enters Tiberias, enquires into the revolt, and ſends the head of it priſoners to Jotapata.

ON the day following I marched into Tiberias with ten thouſand men, called the chief of the town together into the publick place, examined the buſineſs of the revolt, and commanded them to produce the ring-leaders of it, Jonathan only, and his companions ſet at liberty.

whom I immediately ordered into cuſtody, and ſent them all priſoners to Jotapata, ſaving only Jonathan and Ananias, whom I ſet at liberty, and ordered to be conducted to Jeruſalem, together with Simon and Joazar their aſſociates, under a convoy of five hundred ſoldiers, and a competent allowance for the expence of the journey. The people of Tiberias came to me now a ſecond time to beg my pardon, with the moſt ſolemn aſſurances that they would make me amends by their future fidelity and ſervices, for what they had hitherto done amiſs; intreating me withal, that the pillage, which the ſoldiers had taken, might be reſtored to the right owners. Hereupon I gave order for the whole booty to be forthwith brought in, and laid before me. The ſoldiers, I perceived, were not ſo forward in it as I could have wiſhed; inſomuch, that obſerving one of them in a finer dreſs than uſual, I put it to him how he came by that habit? The man acknowledged it to be part of the plunder, and ſo I cauſed him to be ſeverely whipt for detaining it, with the menace of a greater ſeverity upon any man who ſhould afterward dare to withhold any part of what he had taken. Upon this the whole booty was brought in, and every man claiming his own, had it reſtored to him again.

The pillage of the town reſtored to the right owners.

Joſeph taxes Juſtus, and ſome other writers with partiality.

I MUST not paſs over this ſubject and occaſion without taking notice of Juſtus and ſome other writers, who have undertaken to give the world an hiſtory of that war, and have made no ſcruple, out of a partial affection to ſome, and prejudice to others, to depart from the truth, and groſly to miſrepreſent perſons and things, thereby tranſmitting to poſterity notorious falſities, wherein the quality of their crime equals, not to ſay exceeds, theirs who are guilty of forging writings, and deeds of land, and differs only in this, that it can be committed with impunity, and within the ſubterfuge of the law.

Reflections upon Juſtus.

NOW Juſtus taking upon him to deliver an hiſtorical account of that war, hath launch'd out into a great many extravagant falſities, not only to diſhonour me, but he has not ſpared his own country neither, and yet he values himſelf upon thoſe inventions, as the ornaments of his ſtory. So that I am now obliged in my own defence, to lay him open, by a diſcovery of certain privacies to the world, which I had hitherto forbore making mention of. And let it not be thought a wonder, after all, that I have deferred it ſo long; for though I look upon it to be the peculiar province and indiſpenſible duty of an hiſtorian to tell nothing but the truth, yet there may be ſome bitter truths, which a grave and a modeſt author will make ſome difficulty to relate, even in the caſe of the worſt of men; not for their ſakes, but for the dignity of his profeſſion and office: but to come now to my point. “Say, Juſtus, you who are the greateſt pretender of all men living, to the good faith of a candid author; how was it poſſible for me and the Galilæans to be the cauſe of the revolt of your countrymen from their prince, and from the Roman empire, when you yourſelf, Juſtus, and your Tiberians, had already made war upon the Decapolitans in Syria, and burnt their villages? By the token that one of your own ſervants fell in the action; and all this before ever I received my commiſſion from Jeruſalem for the government of Galilee? nor do I deliver this barely upon my own credit, but refer the reader for his better ſatisfaction, to the memorials and records of the emperor Veſpaſian; wherein it will appear, that while the emperor was at Ptolemais, the people of Decapolis were ſtill preſſing him with reſtleſs importunities to do them Juſtice upon you, as the principal promoter of all their troubles; which he had undoubtedly done, if king Agrippa, to whom the care of the execution was committed, had not given you your life upon the mediation of his ſiſter Berenice; and this pardon did not yet acquit you, but that you were ſtill kept in priſon a long time after. Beſide, that the whole courſe of your life was all of a piece, as may be ſeen in your following practices; for I ſhall make it evident to demonſtration, that it was at your inſtigation, and by your perſuaſion, that your people broke out into a rebellion againſt the Romans. I muſt now give the reader to underſtand, that neither you yourſelf, nor the reſt of the Tiberians were ever faithful, either to Agrippa, or to the emperor.

“THE two faireſt cities in all Galilee, are Sepphoris and Tiberias; the latter the place of your nativity, Juſtus; the former ſeated in the middle of the province, with ſeveral villages depending upon it; and the people ſo true to their maſters, that they did not only refuſe me entrance into the place, but by a publick edict prohibited all their citizens from bearing arms for the Jews. And for their better ſecurity, they trick'd me into a promiſe to wall in their town for them; which I had no ſooner done, but they turn'd me off with contempt for my pains; ſubmitting alſo at the ſame time without any difficulty, to a Roman garriſon under Ceſtius Gallus, who was then governor of Syria; and this too at a time when my power was formidable, and I had the whole neighbourhood in awe. Nay, ſo cautious were they of giving the Romans the leaſt colour for a ſuſpicion of their breaking faith with them, that when the temple of Jeruſalem was beſieg'd, and the common cauſe and intereſt of our nation at ſtake upon that action, they would not ſo much as contribute in any ſort to their relief. But for your country, Juſtus, conſidering the ſituation of it, as it ſtands upon the border of the lake of Genezareth, about thirty furlongs from Hippos, ſixty from Gadara, and a hundred and twenty from Scythopolis; places under the king's juriſdiction, and none of the Jews garriſons thereabouts, (over and above that you wanted neither men nor arms,) you might, one would have thought, under all theſe advantages, if you had had a mind to it, have continued loyal, and diſcharged your duty to the Romans. But even admitting the matter to be as you ſay, and that in reality I was at that time in ſome meaſure the cauſe of the war, who was to blame afterward, I beſeech you? for you know very well that the Romans had got me into their power before the ſiege was laid to Jeruſalem; that Jotapata, and divers other caſtles, were taken by aſſault, and great numbers of the Galilæans deſtroyed in ſeveral engagements. Now if it be true, as “you ſuggeſt, that the war was undertaken altogether againſt your will, and that you were compelled to it by force, how came it to paſs that you did not lay down your arms, and make your ſubmiſſion to your prince and the Romans, when that pretended neceſſity was over? for you were now out of danger of any hurt that I could do you. But you were ſtill obſtinately reſolv'd to ſtand it out, till Veſpaſian was advanced with his whole army up to your very walls; and it was then high time for you to call for quarter, and lay down your arms for fear of worſe conſequences; and that ſubmiſſion would not have ſerved your turn neither, or ſaved your city from being plundered and levelled with the ground, had not the king made interceſſion to Veſpaſian, on your behalf, and by his intereſt obtain'd the emperor's pardon for your madneſs and folly; ſo that your enmity to the Romans was purely out of the malice of your own heart, without any fault of mine. How many times have I got the better of you, and had you at my mercy, without ſpilling ſo much as one drop of your blood? whereas it is notoriouſly known, that in the rage of your inteſtine broils, not in the king's cauſe, nor in the Romans, but out of a ſpirit of animoſity and rancour one againſt another, you put to death no leſs than a hundred and eighty five citizens at a time, when I was block'd up in Jotapata. Well! and were there not two thouſand Tiberians killed and taken at Jeruſalem? were you no enemy, do you think, becauſe you had at that time fled to the king? not out of love or duty, but becauſe I frighted you thither. If you will needs have me to be an ill man, pray what was Juſtus then? a wretch that Veſpaſian pronounced a ſentence of death upon, though the execution of it was afterwards remitted by king Agrippa; twice a priſoner, as often an exile; once ſav'd from the very gibbet, upon the mediation of Berenice, his ſiſter; and finally, after all this, ſo falſe to the truſt of a ſecretary, which he had the honour to have conferr'd upon him, that his maſter baniſh'd him his preſence for ever. But Juſtus, without raking any further into your miſdemeanors, I cannot ſufficiently admire the impudence of your ſetting up for the moſt perfect and exact hiſtorian of this war, in contradiction to all others; when effectually you are but a mere ſtranger to the whole matter, even to what has paſs'd in Galilee itſelf; for in the time of that action, you were with the king at Berytus; and ſo for the ſiege of Jotapata, how was it poſſible for you to make any report of my conduct in that adventure, when there was not one man left alive but myſelf to tell you the ſtory; or you will ſay, perhaps, that the relation you have given of what paſs'd at Jeruſalem, may be more correct. But it is a thing hardly to be imagin'd, that you, who were neither perſonally in the action, nor ever ſo much as read Veſpaſian's commentaries upon that part of the war, ſhould be ſo well informed in the ſtory. Now I take for granted that you never did read them, becauſe there are ſeveral caſes wherein you do point-blank contradict them; but if you are really poſſeſſed with ſo vain and over-weening an opinion of your own performances, as to fancy to yourſelf that you have in this relation out-done all mankind, how happened it that the world was not obliged with the ſight of this admirable piece, while Veſpaſian or Titus, the generals themſelves, under whoſe conduct the war was waged, were yet living? or in the days of Agrippa and his relations, who were all great maſters and criticks in the Greek tongue? Why was the publication of this hiſtory of yours ſo long ſuppreſſed, (for it had been now finiſh'd a matter of twenty years,) when you might have had ſo many living and eye-witneſſes of the fact, to vouch for the good faith and credit of the work? What reaſon, I ſay, can we aſſign for ſuch proceedings as theſe? but that you durſt not ſtand the teſt and cenſure of the world, while ſo many people were yet alive that were able to diſprove you. Now I followed quite another method with my papers, and not fearing who read them, I put them into the hands of the emperors themſelves, who had the government of the war; and this, while all the particulars of it were ſtill freſh in every body's memory; my conſcience, in fine, acquitting me, that I deliver'd the truth without adding or diminiſhing; upon which account my writings have received as favourable an acceptance in the world as I could deſire. Theſe memorials I communicated to ſeveral perſons one after another, who had born a part in the war; as king Agrippa for one, and ſome certain relations of his. Nay Titus himſelf gave ſuch a teſtimony in approbation of this hiſtory of mine, that he recommended it to the world as an authentical record; and by an order under his own hand, aſſign'd it a place in his library. King Agrippa was ſo pleaſed with the integrity and candour of it, that he wrote me ſixty two letters in confirmation of the credit of it; two of them I have here ſubjoin'd, to the end, Juſtus, that the matter may be allow'd to ſpeak for itſelf.”

King Agrippa to his deareſt friend Joſeph, greeting.

Agrippa's teſtimonial in favour of Joſephus.

“I HAVE read your book with very great delight, and look upon it to be the moſt exact account of any I have yet ſeen. Pray ſend me the remainder, and ſo, my dear friend, I bid you farewel.”

King Agrippa to Joſeph, his deareſt friend, health.

Agrippa to Joſephus.

“UPON the peruſal of your writings, I perceive you have little need of any thing further that I can tell you; only when we meet next, I may, perhaps, ſuggeſt ſome certain paſſages to your conſideration that have eſcaped your knowledge.”

“THIS was the teſtimony that king Agrippa gave to the truth of my hiſtory; not out of flattery, for that was below him; nor in a way of mockery or banter, for he was a man of too much honour and candour, to be guilty of ſo ill-natur'd a levity; but purely out of a deſire to recommend the authority of my writings to poſterity, upon the credit of ſo authentick a certificate.

THIS is all I have to ſay to Juſtus, and it is no more than what I found abſolutely neceſſary in my own defence; ſo that I ſhall now reſume my diſcourſe, and purſue the ſubject again where I broke off.

AFTER the quieting of Tiberias, I called a council of my friends, to conſult upon the buſineſs of John, and to reſolve what courſe was to be taken with him. They were all of opinion for drawing the whole ſtrength of Galilee into a body, and falling upon him, as the principal head and author of the whole broil and confuſion. But my judgment was utterly againſt all ſanguinary proceedings; and rather to make trial of ſome other way for compoſing the tumult without ſhedding of blood. Upon bethinking myſelf, this expedient came into my head: I gave orders for an exact liſt to be procur'd of John's faction; and having gotten the names of the whole party, I publiſh'd an act of grace to all who ſhould come in within twenty days, and laying down their arms, return to their duty; with an aſſurance of indemnity for what was paſt, upon their compliance with this edict; but for thoſe who ſhould obſtinately continue in arms beyond that time, they were to expect all the extremities of fire, ſword, and pillage. This invitation and menace together, wrought ſo effectually upon John's followers, as well by fear, as otherwiſe, that four thouſand of them threw down their arms immediately, and came over to me; only his fellow citizens of Giſchala abode by him, and fifteen hundred mercenaries of Tyre. This way of proceeding kept John under ſuch an awe, that he durſt not ſhew his head after it out of his own country.

Four thouſand of John's followers brought over by an act of oblivion.

SEPPHORIS was a well-wall'd town, ſtrongly fortified, and the inhabitants a bold reſolute ſort of people; ſo that betwixt their confidence in the ſtrength of the place, and the thought of my having my hands full elſewhere, they laid hold of this opportunity to take up arms, ſending to Ceſtius Gallus, who was then governor of Syria, either to come preſently, and take poſſeſſion of the city himſelf, or to put in a garriſon ſufficient to protect them. Gallus ſent them word back again, that he would come, but did not ſay when. Upon the intelligence of what had paſs'd betwixt them, I march'd directly up to the place, attack'd, and carried it. The Galilæans were willing to improve this advantage, and adjudging the time was now come for the taking of a thorough revenge upon the Sepphorites, whom they mortally hated, they took up an outragious reſolution of deſtroying both men and city, in one common ruin. The people had quitted their habitations, and withdrawn into the caſtle for protection, while the ſoldiers ſet fire to the empty houſes, plundering and rifling whatever they could lay hand on, without any regard or diſtinction, whether friends, kindred, or ſtrangers. It wounded me to the very heart to ſee theſe barbarous violences; inſomuch that I call'd out to the ſoldiers to give over for ſhame, that inhuman and unnatural way of proceeding againſt men of their own tribe and profeſſion. At this rate I went on, doing all I could, both by intreaty, and by authority, to reſtrain them; but when I found their fury ſo implacable, that neither the one nor the other had any effect upon them, I betook myſelf to this ſtratagem. I gave it in charge to ſome of my particular friends, to get a report ſpread about, as if the Romans had enter'd another quarter of the town with a mighty army, which I did with an intent that ſuch a rumour might turn the thoughts of the Galilæans another way, and ſo preſerve the city. This ſtratagem ſucceeded to my wiſh; for the alarm of an aſſault immediately frighted the Galilæans from their plunder, to ſhift for themſelves; and their apprehenſion was ſo much the greater, when they ſaw that I myſelf ran away too for company.

Sepphoris a ſtrong place, and a bold reſolute people.

The Sepphorites ſend to Ceſtius Gallus, to take them into protection.

Joſeph. upon this, takes the place by aſſault.

The Galilæans burn, kill, and pillage without mercy.

Joſeph. diverts them by a ſtratagem.

BY this means the people of Sepphoris were deliver'd contrary to their hopes and expectations; and Tiberias afterward eſcaped, being plundered every jot as narrowly as the other. Some of the chief ſenators and citizens of the place applied themſelves by letter to the king, that he would do them the honour to come thither in perſon, and take them and the city into his royal protection; who ſent them word in writing, that he would be with them out of hand, and ſo diſpatch'd away one Criſpus, a Jew by extraction, and a gentleman of his bed-chamber, to the Tiberians, with his anſwer. The Galilæans having the good luck to meet Criſpus upon the way, and knowing the perſon of the man, took him into cuſtody, and brought him over to me to be examin'd. So ſoon as ever they came to underſtand the contents of his letters, and the buſineſs he was going about, the whole multitude immediately betook themſelves to their arms. I was at that time at Aſoch, where the day following a prodigious multitude of people aſſembled from all quarters, were, with clamours and outcries, exclaiming againſt the Tiberians for being traitors, and of the king's faction. They were, in ſhort, ſo furious, that nothing leſs than the demoliſhing of the city, and my giving way to it, would quiet them. The Tiberians, they ſaid, were as bad, if not worſe than the very Sepphorites, and full as deſerving of their chaſtiſement. The rage of the people I found was raiſed to an extravagant pitch; and as there was no good to be done upon them by reaſon, ſo they were too many to be dealt withal by force, therefore how to ſave the city from their fury, I could not deviſe. As for the letters, and the ſubject-matter of them, there was no denying, or palliating of any thing; for the king's anſwer gave demonſtrative proof of the truth of it. After I had been a good while turning my thoughts from one thing to another, and contriving which way the people might be fairly appeaſed, and the place preſerv'd, it came into my head at laſt to take a middle courſe betwixt oppoſing and complying with them; and ſo I reaſon'd the caſe with them after this manner: “The Tiberians, ſaid I, are highly guilty, and you ſhall have my conſent with all my heart, to plunder and deſtroy their city; but then you ought to go about theſe things with judgment and diſcretion; for upon a further ſcrutiny we ſhall find a faction among the nobility of the Galilæans as deep in this plot upon our liberties, as the Tiberians themſelves; and therefore I am clearly for a little patience, till I can get a thorough diſcovery of our enemies; and then, when we have them all in the toil together, we may deal with them according to their deſerts.”

Tiberias eſcapes as narrowly as Sepphoris.

"ſerts." The multitude was ſo well ſatisfied with the fairneſs of the propoſal, that they diſpers'd upon it, without any further diſturbance, and went their way in peace.

Crispus, the king's meſſenger, being all this while in priſon, I made a pretence, ſome few days after, of a little buſineſs that call'd me out of town; and in the mean while, I ſent privately for him, and ſuggeſted to him to fuddle his keeper, and to try if he could give him the ſlip, and make his eſcape away to the king. This was the ſecond time that Tiberias was ſav'd from utter ruin by my policy.

Whilst affairs were in this poſture, Juſtus, the ſon of Piſtus, ſtole away to the king unknown to me; and the true reaſon of his going was this: Upon the breaking out of the Jewiſh war, the Tiberians had determin'd with themſelves to ſtand firm to the king and the Romans. Juſtus, on the other hand, debauch'd them into a revolt, in the hope and proſpect in the hurry of thoſe confuſions, of making himſelf maſter of the government. But his project was fruſtrated; for the Galilæans had contracted ſuch an averſion to the Tiberians, for the injuries they had ſuffer'd from them before the war, that they would not by any means let Juſtus eſtabliſh himſelf in his pretenſions; and truly I myſelf, when the people of Jeruſalem had conſtituted me in the government of Galilee, was many times provok'd to ſuch a degree, by the wicked practices of this turbulent man, that I had very much ado to forbear putting him to extremities. Juſtus was ſo well aware of the danger he was in, that for fear of the worſt, and not knowing how far paſſion and affronts might tranſport a man under my circumſtances, he thought it his beſt and ſafeſt courſe to withdraw, and betake himſelf to the king.

The Sepphorites ſend a ſecond invitation to Ceſtius Gallus; who puts a body of horſe and foot into the town by night.

The late deliverance of the Sepphorites was very extraordinary, and even beyond their expectations; and yet the danger was no ſooner over, but they again ſolicit Ceſtius Gallus, either to come immediately in perſon, and take poſſeſſion of the town, or elſe to furniſh them with a force ſufficient to ſecure it againſt the inroads of the enemy. Upon their importunities, Gallus ſent them a conſiderable body of horſe and foot, which they received into the city by night. The Roman horſe made ſuch havock in the adjacent country, that I was fain to incamp near Garizim, about twenty furlongs from Sepphoris. In the dead of the night I gave an aſſault to the walls of the town, which a good many of my men mounted, and took poſſeſſion of them; ſo that we were for a while maſters of a conſiderable part of the city; but for want of knowing the ſtreets and paſſages, we were forc'd to quit what we had got, without purſuing the advantage any farther than the killing of twelve of the Roman foot, two of their horſe, and ſome few of the Sepphorites, with the loſs only of one man on our ſide. Soon after this, we had a ſharp encounter with the Roman horſe in an open plain, and fought it very bravely for a long time, till coming in the end to be overpower'd with numbers, my guards ſurrounded by the enemy, and myſelf in the middle of them, my ſoldiers, frighted and diſcouraged at the danger I was in, retreated in confuſion. In this action I loſt Juſtus, one of my guards, and formerly one of the king's.

Joſeph. takes Sepphoris, and quits it again.

Much about the ſame time there came a body of the king's horſe and foot, under the command of Silas, the captain of his guards, who encamped within a matter of five furlongs of Julias, having poſted ſtrong parties at all the avenues that led to Cana, and the caſtle of Gamala, to cut off all relief from the inhabitants of thoſe places. Upon this I ſent out Jeremiah at the head of two thouſand men to the bank of the river Jordan, about a furlong from Julias, where they paſs'd only ſome ſlight skirmiſhes, till I join'd them with three thouſand more myſelf. On the day following, after planting a ſtrong ambuſh in a bottom, at a convenient diſtance from the enemy, I proffer'd the king's troops battle, with orders to my men to turn their backs upon the firſt charge, and ſo to fly before the enemy till they had drawn them within reach of the ambuſcade. This was done accordingly; and Silas taking it for a rout in earneſt, followed us ſo far, that the ambuſh fell upon his rear, and put the king's troops in ſo great a diſorder, that upon my facing about, and charging them in the front, they were ſo abſolutely broken, that if it had not been for one ſpiteful unlucky accident, I had got the cleareſt victory under the ſun; but my horſe coming over with me in a bog, the fall put my wriſt out of joint; ſo that I was forced to be carried off to Cepharnome, a village near at hand, for relief. Upon this diſaſter my people, fearing the matter might be worſe with me than in truth it was, gave over the purſuit, and applied themſelves wholly to provide ſurgeons to take care of my hand. After one day's ſtay there, and falling into a fever too, I was removed at night by the doctor's advice to Tarichea. Upon the intelligence of this misfortune, Silas and the king's friends took heart again, and hearing that our out-guards were looſe and careleſs, they ſent away a troop of horſe by night beyond Jordan, to lie in wait there for the opportunity of a ſurprize, daring us early the next morning to come to a battle. My people accepted the challenge; but upon coming into the plain to fight them, they fell into the enemy's ambuſh, by whom they were charged, vanquiſh'd, and put to flight, with the loſs only of ſix of our men; for the enemy, upon information that ſome troops were paſſing the lake from Tarichea to Julias, ſounded a retreat, without daring to purſue the victory any farther.

Joſephus draws Silas into an ambuſh, and gives him an abſolute rout.

Joſephus's horſe falling with him, puts a ſtop to the purſuit.

Joſeph's people fall into an ambuſh of the enemy's horſe.

Soon after this Veſpaſian, accompanied with king Agrippa, came to Tyre, where he was ſaluted with the violent exclamations of the people againſt their king. They ſaid, he was an enemy and a traitor, both to the Tyrians and the Romans, and that it was by his command that his general, Philip, betray'd both the Roman gariſon, and the royal palace at Jeruſalem. Veſpaſian gave the Tyrians a ſevere reprimand, for preſuming to calumniate one who was both a king and a friend to the Romans; but adviſed Agrippa, however, to ſend Philip to Rome, to account for his conduct before the emperor; he was ſent accordingly upon that deſign; but finding Nero miſerably harraſs'd by reaſon of his civil wars, he return'd without ſeeing the face of the emperor.

Veſpaſian comes to Tyre with Agrippa. The people charge Agrippa with treachery, in Philip's giving up the royal palace at Jeruſalem and the Roman garriſon there. Veſpaſian chides them for their inſolence, and adviſes Agrippa to ſend Philip to the emperor to clear himſelf.

Not long after this, upon Veſpaſian's coming to Ptolemais, the principals of Decapolis came thronging to him with grievous

Complaints are brought to Veſpaſian at Ptolemais againſt Juſtus.

againſt Juſtus, for burning their country, who deliver'd him up to Agrippa to have him ſeverely puniſhed for the injuries done his ſubjects. The king upon this made him priſoner, without conſulting the emperor, as has been already obſerv'd.

Veſpaſian appoints the Sepphorites a gariſon.

THE Sepphorites went likewiſe to pay their compliments to Veſpaſian, who at their requeſt appointed them a gariſon under the command of Placidus, who was the man I had to deal with, till the emperor himſelf came into Galilee; of whoſe arrival, the manner of his coming, my retreat to Jotapata, after the firſt engagement I had at Taricheæ; what I did in defence of the place, how I came after a long ſiege to be taken priſoner; how afterwards to be ſet at liberty; and how I behaved, in ſhort, through the whole courſe of the Jewiſh war. Theſe, I ſay, are points I have handled ſo very particularly in their proper places, that there remains nothing more to be ſaid on this ſubject, than to relate a few privacies of my own life.

Joſeph. made a priſoner by the Romans.

Joſeph. liſts in the train of Veſpaſian.

Joſeph. greatly favoured by Titus.

UPON the Romans reducing Jotapata, I was taken priſoner, and kept under a ſtrict guard; notwithſtanding which, I was treated very honourably by Veſpaſian; upon whoſe perſuaſion I married a virgin of Cæſarea, who was at that time my fellow priſoner: but we were ſoon ſeparated; for after I was ſet at liberty, I liſted myſelf in the train of Veſpaſian, who was then going to Alexandria, and ſhe retired another way. After this I married again at Alexandria, from whence I was ſent with Titus to Jeruſalem, where my life was often in danger, both from the malice of my countrymen, who labour'd to deſtroy me; and the violence of the Romans, who charged all their miſcarriages to my treaſonable practices, and were continually ſoliciting the emperor to put me to death as a traitor; but Titus, who was then declared emperor, was too well acquainted with the humours of men, and the inſtability of fortune, to give ear to the clamourous importunities of an impetuous multitude; and ſuch was his benevolence towards me, that after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, he order'd me to take whatever I thought worthy my acceptance, out of the general ruins of the city; but alas! in the calamity of that inconſolable loſs and deſolation, I could find nothing worth asking for, but the liberty of my friends, and the poſſeſſion of the holy bible, which the emperor immediately granted; my brother and above fifty of my neareſt relations being ſoon after ſet at liberty. After this, by the emperor's permiſſion, I enter'd the temple, where I found a vaſt multitude of women and children; and among the reſt, to the number of one hundred and ninety of my own friends and familiars, who at my requeſt were all abſolutely ſet free, and reſtor'd to their former condition, without any manner of ranſom.

Titus ſends Joſephus to Thecoa with Cerealis.

I was then ſent by Titus with Cerealis and a thouſand horſe to a village call'd Thecoa, to take a view of the ſituation and diſpoſition of the place for the forming of a camp there. At my coming back I ſaw a great many priſoners crucified upon the way, and among others, three of my old intimate acquaintance. I was ſo affected with this piercing ſpectacle, that I went preſently with tears in my eyes to Titus, and told him the ſtory. Upon which he immediately order'd the bodies to be taken down, and all poſſible means uſed for their recovery; but two of them died under the ſurgeon's hand, and the third recover'd, and ſurviv'd the miſeries he had undergone in the crucifixion.

Some inſtances of Titus's generoſity to Joſephus.

Joſephus's wives and children.

WHEN Titus had ſettled the affairs of Judæa, in a ſtate of order and peace, he appointed me a portion of lands at a diſtance, in exchange for others I had in the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem. This he did out of kindneſs and reſpect; for he knew it would be very inconvenient for me to have my habitation in the middle of the Roman troops, that were of neceſſity to be quarter'd about Jeruſalem, for the ſecurity of the province. The emperor Veſpaſian did me the honour alſo upon his return to Rome, to take me into the ſame veſſel with him for a companion, and upon our arrival there, he was graciouſly pleaſed to treat me after the moſt favourable and friendly manner. In the firſt place, he made me free of the city, and then lodg'd me in the ſame palace that he himſelf had liv'd in before he was emperor. He ſettled upon me a yearly penſion, and continued his bounty and goodneſs to me, without diminution or abatement, ſo long as he liv'd, which expoſed me to no ſmall danger, by drawing upon me the mortal envy and hatred of ſome of my own nation; for there was a certain Jew, Jonathan by name, who raiſed a ſedition, and got together a body of two thouſand men of the inhabitants of Cyrene; but they were all cut off. This Jonathan being taken, and ſent to the emperor in chains, by the governor of the province, poſitively affirmed that I had aſſiſted him towards this tumult, with money and arms; but Veſpaſian, without giving any credit to the calumny, order'd him to be put to death, for the treaſon of which he was juſtly condemned. After this, there were ſeveral other falſe practices, and envious ſubornations advanced againſt me; but by God's providence I eſcap'd them all; and had a fair eſtabliſhment allotted me in Judæa, by the bounty of Veſpaſian. About this time, my wife and I could not agree. I did not like her ways, and ſo I put her away, having had three children by her, two of them dead, and only Hyrcanus living. After this divorce, I took another wife, by birth a Candian, but by deſcent a Jew, a woman of the moſt noble parentage of any in that country, and one whoſe exemplary honour and virtue, as I found by cohabiting with her, exceeded the generality of her ſex. By her I had two ſons; Juſtus the elder, and Simonides, ſirnamed Agrippa, the other. Thus it ſtood with me and my family; beſide that I was ſo happy as to be continually in favour with the Cæſars. For after the death of Veſpaſian, Titus his ſucceſſor ſhew'd the ſame kindneſs and reſpect to me as his father, and never gave ear to any accuſation that my enemies brought againſt me. Domitian conferr'd upon me ſtill greater honours. He put to death ſeveral Jews who were my accuſers, and order'd an eunuch ſlave, whom I employ'd for my ſon's tutor, to be ſeverely puniſh'd for a falſe information againſt me. And, which is yet a more honourable mark of his ſingular goodneſs toward me, he hath been pleaſed to grant me the privilege of an exemption from all taxes and duties for the eſtate that I am poſſeſs'd of in Judæa. Neither have my obligations been leſs in proportion to Domitia, the wife of Cæſar, than to the emperor himſelf. This, in ſhort, is the hiſtory of my life; and the world by this may judge of my abilities.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK I.

Containing the Hiſtory of 2230 Years from the Creation.

CHAP. I.

The INTRODUCTION: *ſhewing the Nature and Deſign of the Work.*

Authors have divers reaſons for writing hiſtories.

THOSE people who take upon them the office of hiſtorians, do not all write, I obſerve, with one and the ſame thought and deſign; but ſeveral authors have their ſeveral reaſons for the ſame undertaking; and all thoſe motives, at laſt, widely differing one from another. There are ſome indeed, who write out of an affectation of vain-glory and popular applauſe, and an itch of vanity to diſplay their eloquence and ſhew their parts; and there are ſome again, that make it their chief aim to exalt ſuch of the actors in the ſtory they treat of, as they have a mind to oblige, and ſpare for no ſtudy and pains to do them honour, and diſplay their merit: but there are others now, who having been actually engaged in the management of the tranſactions they relate, look upon themſelves obliged, from the very nature of the thing itſelf, to communicate what they know of the matter before them; and there are yet others, in ſhort, who enter upon this province out of a generous impatience to ſee great and glorious atchievements buried in ſilence, which ſo well deſerve to be made publick for the common benefit of mankind.

What moved Joſephus to write his hiſtory.

IT is upon the two laſt of theſe four conſiderations that I have now put pen to paper; for having been a party myſelf in the war betwixt us and the Romans, a witneſs to my coſt of what paſſed on both ſides in it, and conſequently privy to the main iſſue of that conteſt, I looked upon it as my duty to ſet forth the juſt matter of fact, and vindicate the truth from the falſities and corruptions which had crept into the ſtory. And I had yet a farther encouragement to this undertaking, from a confident aſſurance that it would prove an acceptable work to the Greeks themſelves, when they ſhould find the antiquities of our nation, and the form of our government tranſlated out of Hebrew into their own language.

AT my firſt entrance upon the hiſtory of the war, I propoſed to ſpeak of the original of the Jews, their various fortunes, and their excellent law-giver, who trained them up to the love and practice of ſo much piety and virtue; to give an account of their wars for ſo many ages, and eſpecially that of the laſt, which they were compelled, how unwillingly ſoever, to maintain againſt the Romans. But upon ſecond thoughts, finding the ſubject too large and copious for my preſent purpoſe, I choſe rather to make another diſpoſition of the matter, and to divide it.

AFTER ſome ſhort time ſpent upon the eſſay, it fared with me in this, as it does commonly with other people who have formed great deſigns in their heads; the proſpect of ſo vaſt

and

Epaphroditus, a generous encourager of learning.

and voluminous a tract of hiſtory, and that in a foreign language too, made me ſo heavy and dead-hearted, that it almoſt repented me of my purpoſe: but betwixt the importunities of men, (curious to know the particulars of that famous revolution) who preſſed me to go forward with what I had begun, and the encouragements of Epaphroditus above the reſt, who was a paſſionate lover of all ſorts of polite learning, and of hiſtory particularly, being a perſon who had executed ſeveral eminent commiſſions, and ſtood all fortunes with an extraordinary conduct, and an immoveable firmneſs and dignity of mind, and without the leaſt blemiſh to his virtue: betwixt the one and the other I was prevailed upon, partly out of obedience and reſpect to the advice and authority of ſo illuſtrious a patron and benefactor to all well-wiſhers to the publick, and partly out of mere ſhame rather to lie at my eaſe, indolent and unactive, than undergo the pains of perfecting ſo glorious a work: Theſe circumſtances, I ſay, prevailed unpon me to proſecute my firſt project, and I ſet about it more chearfully, when I conſider'd how freely our anceſtors imparted ſuch matters to ſtrangers, and how affectionately inquiſitive ſeveral of the Greeks themſelves had been of our affairs. We read of king Ptolemy the ſecond (a prince that purchas'd books and encourag'd arts and ſcience at any rate,) how ſolicitous he was to get our laws, cuſtoms, and ways of living, tranſlated into Greek: and Eleazar the high-prieſt, (a perſon not inferior to any other of the holy order) did not think fit to deny him that ſatisfaction; which, undoubtedly he would have done, if we had not been taught and warranted by the example of our forefathers, not to reſerve or conceal any thing that may be of publick and univerſal advantage. Now I thought it might very well become me to conform to the practice and precedent of our high-prieſt; not doubting but that the ſame virtuous inclinations to the love of learning, which were then ſo remarkable in Ptolemy, might at this time be found alſo in others. Let it not be underſtood that this great king had all the copies giving him entire; but only ſuch of them as reſpect our laws, and were delivered to him at Alexandria by the interpreters who were ſent with them thither to that purpoſe. For theſe ſacred writings muſt of neceſſity contain an infinite variety of things, being an entire hiſtory of five thouſand years, full of ſurprizing accidents, various chances of war, mighty atchievements of famous commanders, ſtrange turns of ſtate, and an abundance of publick and extraordinary revolutions.

A hiſtory of 5000 years.

But upon the main, there is one thing that the reader will take notice of in a more particular manner upon the peruſal of this hiſtory; which is, that all things ſucceed happily, even beyond belief, to thoſe who reſign themſelves to the good pleaſure of Almighty God, and ſtrictly obſerve his commandments, beſides tranſcendant bleſſings promiſed them for a reward: whereas, on the other hand, the diſobedient, inſtead of proſpering in their ways, how fair and plauſible ſoever, fall into all ſorts of miſery and diſtreſs, and without end or remedy. Wherefore I earneſtly exhort and adviſe the reader of theſe volumes to lead his life in conformity to the will of God, and carefully to obſerve and attend to what Moſes our lawgiver ſays of the divine nature; the agreement of all his works one with another; and how clear and exempt his whole narration is from the levity of thoſe fictions which we meet with in other relations. Not but that, conſidering the circumſtances of time and antiquity, he might have impoſed upon us what he would, without danger of contradiction; for our ſtory begins above two thouſand years before the fables of the poets were ever heard of; and the Pagans themſelves never had the confidence to look ſo far backward, either for the date of their Gods, the actions of their heroes, or the ordinances of their lawgivers. I ſhall ſpeak of this in what follows, and (according to my promiſe) of every thing in its proper place, without adding or diminiſhing.

The Antiquity of the ſtory.

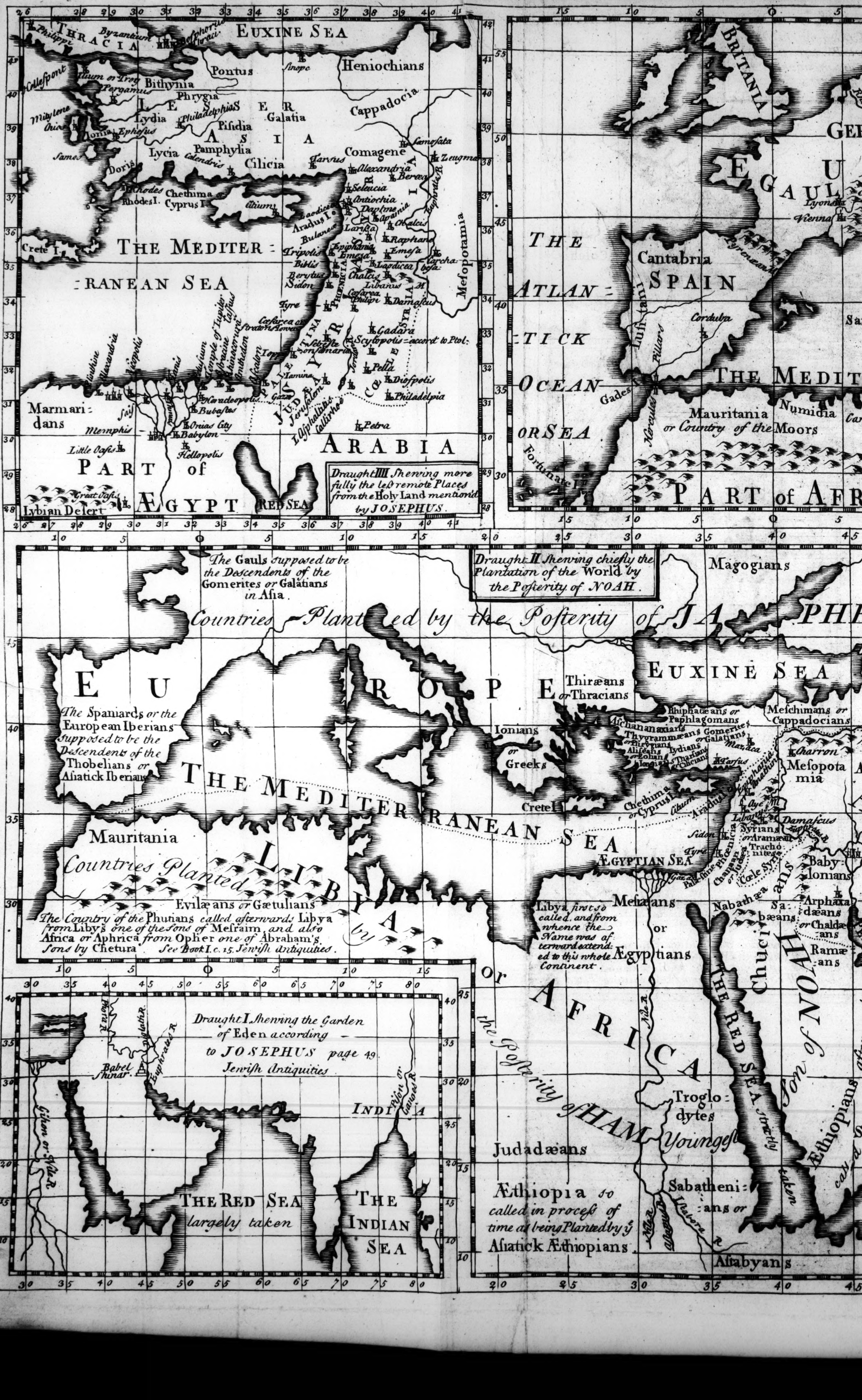
But in regard, however, that the credit of the whole ſtory depends in a great meaſure upon the authority of what Moſes in his great wiſdom thought fit to deliver, ſomewhat ought to be ſaid previouſly of Moſes himſelf, to prevent exceptions and cavils; for people will be apt to wonder at the ſight of a book, which pretends only to fact and hiſtory in the title, and yet launches out into ſo many digreſſions upon natural philoſophy in the text. Be it known therefore, that this excellent and extraordinary perſon laid it down as a thing abſolutely neceſſary for any man who would live virtuouſly himſelf, or perſcribe laws to others, to apply his mind in the firſt place to the knowledge of God; and then upon a due conſideration of his works, ſo far as in him lies, to follow and imitate that perfect model. Without this care and intention, 'tis impoſſible for a lawgiver to anſwer the character of his profeſſion, neither can he make other people the better for his writings, without inſtructing them in the firſt place, that God is the Father and Lord of all things, that nothing is hid from his ſight, that he confers his bleſſing on thoſe who ſerve him, and inflicteth the greateſt miſeries on thoſe who wander from the paths of virtue and righteouſneſs. This was Moſes's method of training up his people. He did not begin after the manner of other rulers, with proviſion for liberty and property, ſtipulations, contracts, and the like; but with a lecture upon the power of God in the creation of the world, and the excellency of man above other earthly creatures. And when he had once poſſeſſed them with a reverence for piety, they became the more eaſily ſuſceptible of all other laudable impreſſions. As for thoſe lawgivers who have only fabulous traditions for their pattern and guide, they take a freedom to impute to their Gods the lewdneſs of the moſt infamous of men, and ſo to authorize and encourage others in all manner of wickedneſs after their example. But our legiſlator, having firſt ſet forth that God is virtue and purity itſelf, he tells us afterwards that men ſhould do all they can to make themſelves partakers of the holineſs, in ſome degree at leaſt, of that divine original; concluding the caution with a ſevere ſentence upon thoſe who will neither believe nor underſtand theſe truths.

A rule for magiſtrates and lawgivers

Moſes's way of training up his people.

Whoever examines this work according to theſe meaſures (as I wiſh every reader may) will find nothing in it unreaſonable, nor, I hope, derogatory to God's majeſty and goodneſs. He will ſee every thing proportioned to the matters that are there handled by our lawgiver;

ſome

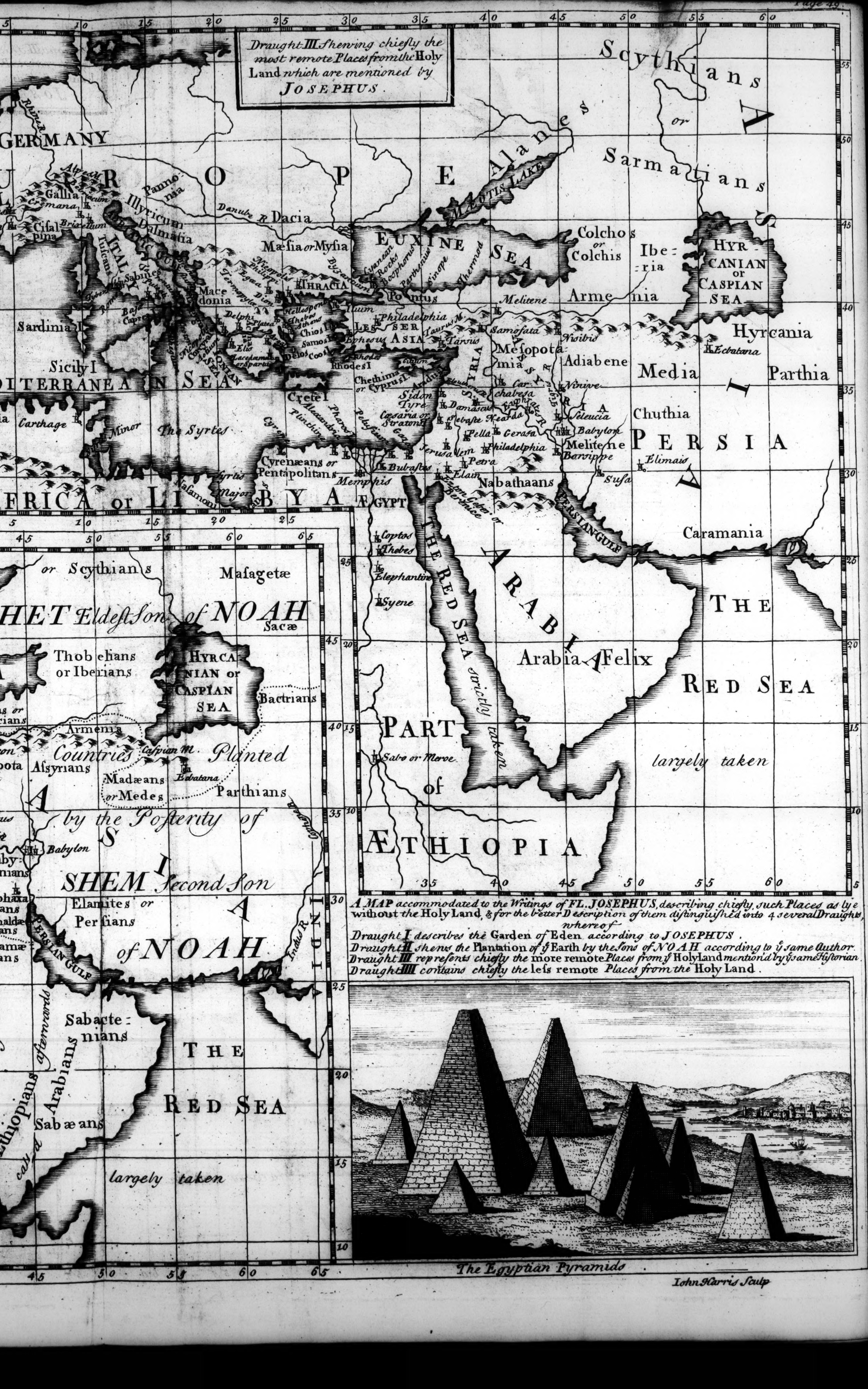


Draught IIII Shewing more fully the less remote Places from the Holy Land mention'd by JOSEPHUS.

Draught II Shewing chiefly the Plantation of the World by the Posterity of NOAH.

Draught I Shewing the Garden of Eden according to JOSEPHUS page 49 Jewish Antiquities

THRACIA
Philippi
Byzantium
Bosphorus Thraci.
EUXINE SEA
Hellespont
Ilium or Troy
Bithynia
Pontus
Sinope
Heniochians
Pergamus
Phrygia
LESSER ASIA
Mitylene
Chios
Ionia
Ephesus
Lydia
Philadelphia
Pisidia
Galatia
Cappadocia
Samos
Lycia
Pamphylia
Calendris
Cilicia
Tarsus
Comagene
Samosata
Zeugma
Doris
Rhodes
Rhodes I.
Chethima or Cyprus I.
Citium
Alexandria
Beræa
Seleucia
Antiochia
Daphne
Apamia
Chalcis
Euphrates R.
Laodicea
Aradus I.
Balanea
Larissa
Raphanea
Emesa
Mesopotamia
Crete I.
THE MEDITER-RANEAN SEA
Tripolis
Biblis
Berytus
Sidon
Epiphania
Emesa
Laodicea
Chalcis
Libanus M.
Carchemisa
Tyre
Phœnicia
Cæsarea Philippi
Damascus
Syria
Cæsarea at Strato's Tower
Gadara
Scythopolis accord to Ptol.
Palestina
Sebaste or Samaria
Joppa
Jamnia
Judæa
Jerusalem
Gaza
Pella
Cœlesyria
Diospolis
Philadelphia
L. Asphaltitis
Callirhoe
Petra
Ascalon
Anthedon
Rhinocorura
Casius
Temple of Jupiter Casius
Pelusium
Tanis
Heliopolis
Alexandria
Canopus
Marmaridans
Sais
Heracleopolis
Bubastes
Onias City
Babylon
Memphis
Hellopolis
Little Oasis
PART of ÆGYPT
Great Oasis
Lybian Desert
ARABIA
RED SEA
BRITANIA
GERMANY
EUROPE
GAUL
Lyons
Vienna
Pyrenæan M.
THE ATLANTICK OCEAN OR SEA
Cantabria
SPAIN
Lusitani
Corduba
Pillars
Gades
Hercules
Fortunate I.
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Mauritania or Country of the Moors
Numidia
Carthage
Sardinia
PART of AFRICA
The Gauls supposed to be the Descendents of the Gomerites or Galatians in Asia.
Countries Planted by the Posterity of JAPHET
Magogians
EUROPE
EUXINE SEA
The Spaniards or the European Iberians Supposed to be the Descendents of the Thobelians or Asiatick Iberians
Thiræans or Thracians
Riphatæans or Paphlagonians
Meschimans or Cappadocians
Ascanaxians
Ionians or Greeks
Thygrammæans or Phrygians
Gomerites or Galatians
Alisæans or Æolians
Lydians
Tharsians or Cilicians
Tarsus
Maraca
Charron
Mesopotamia
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Crete I.
Chethima or Cyprus I.
Citium
Aradus
Euphrates
Arabia
Libanus
Syrians or Aramæans
Damascus
Trachonites
Mauritania
Countries Planted by the Posterity of HAM Youngest Son of NOAH
LIBYA or AFRICA
Sidon
Tyre
ÆGYPTIAN SEA
Palestine
Chanaan or Judea
Cele Syria
Babylonians
Evilæans or Gætulians
The Country of the Phutians called afterwards Libya from Liby's one of the sons of Mesraim, and also Africa or Aphrica from Opher one of Abraham's sons by Chetura See Book I. c. 15. Jewish Antiquities
Libya first so called, and from whence the Name was afterward extended to this whole Continent.
Mesraeans or Ægyptians
Nabathæa
Sabæans
Arphaxadæans or Chaldæans
Ramæans
Chucians
THE RED SEA strictly taken
Ethiopians
Troglodytes
Judadæans
Æthiopia so called in process of time as being Planted by y Asiatick Æthiopians
Sabatheni-ans or
Astabyans
Nile R.
Astaboras R.
Tigris
Diglath R.
Babel
Shinar
Euphrates R.
Geon or Nile R.
INDIA
Phison or Ganges R.
THE RED SEA largely taken
THE INDIAN SEA


Draught III. Shewing chiefly the most remote Places from the Holy Land which are mentioned by JOSEPHUS.
Scythians or Sarmatians
Alanes
ASIA
EUROPE
GERMANY
Pannonia
Illyricum
Dalmatia
Dacia
Mæsia or Mysia
EUXINE SEA
MÆOTIS LAKE
Colchos or Colchis
Iberia
Armenia
HYRCANIAN OR CASPIAN SEA
Hyrcania
Ecbatana
Media
Parthia
Adiabene
Ninive
Mesopotamia
SYRIA
Seleucia
Babylon
Chuthia
PERSIA
Elimais
Susa
PERSIAN GULF
Caramania
Thracia
Macedonia
ITALY
Sardinia I
Sicily I
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Carthage
The Syrtes
Crete I
Rhodes I
Chethima or Cyprus I.
ASIA
Cilicia
Tarsus
Samosata
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Jerusalem
Petra
Cyrenæans or Pentapolitans
AFRICA or LIBYA
ÆGYPT
Memphis
Bubastes
Coptos
Thebes
Elephantine
Syene
Nabathaans
ARABIA
Arabia Felix
THE RED SEA strictly taken
THE RED SEA largely taken
PART of ÆTHIOPIA
Saba or Meroe
JAPHET Eldest Son of NOAH
Masagetæ
Sacæ
Thobelians or Iberians
HYRCANIAN OR CASPIAN SEA
Bactrians
Armenia
Countries Planted by the Posterity of SHEM Second Son of NOAH
Assyrians
Madæans or Medes
Parthians
Babylon
Elamites or Persians
INDIA
Indus R.
Sabactenians
Sabæans
Ethiopians afterwards call'd Arabians
THE RED SEA largely taken

A MAP accommodated to the Writings of FL. JOSEPHUS, describing chieſly, ſuch Places as lye without the Holy Land, & for the better Description of them diſtinguiſhed into 4 ſeveral Draughts, whereof

Draught I describes the Garden of Eden according to JOSEPHUS.

Draught II ſhews the Plantation of yͤ Earth by the ſons of NOAH according to yͤ ſame Author.

Draught III repreſents chieſly the more remote Places from yͤ Holy Land mention'd by yͤ ſame Hiſtorian.

Draught IIII contains chieſly the leſs remote Places from the Holy Land.

The Egyptian Pyramids

John Harris Sculp

ſome things only touch'd upon, or ſlightly hinted, others illuſtrated by proper allegories; and for thoſe paſſages that we are moſt concern'd to have a perfect underſtanding of, they are as plain and clear as words can make them. It would, indeed, require a deep ſpeculation to enter into the particular reaſons of theſe different ways of writing; but if God gives me life and health to complete what I am now upon, I determine to make that my next buſineſs; but for the preſent, I ſhall proceed to my hiſtory, beginning with what Moſes tells us concerning the creation of the world, as we find it in holy writ.

CHAP. II.

The Creation of the World in ſix Days. The ſeventh a Sabbath, or a Day of Reſt. Paradiſe planted, and Adam *and* Eve *put into it. The forbidden Fruit. The Serpent tempts the Woman. The Fall of* Adam *and* Eve, *and the Curſe pronounced againſt them for their Diſobedience.*

Gen. i. 1. In the beginning God created the heaven
Ver. 2. and the earth; but the earth was not as
yet viſible, by reaſon of a thick darkneſs that
Ver. 3. cover'd it. After this the ſpirit of God moving over it, God commanded that there ſhould
Ver. 4. be light; which no ſooner appear'd, but upon
the view of the maſs, he ſeparated the light
from the darkneſs; and the darkneſs he called
Ver. 5. night, and the light day. The beginning of
the day he called morning, and the end of it
(or the time of reſt) evening; and theſe two
terms completed the firſt day. Moſes calls
it one day, or a day, and not the firſt day; for
which I could give a ſufficient reaſon, but having promiſed an explanation of theſe niceties
in a ſeparate tract, I lie under ſome ſort of neceſſity to refer thoſe notes to their proper time
and place.

Ver. 6. On the ſecond day God created the heaven or the firmament, gave it the higheſt place of the univerſe, divided it from the reſt, encompaſſed it, as it were, with chryſtal, and temper'd the air with ſo gentle a mixture of humidity, as might naturally diſſolve into ſhowers, for the watering and refreſhing of the earth, to make it fruitful.

Ver. 9, &c. On the third day God ſettled the earth, ſurrounding it with the ſea; and the ſame day it brought forth plants with their ſeeds, after their reſpective kinds.

Ver. 14. On the fourth day he placed the ſun, the moon, and the other ſtars for an ornament in the heavens; regulating their motions, and their courſes, in ſuch a manner, as to mark out times and ſeaſons.

Ver. 20. On the fifth day he created the fiſh that ſwim in the water, and the birds that fly in the air, and ſent them forth in couples, that they might increaſe and multiply, every creature according to its kind.

Ver. 24. On the ſixth day God created all ſorts of
four-footed beaſts, male and female; and the
ſame day alſo he made man; ſo that according
Ver. 26. to Moſes, in ſix days God made the world,
and all that therein is.

Gen. ii. 2. God reſted on the ſeventh day, and ceaſed from his labours. This is the reaſon that we do no work upon that day; but give it the name of ſabbath, which word in the Hebrew language betokens reſt.

Moſes, after the ſeventh day, employ'd his
thoughts in explaining the works and offices
of nature; beginning with the creation of man,
after this manner; “God, ſays he, formed Ver. 7.
“man of the duſt of the ground, and breathed
“into him the breath of life; ſo that he became a living ſoul.” He ſays further, that
this man was call'd Adam, which in Hebrew
ſignifies * red, becauſe the earth which he was
made of, in the virginal perfection of it, is of
that colour.

After this, God commanded all living Ver. 19.
creatures, male and female, to appear before
Adam, who called them all by diſtinct names;
and the names he gave them at that time they
bear to this day.

Adam was all this while alone, and uneaſy Ver. 21.
in that condition, for want of a ſuitable companion; there being none as yet provided for
him, when all the reſt of the creatures enjoyed themſelves in pairs; ſo that caſting him
into a deep ſleep, God took a rib out of him,
and made a woman of it, which he no ſooner
ſaw afterward, but he knew, and acknowledged her to be part of himſelf. Now in the
Hebrew they call a woman Iſſa, but this woman was called Eva, that is to ſay, the mother Chap. iii. 20.
of all living.

Moſes ſays further alſo, that God planted The planting of paradiſe, Ver. 8.
to the eaſtward a moſt delicious garden, abounding with all ſorts of fruit-trees; and among
the reſt, the tree of life, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

In this garden he placed Adam and Eve, Adam put into it, ibid.
and committed the keeping and dreſſing of it
to their care. It was watered and encompaſſed by a large river that divided itſelf into The four rivers of paradiſe, Ver. 10.
four ſtreams or channels. The name of the firſt
is Piſon, (which ſignifies fulneſs or inundation;) the Greeks call it Ganges, and it takes
its courſe into India, and ſo empties itſelf into
the ſea. The ſecond and the third are Euphrates and Tigris; the former in our tongue
is Phora, (that is to ſay, diſperſion, or a flower,)
the other we call Diglath, (which ſignifies as
much as narrow and rapid,) and theſe two
diſcharge themſelves into the Red-ſea. The
name of the fourth is Gihon, which divides
Egypt. The Greeks call it Nile, and it ſignifies in our language, coming from the eaſt.

Now Adam and Eve had liberty to eat of The forbidden fruit, Ver. 17.
all the fruits of the garden, ſave only that of
the tree of knowledge, which God commanded them not to taſte of, upon pain of death.
There was, as yet, a perfect harmony among
all the creatures; and the ſerpent liv'd in a
kind of familiarity with Adam and Eve; but
out of an envy to the bleſſed ſtate of their
condition, in caſe of their continuing obedient
to God's command, and knowing full well
on the other hand the miſery which would befal them in caſe of their diſobedience, he
tempted the woman to a taſte of the forbidden The ſerpent tempts the woman to diſobedience, Gen. iii. 5.
fruit; and to enflame her curioſity, told her
that it had a ſecret inherent virtue, to endue
her, upon the eating of it, with the knowledge
of good and evil, and to make her as happy
as God himſelf. Thus the ſerpent ſeduced the
woman into a violation of God's command;
and the woman was ſo well pleaſed with the

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* See this confuted by Voſſius in his Etymolog. v. Homo.

The fall of Adam and Eve, Gen. iii. 6.

Ver. 7.

delicious taſte of the fruit, that ſhe did not only eat of it herſelf, but recommended it to her huſband too, who yielded to her perſuaſion. By this time they perceived that they were both naked, the virtue of this fruit having open'd their underſtanding, and ſeeking for a covering, they wove fig-leaves together, to hide their nakedneſs, accounting themſelves happier than before, by this new diſcovery of what they wanted.

Adam hides himſelf, ver. 8.

God expoſtulates the matter with him, ver. 9, &c.

Ver. 12.

Ver. 13.

The curſe againſt man, ver. 17, &c.

Againſt woman, Ver. 16.

Againſt the ſerpent, ver. 14.

Ver. 15.

Adam turn'd out of paradiſe, ver. 23.

After this, God enter'd into the garden, when Adam, who had free acceſs to him before his tranſgreſſion, out of a conſciouſneſs of his ſin, withdrew, and hid himſelf. So God call'd to Adam, and asked him, "How it came to paſs, that he, who had taken ſo much delight but lately, to preſent himſelf before his maker, ſhould now run away and hide himſelf from him in ſuch a confuſion?" Adam's guilt left him not one word to ſay for himſelf, and ſo God went on ſpeaking to him after this manner; "There was not any thing that your heart could deſire, to make your life free, eaſy, pleaſant, and happy, that I had not provided for you ready to your hand, both for uſe and delight, and without any care or labour on your part, or the inconveniencies of old age to interrupt your enjoyments. But ſince you have ſlighted my commands, and that your conſcience leaves you nothing to ſay for yourſelf, your days ſhall be cut ſhort, and old age ſhall come upon you ſpeedily." Adam palliated the matter as well as he could, begg'd pardon, and laid the blame upon his wife, alledging it was ſhe that miſled him: and the woman caſt it upon the ſerpent. Whereupon, as a puniſhment for Adam's ſuffering his wife to impoſe upon him, God curſed the ground, declaring, that from that time forward, it ſhould never bring forth fruit more, but what men ſhould extort from it by labour, and the ſweat of their brows, and that it ſhould not always anſwer their expectations neither. As for Eve's being firſt deluded by the ſerpent, and afterwards drawing Adam into the ſame ſnare, her ſentence was, "In ſorrow to bring forth children;" and for the puniſhment of the ſerpent's malice, God took from him the benefit of ſpeech, put venom under his tongue, condemn'd him to the loſs of his feet, to crawl upon his belly, and declared him the enemy of mankind; and commanded Eve alſo to tread upon his head, both as the fountain of all our woes, and as the part where he moſt eaſily receives a mortal wound. After the pronouncing of theſe penalties, God remov'd Adam and Eve out of the garden into another place.

CHAP. III.

The Hiſtory of Cain *and* Abel. *God calls* Cain *to an account for the Murder of his Brother, ſets a Mark upon him, and pronounces a Curſe againſt him for it.* Cain *the Inventor of Weights and Meaſures.* Enos *the firſt City built.* Jubal *the Inventor of Muſick.* Tubalcain, *of Braſs and Iron-Work.* Adam *lived nine hundred and thirty Years.* Seth *and his Sons give themſelves to Aſtronomy.* Seth's *Pillars.*

Of Cain and Abel, Gen. iv. 1.

Ver. 2.

Ver. 3.

Ver. 4.

The murder of Abel, ver. 8.

Ver. 9.

Ibid.

Ver. 10.

Cain accurſed, ver. 11.

Ver. 15.

ADAM and Eve had two ſons; the name of the elder was Cain, which word by interpretation ſignifies poſſeſſion or acquiſition. The ſecond was Abel, which ſignifies affliction or mourning. They had daughters alſo: The two brothers were of quite different humours; for Abel was a righteous man, and a keeper of ſheep, who led a virtuous life, and in all his actions and intentions had God in his eye. But Cain, on the contrary, was a wicked and profligate man, the firſt who applied himſelf to tillage and agriculture; and was, in ſhort, ſo full of avarice and malice, that upon the following account he murder'd his own brother. The two brethren having agreed upon a ſacrifice to the Lord, Cain brought an offering of the fruits of the ground; but Abel's offering was of the milk and firſtlings of his flock: The latter, as it conſiſted of the pure bounty and voluntary production of nature, was moſt acceptable to God, becauſe it ſeem'd to proceed from a natural ſincerity and unfeigned obedience to his divine will; whereas the other, being forced by art and induſtry, carried with it the appearance of a mercenary oblation, rather than a homage of good-will. Whereupon Cain, being highly provoked at the preference which the divine creator had given to his younger brother's offering, fell upon him, and ſlew him, and buried the body, in hopes of concealing the murder; but God, from whom nothing can be hid, came upon this to Cain, inquired after his brother, where he was, and why for ſeveral days paſt they had not been ſeen together, ſince it was uſual for them conſtantly to be converſant with one another. This ſtruck Cain with confuſion and amazement, inſomuch that at firſt he did not know what to ſay, but recollecting himſelf, he anſwer'd, that his brother, indeed, had been a ſtranger to him for ſome time, and that he was at a loſs how to account for the reaſon of his abſence. Upon this God urged the matter ſtill cloſer to him; to which he had the inſolence to reply, that he was neither his brother's keeper, nor of his council. Upon this expoſtulation and affront, God was pleaſed to charge him downright with his brother's murder, telling him how wonderful a thing it was, that he ſhould not be able to give any account of the perſon whom he had inhumanly murdered. The fact was no longer to be denied, but yet upon Cain's ſacrifice and ſubmiſſion, God was ſo far pacified, as to remit the immediate juſtice of blood for blood; but he was pleaſed, however, to pronounce him and his poſterity accurſed to the ſeventh generation, and to baniſh him and his wife out of their native land into the wide world. Cain was not a little terrified at this ſentence, for fear of the miſchiefs which might befal him in his wanderings; but to ſecure him from all danger, both from man or beaſt, God ſet a mark upon him to know him by, and ſo commanded him to be gone.

Ver. 16.

Cain and his wife departed accordingly, and after a tedious travel through ſeveral countries, they at length arrived at Nais, where they ſettled their abode, and had divers children; but ſo far was this chaſtiſement from reforming Cain, that he rather grew more and more wicked, abandoning himſelf to his luſts, and all manner of villainy, without any regard to common juſtice. He enriched himſelf by rapine and violence, and made choice of the vileſt and moſt profligate monſters of mankind for his companions, of whom he became ring-leader, inſtructing them in the very myſtery of their own profeſſion. He corrupted the ſimplicity

and

Cain the inventor of weights and meaſures, and the firſt encloſer.

and plain-dealing of former times with a novel invention of weights and meaſures, and exchanged the innocence of that primitive generoſity and candour for the new tricks of policy and craft. He was the firſt that invaded the common liberties of mankind by bounds and incloſures; the firſt that built a city, fortified and peopled it, with his domeſticks and dependants, whom he confined to live together in a body, which city was called Enoch, after the name of his eldeſt ſon.

Gen. iv. 18.

Now Enoch begot Irad, Irad begot Mehujael, Mehujael begot Methuſael, and Methuſael begot Lemech, who had ſeventy ſeven children by two wives, Zillah and Adah. By Adah he had Jabal, the firſt who dwelt in tents, and pleaſed himſelf with a paſtoral life and employment. Jubal, his brother, gave up his mind to muſick; inſomuch that the Pſaltery and Harp were of his invention. By his wife Zillah, he had Tubalcain, a valiant captain, and a great warrior, who by his military reputation was enabled to live both in pleaſure and plenty. He was the firſt that wrought in braſs, and had a daughter whoſe name was Naamah. As for Lemech, who ſaw as far as any man into the courſe and methods of divine juſtice, he could not but find himſelf concerned in the proſpect of that dreadful judgment which threaten'd the whole family for the murder of Abel, and under that apprehenſion, he diſcloſed his ſentiments to his two wives.

Jubal, v. 21.

Tubalcain, ver. 22.

Ver. 23.

While Adam was yet living the curſed race of Cain grew every day more and more wicked, and made it their glory, not only to imitate the fouleſt examples of paſt ages, but alſo to outdo them. Their delight was in war and ſpoil, or where any of them happen'd not to be polluted with the guilt of human blood, they excelled in pride, avarice, or ſome other vice of as black a nature.

But to return to the ſubject in hand: After the murder of Abel and the baniſhment of Cain, Adam, who was now two hundred and thirty years of age, out of an earneſt deſire of iſſue, applied himſelf to the peopling of the world. He lived ſeven hundred years after this, and ſo died, leaving many children behind him, and one among the reſt whom he called Seth. It would be too tedious to go through all the family, beſides foreign to my purpoſe, ſo that I ſhall only have occaſion to mention Seth. This Seth was brought up under the tuition of his father, and ſo ſoon as ever he was able to diſtinguiſh betwixt good and evil, he delivered himſelf up wholly to the ſtudy of virtue. He proved a wonderful man, and his children were the lively images of ſo excellent a father. They were all of them well bred, and well diſpoſed. They lived happily and peaceably with reſpect to the publick, and in perfect harmony one with another. Theſe were the firſt who made their obſervations upon the motions of the heavens, the courſes and influences of the ſtars, and having been foretold by Adam of an univerſal deluge and conflagration to come, they erected two pillars, one of brick and the other of ſtone, which they were ſure would be a proof, one or the other of them, againſt either fire or water. Upon theſe pillars they engraved the memorials of their diſcoveries and inventions, there to remain for the benefit of ages to come; and leſt the tradition of the ſcience itſelf ſhould be loſt for want of a record, this they did, and their foreſight was not in vain; for it is reported that the ſtone pillar is yet to be ſeen in Syria to this very day.

Ver. 24.

Ver. 25.

Seth and his ſons, Gen. v. 6.

Seth's pillars.

CHAP. IV.

The Wickedneſs of the World, and God's Judgment upon it. Noah's Ark. The ten Generations from Adam to the Flood. The Beginning and Progreſs of the Flood. Beroſus, Damaſcen, &c. *write of the Ark and Deluge. Noah's Prayer. God's Covenant with Noah. The Rainbow a Token of it.*

Gen. v. & vi.

FOR ſeven generations men lived in the exerciſe of virtue, and in the love and fear of one God the Lord of all things; but from thence forward they degenerated from the ways of their fore-fathers, leading their lives without any reverence or regard either to religious duties, or human juſtice, and taking more pains to tranſcend one another in wickedneſs, than they had formerly done to make themſelves eminent for goodneſs. This abominable impiety drew down the wrath of heaven upon them, and the angels* of God mixing with the women, begot an inſolent race, not much unlike that of the Giants in the Greek fables, contemners of all good, and overbearing right with power. Noah took thoſe impious extravagancies ſo to heart, that after ſeveral trials, both by his counſel and authority, to bring them to a reformation of their lives, and an amendment of their manners, and no good to be done at laſt upon a generation ſo incorrigibly obſtinate, and abandon'd to their luſts, and finding himſelf and family in manifeſt danger of ſome mortal violence for his good-will, he departed out of the land himſelf and all his people. This good man was highly in the favour of the Lord for his righteouſneſs; but the corruption and iniquity of the age cried out ſo loud to Heaven for vengeance, that God determined within himſelf, utterly to deſtroy that generation of mankind, and to ſupply another and a better race of men in their ſtead; but ſo as to ſhorten the term of man's life from what it was before, and to bring it within the compaſs of one hundred and twenty years. The earth after this was covered with water, and the dry land turned effectually into a ſea, which ſwallowed up all fleſh living; Noah alone excepted, who eſcaped the univerſal deluge by making uſe of the means which God had expreſly directed and appointed him for his preſervation; that is to ſay, God having precautioned him of this terrible judgment to come, order'd him to build an ark of four ſtories, the length of it three hundred cubits, the breadth fifty, and the height of it thirty; which he did accordingly, and ſo went into it with his wife and children, and their wives; taking along with him of all living creatures by two and two, in pairs, male, and female, and of ſome ſeven couples for the conſervation of the kind, having firſt laid in all proviſions neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of himſelf and them. His or-

Gen. vi. 2.

Noah's Ark, Gen. vi. 15.

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* Lactantius favours this opinion, but St. Auſtin and others reject it. See Selden's Proleg. de Diis Syris, Cap. iii.

der was to take care that the roof, and the ſides of it ſhould be made ſtrong enough to reſiſt the violence of the approaching tempeſt; which was alſo done: and by this contrivance he and his family were ſaved. Now Noah was the tenth in ſucceſſion by a direct line from Adam, being the ſon of Lamech, Lamech of Methuſelah, Methuſelah of Enoch, Enoch of Jared, Jared of Maleleel, (who had divers brothers,) Maleleel of Cainan, Cainan of Enos, Enos of Seth, and Seth the ſon of Adam.

Noah's genealogy, Gen. vi.

The time of the deluge.

THIS deluge happened in the ſecond month, which the Macedonians call Dius, the Hebrews Marſonane, according to the Egyptian diviſion of the year. Moſes in his computation makes Niſan, which is Xanthicus, the firſt month, becauſe it was in this that he brought the Iſraelites out of Egypt, and he obſerves the ſame account in the dating of all things which concern the worſhip of God. But for the matter of fairs and markets, trade, and civil buſineſs, he left the account as he found it, without making any alteration. Noah was ſix hundred years of age at the time of this inundation. Moſes reckons that the firſt fall of rain toward the drowning of the world, began on the 27th day of the month beforeſaid, and in the year of the world 1656. This is according to the calculation of holy writ, which gives a very exact account of the birth and death of the illuſtrious men of thoſe times.

Gen. viii. 6.

The line of the patriarchs Gen. v.

ADAM was nine hundred and thirty years old when he died, and one hundred and thirty when he begot Seth. Seth was one hundred and five when he begot Enos, who departed this life at the age of nine hundred and twelve, leaving all to the care of his ſon Cainan, whom he had begotten in the nintieth year of his age, and he lived to the age of nine hundred and ten, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Maleleel whom he begot at the age of ſeventy: this Maleleel died at eight hundred and ninety five, and he left his ſon Jared to ſucceed him, whom he begot at the age of ſixty five, and at nine hundred and ſixty nine he departed this life. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Enoch, who was born when his father was one hundred and ſixty two years old, and after three hundred and ſixty five years he went to God, and was no more ſeen, which is the reaſon that there is no record extant of what became of him. Methuſalah was born to Enoch in the ſixty fifth year of his age, and at the age of one hundred and ſeven he had a ſon born, which he called Lamech, to whom he delivered up the government, which he had held for nine hundred and ſixty nine years. But when Lamech had been ſeven hundred and ſeven years in the exerciſe of that power, he transferred his commiſſion to his ſon Noah, who was born to Lamech at the age of one hundred and eighty two, and was nine hundred and fifty years in the adminiſtration. So that putting all theſe together, computing upon Noah's age of ſix hundred years at the time of the deluge, it amounts to the juſt number of one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty ſix.* But we are not ſo much to conſider the end of theſe men, as the birth of them; for they lived to ſee many generations out of their own Loins.

The beginning and progreſs of the flood, Gen. vii. 12, &c.

THE time being now come, and the ſignal given, God commanded the clouds to pour forth their waters, which they did in a violent rain of forty days continuance; till they were fifteen cubits deep above the higheſt parts of the earth, and no place left for any poſſibilty of ſafety or retreat. The waters after this began by little and little to abate, and in one hundred and fifty days more, on the 27th day of the ſeventh month, the ark was left aground upon the top of a certain mountain in Armenia. Noah perceiving this, open'd a window and perceiving the appearance of land in ſeveral places round about him, found his heart a little more at eaſe, in hopes that the worſt was now paſt. The water ſtill decreaſing more and more, Noah ſent out a raven ſome few days after, to learn the ſtate of the deluge in other places, whether or no he might ſafely venture himſelf upon the ground; but the raven finding all in a flood ſtill, returned to the ark. Whereupon Noah reſpited his enquiry for ſeven days, and then ſent out a dove to diſcover what condition things were in abroad, which ſoon after returned to him again all dirty, and with an olive-branch in her mouth, giving to underſtand that the danger was now over. So that at the end of ſeven days more he turned out all the creatures, went forth himſelf with his wife and children, and after ſacrificing to the Lord, made merry and rejoiced with his family. The Armenians called this place Apobaterion, or the place of deſcent. We read of this deluge and the ark, in all the writers of Barbarian hiſtories, as in Beroſus the Chaldæan for one, who, ſpeaking of this flood, writes to this effect: “They ſay that there “ are ſome remainders of this veſſel to be ſeen “ upon the mountains of the Cordyæans in “ Armenia to this very day, and that ſeveral “ people living upon the place ſcrape the pitch “ off from the planks as a rarity, and carry it “ about them for an amulet.” Hieronymus the Egyptian, in his Phœnician Antiquities, Manaſeas, and a great many others ſay ſomewhat of this matter too: But Nicolaus of Damaſcus, in v. 96. of his hiſtory, ſpeaks to this purpoſe: “ In the province of Minyas in Armenia, there “ is a high mountain, called Baris, to which “ place there fled a great many people, as the “ ſtory goes, in the time of a deluge for ſanctuary. There is a tradition alſo of a certain “ man in a veſſel that ſtruck upon the top of “ this mountain, and that ſeveral pieces of “ the timber were to be ſeen there a long time “ after.” This perhaps might be the man that Moſes makes mention of.

Gen. viii. 3, 4, &c.

Ver. 14.

Noah ſends out a raven, Ver. 7.

and a dove, Ver. 8.

Noah goes out of the ark. Ver. 18.

See Beroſus, Nicolaus Damaſcenus, &c. of this ark and deluge.

Noah's prayer.

Now Noah in a perſuaſion that God had doomed mankind to deſtruction, lay under a dreadful apprehenſion, for fear of the ſame judgment over again; and that it would actually end in an anniverſary inundation: ſo that he preſented himſelf before the Lord with ſacrifices and prayers: “Humbly beſeeching “ God in Mercy to preſerve the order of the “ world in its firſt frame; to puniſh the guilty, and ſpare the lives of the innocent, and “ not to proceed with rigour for the wickedneſs of ſome particular perſons to the “ deſtruction of the whole; for otherwiſe, the

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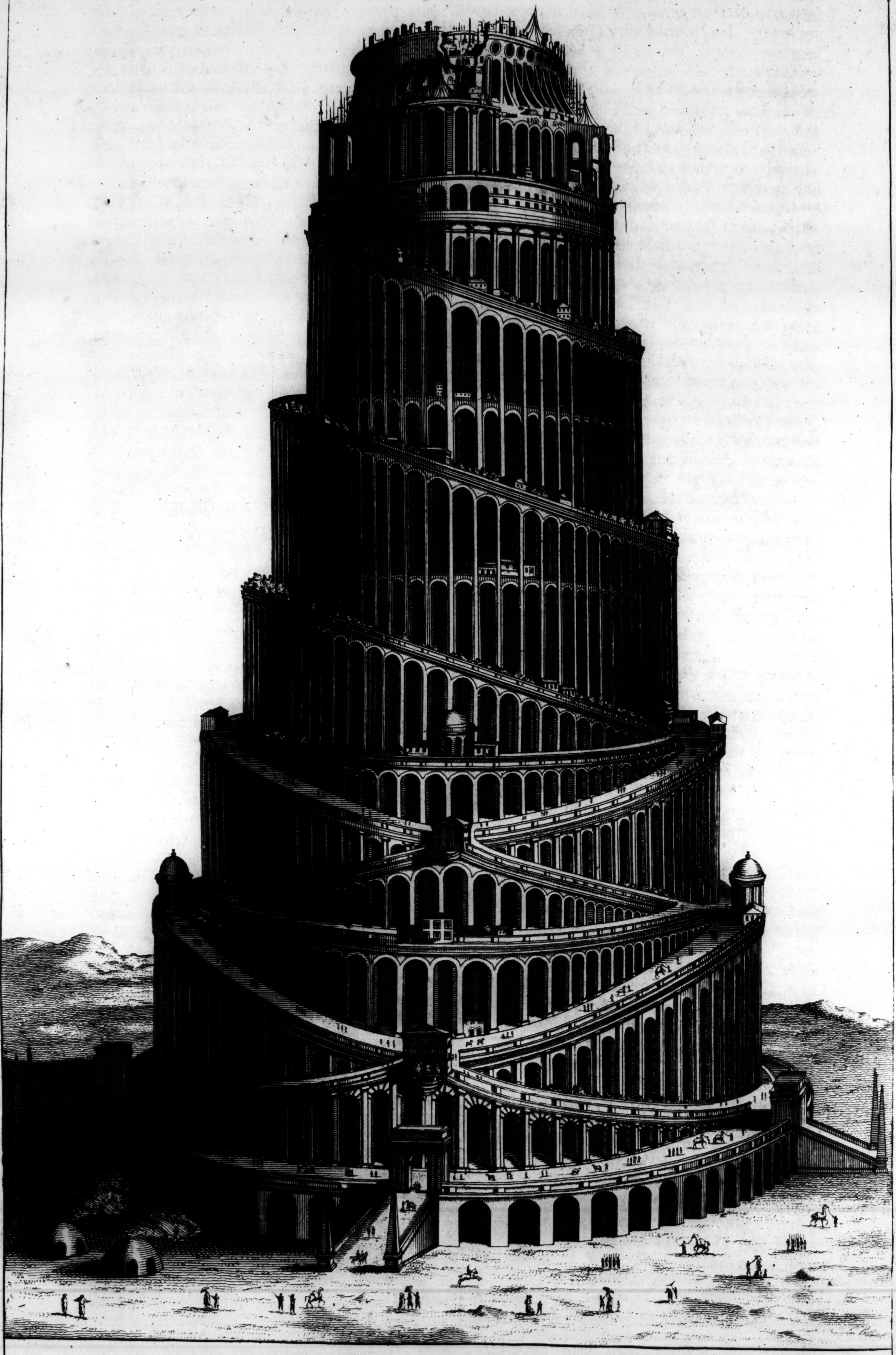
* There is a great confuſion and incorrectneſs in theſe chronological numbers in all the tranſlations that have yet appeared in the world, occaſioned by the various readings of the copies; which we have here endeavoured to adjuſt, by following Dr. Hudſon's Chronolgy ſo far as it was agreeable to the original Hebrew; but in the age that Jared begat at we have added one hundred years to make it correſpond to the general or ſum total; for the better underſtanding of which, ſee our ſecond diſcourſe prefixed to this work, P. 14, 15, &c.

BRITISH 26 AU 66 MUSEUM



ELEVATION OF THE TOWER OF BABEL.

John Harris Sculp

“ſurvivors of this calamity would be more wretched than thoſe who were waſhed away in a common ruin; if after having ſuffer'd horror of thought, and the terror of ſo diſmal a ſpectacle, they ſhould only be delivered from one calamity to be confounded by another. Wherefore he earneſtly beſought God to receive his prayers, and his ſacrifice; to turn away his wrath from the earth, and the inhabitants thereof, that they might till it, and reap the fruits of his bounty as formerly; build cities, and entertain themſelves with all the comforts and conveniencies they enjoyed before the flood.” He pray'd alſo for length of days to himſelf and his poſterity; and that the children to come might live up to the Age of their anceſtors.

God's covenant with Noah, Gen. viii. and ix.

The rainbow a token of it, c. ix. 13.

The piety and righteouſneſs of this good man prevail'd ſo far with Almighty God, that he hearkened to his requeſt, and told him, that it was the wickedneſs of the world which drew that judgment upon their own heads, and that he himſelf was not in reality the author of it; for he would never have given them life at firſt, with a deſign or deſire to take it away again; and it were much better not to give it at all, than to give only to take again. But, ſays he, they have forced me upon a vengeance by a violation of all the holy duties they owe me; and yet to ſhew you that I am not inexorable, eſpecially upon your mediation, I promiſe you that I will never deal with ſinners ſo ſeverely again for the future; and therefore what ſtorms and tempeſts ſoever may be raiſed, ſet your heart at reſt, for you are out of danger of another deluge. One thing I poſitively require and command, keep your hands clear of human blood, and puniſh murder with the utmoſt ſeverity, wherever you find it. As for other creatures, whether they live upon the earth, or ſwim in the water, or fly in the air, you are the lords and maſters of them, and may diſpoſe of them as you think fit, ſaving only as to the blood, for in the blood is the life of the creature; and for your ſecurity now, that the arrows of my diſpleaſure ſhall never ſtrike mankind again in the like dreadful manner, I will ſet my bow in the air for a token of my covenant. Now the rainbow with them is taken for God's bow. After theſe commands and promiſes God departed.

Noah liv'd in happineſs and at eaſe three hundred and fifty years after the flood, ſo that he was nine hundred and fifty when he died. Let not the vaſt difference betwixt the ordinary term of a man's life before the deluge, and the narrow ſcantling we find it reduced to at this day, be made uſe of as an argument to bring the credit of the tradition in queſtion, as if becauſe we ourſelves are ſhort-liv'd, our fore-fathers muſt of neceſſity have been ſo too. In the infancy of the world, when men liv'd in obedience to their maker, it pleaſed Almighty God to beſtow the bleſſing of * long life upon the work of his own hands; beſides that, the wholſomeneſs of their food, and their moderation in eating and drinking, did very much conduce to that end; and, moreover, providence found it neceſſary for the ſtudy and advancement of virtue, and for the improvement of geometry and aſtronomy, which required at leaſt ſix hundred years, (according to the computation of the great year,) for the making and perfecting of obſervations. I have for my juſtification, the concurrent teſtimonies of all the great antiquaries that ever meddled in hiſtory, either Greek or Barbarian, as Manetho in his Egyptian chronicle, Beroſus in the hiſtory of Chaldæa, † Mochus, Heſtiæus, Hieronymus the Egyptian, that have given us the ſtory of Phœnicia; and ſo for Heſiod, Hecatæus, Hellanicus, Acuſilaus, Ephorus, and Nicolaus, they do all agree, that in the primitive ſtate of the world ſome men liv'd to the age even of a thouſand years. But every man is at liberty to think of this matter as he pleaſes.

The great year.

CHAP. V.

Noah's three Sons, Shem, Japheth, *and* Ham, *plant in* Sennaar. *Deſign to build a Tower, which was ruined by a Confuſion of Tongues.*

Noah's three ſons, Gen. x. 1.

They plant in Sennaar, xi. 2.

NOAH had three ſons, Shem, Japheth, and Ham, who were born about an hundred years before the flood. Theſe were the firſt who had courage enough to venture from the mountains to inhabit the plains, and brought their offspring along with them, who, till they were animated by the example of their fathers, durſt not quit the hills, for fear of a ſecond deluge. They gave the name of Sennaar to the firſt place they planted in: but God in his wiſdom ordered them to ſpread and divide themſelves into colonies, as the moſt proper method both for peopling the world, and preſerving men in peace one with another; and to the end likewiſe that they might take their poſſeſſions at large, and enjoy more abundantly the fruits of the earth. Now theſe people being an ignorant and a ſtubborn generation, diſregarded the divine appointment, and continued ſtill in the ſame place, till they were overtaken by a judgment from Heaven, that made them ſufficiently ſenſible of their error by their puniſhment. They came in proceſs of time to be numerous and ſtrong, and God once again admoniſhed and directed them as before, to diſperſe themſelves into ſeveral plantations; but they perſevered nevertheleſs in their diſobedience, not only forgetting the author of all the bleſſings and good things they were made partakers of, but aſſuming to themſelves the glory of their ſucceſſes in all the greatneſs they had acquired; and which was worſt of all, interpreting the advice of ſeparating themſelves to be rather a ſnare than a favour, and a mere trick of common policy, firſt to diſunite and weaken them, and then to bring them under the yoke of an oppreſſion.

Nimrod their head and ringleader.

The chief incendiary that animated the people to this proud and inſolent contempt of God, was Nimrod, the grandſon of Ham, who was the ſon of Noah, a man fierce and valiant, but of ſo extravagant a vanity, that he would be often boaſting, that he lay under no obligation at all to the goodneſs of God for the dignity of his preſent ſtate and reputation, but to the power of his own courage and virtue. This was his way of inſinuating himſelf into a tyranny, not in the leaſt doubting but the people might be eaſily brought to apoſtatize from God, if they could but firſt be prevailed upon to chuſe him for their governor. And leſt the dread of another inundation ſhould deter them from it, he had an expedient in his head, he ſaid, that would ſecure them from any damage of that nature. His project was the erecting a tower to ſuch a height, that it ſhould be impoſſible for the waters ever to reach the top of it: beſide the revenge he meditated over and above, for the loſs of thoſe who periſhed in the flood.

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* See Gallæus's comment on the Sibylline Oracles, p. 72, 73.

† Gallæus in his comment upon the Sibylline Oracles, p. 62. reads Molus, or Molon, for Mochus.

The multitude came ſo unanimouſly into this ſcheme of Nimrod, that they began to look upon it as a thing below the dignity of men, to live in ſubjection to God; and upon this they immediately apply'd themſelves to work, and proſecuted their deſign with the utmoſt vigour and reſolution. The height of it was to be prodigious, and the infinite number of labourers advanced it, even beyond imagination. The breadth and thickneſs of it, being wonderfully firm and ſtrong, appeared of ſuch prodigious bulk, that it made the height of it ſeem leſs. The materials were burnt brick, cemented in the joints with a pitchy matter to make it proof againſt the waters. The madneſs of theſe people was highly provoking, eſpecially conſidering the warning they had had in the example of their forefathers, who were all ſwallowed up in an univerſal flood for their wickedneſs. But God was graciouſly pleaſed however, not to proceed to the extremity of extinguiſhing mankind any more, for their contemptuous trangreſſions, but choſe rather to puniſh them with ſuch a confuſion of tongues, that they ſhould not be able to underſtand one another. The place where this tower was erected, is at this day called Babylon, from the confuſion of tongues, as aforeſaid; Babel in Hebrew ſignifying as much as confuſion. Now as to this tower, and this confuſion of tongues, the Sibyl ſpeaks in the following manner. “ * At a certain time, ſays ſhe, when the whole world ſpake the ſame language, the people of thoſe days gathered together, and raiſed a mighty tower, which they carried up to ſo extravagant a height, that it looked as if they had propoſed the ſcaling of heaven from the top of it: but the Gods let a hurricane of winds looſe upon it, which with a violent blaſt beat it down to the ground; the builders being alſo judicially ſtruck with an utter forgetfulneſs of their native tongue, and a new unknown language ſubſtituted inſtead of it, wherein not one man of them underſtood his fellow.” As to Sennaar itſelf, Heſtiæus gives this hint; “The prieſts who ſurvived the general deſolation, preſerved the holy things and ornaments that were dedicated to the worſhip and ſervice of Jupiter the Conqueror, and carried them off to Sennaar of Babylon.”

CHAP. VI.

The Sons of Noah diſperſe themſelves all over the Face of the Earth.

The peopling the world, Gen. ii. 9.

UPON this diverſity of tongues, the people were forced to diſperſe themſelves up and down into colonies, and ſo to plant and inhabit, ſome upon the ſea-coaſts, others in the continent; ſome in one place, ſome in another, according to the lot which God in his wiſdom and providence had aſſigned them; for the whole world, in ſhort, was to be more or leſs peopled. Men afterwards came by degrees to the uſe and knowledge of navigation, ſo far at leaſt as to make boats, and tranſport themſelves into iſlands: they gave appellations to the places where they liv'd, many of them retaining to this very day the names of their firſt planters. Some, 'tis true, are alter'd, others only diſguiſed under Greek derivations, to make them more familiar and intelligible to the people thereabouts; for the Greeks being poſſeſs'd of thoſe countries, drew to themſelves in ſucceeding ages, as the firſt founders and proprietors, the honour of that primitive greatneſs, impoſing upon them, as they thought fit, not only names but laws alſo, and cuſtoms, and manners to their own liking.

Several places bear the names of the firſt planters.

CHAP. VII.

Several Nations took their Names from their ſeveral Founders. The Race of Noah down to Jacob, and the Places they inhabited.

The ſons of Noah, Gen. x. Japheth.

NOW the ſons of Noah had children, who, for the honour of their memory, call'd the people, wherever they got poſſeſſion, by their own names; as Japheth the ſon of Noah had ſeven ſons, who planted themſelves in Aſia, from the mountains of Taurus and Amanus, to the river Tanais; in Europe, to Gades: and the places being not as yet peopled, wherever they got footing, as aforeſaid, they called the countries after their own names. Gomar was the founder of thoſe that were Gomarites, called by the Greeks at this day † Galatians, or Gauls. Magog was the head of the Magogians, by the Greeks Scythians; Javan and Madæus were two other ſons of Japheth; from the latter came the Madæans, or the Medes; from the other the Ionians, and the whole race of Greeks. Thobel was the founder of the Thobelians, (at this day the Iberians or Spaniards;) from Meſches the Meſchinians, called afterwards Cappadocians, but not without ſome footſteps yet of their original in the town of Mazaca, which comes near the antient name. Thires was the head and governor of the Thiræans, ſo called from his own name, which the Greeks changed afterwards for Thracians. Theſe are the nations that were firſt planted by the ſeven ſons of Japheth.

Gen. x. 3.

Gomar again had three ſons: Aſchanaxes, from whom came the Aſchanaxians, (by the Greeks now called Rheginians:) Riphates, the head of the Riphateans, (now Paphlagonians;) and Thygrammes, from whom came the Thygrammeans, (whom the Greeks call Phrygians.)

Javan alſo, the ſon of Japheth, had ‡ three ſons: Aliſas the firſt, from whom the Aliſeans (now called Æolians) derive both their name and original. So in like manner from Tharſus the Tharſians, (afterwards called Cilicians,) as appears by the celebrating of the city Tarſus with a mark of preference above all others, only turning the firſt letter Θ into a T. The iſland that we at this day call Cyprus, was at firſt called Chethima, from Chethimus the firſt poſſeſſor of it. From hence it is that not only all iſlands, but all places bordering upon the ſea, are by the Hebrews called Chethim; and there is a town in the iſle of Cyprus, which at this day is called Citium by thoſe that for the ſound ſake will make Greek of every thing; and it ſeems to have ſome affinity with Chethim; all theſe nations had the deſcendants of Japheth for their heads. But I have one thing yet to ſay before I proceed any further, which perhaps the Greeks take no notice of; that is to ſay, they have got a way of changing names to pleaſe the ear, and make the word ſound with a leſs harſh and more agreeable cadence; but for our people they neither allow nor practice any ſuch thing. The Greeks have turned Noe into Nochos; but we keep ſteddy to the ſame form and ſyllables, without ſo much as varying the very termination.

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* This we have in the Sibylline Oracles now extant. See Dr. Beverege's Codex, Can. Vindic. c. 14.

† See the Diatriba de Noa in Italiam adventu, by E. Dickinſon.

‡ The ſcripture makes mention of four, ver. 4.

Gen. x. 6.

THE ſons of Ham ſettled themſelves in Syria, and the country adjoining to the mountains of Amanus and Libanus; ſtretching the bounds of their juriſdiction as far as the ſea-coaſt, and calling all the places under their dominions by what names they pleaſed; but a great many of them are to us utterly loſt and forgot, and others ſo corrupted and tranſformed, that they are no longer to be known; only the Ethiopians have ſtood the ſtreſs of time and accidents, without any alteration. Chus, one of the four ſons of Ham was their founder and governor, and they bear the name of Chuſians to this day, not only among themſelves, but all Aſia over. The Meſreans alſo yet keep their old name; for Egypt, quite through the country, is called Meſrim ſtill, and the Egyptians, Meſreans. Phutes governed in Libya, and gave the whole nation the name of Phutians. And divers Greek hiſtorians give us an account of a river in Mauritania of this name, and of a country bordering upon it which is called Phute; but the name has been ſince changed by Libys, one of the ſons of Meſraim. How it came to be called Africa we ſhall ſhew hereafter. Chanaan, the fourth ſon of Ham, gave his name to the country of the Chanaanites, ſince called by the name of Judea.

Ver. 7.

THEY had all children; but Chus, the eldeſt ſon of Ham, had ſix ſons: Sabas the head of the Sabeans. Evilas, of the Evileans now called Getulians. Sabbathes of the Sabbathenians, with the Greeks Aſtabarrians. Sabactas, of the Sabactenians. Romus was prince of the Romeans, and had two ſons, Judadas and Sabas. The former gave the name and original to the Judadeans in the Weſtern part of Ethiopia, the other tranſmitted his name to the Sabeans. As for Nimrod, the ſixth ſon of Chus, he continued among the Babylonians, ſeiz'd the government by force, and moſt tyrannically oppreſſed the people, as is already ſet forth.

MESRAIM was the father of eight ſons, who made themſelves maſters of the whole tract of land betwixt Gaza and Egypt. Philiſtim was one of the eight, and left his name to his country, that part of it at leaſt which the Greeks call Paleſtine. Labim conſtituted a colony, and gave it the name of Libya: but for the other ſix, that is to ſay, Ludim, Anamim, Nedem, Phetroſim, Cheſlem, and Chepthorim, we know little more of them than their names, their cities and plantations having been deſtroyed in the Ethiopick war, of which in its proper place.

Ver. 15, 16, 17, 18.

CANAAN was the father of eleven ſons. Sidon built a city in Phœnicia, which the Greeks call Sidon, after his name. Amath was the founder of Amathe, a place yet in being, and by the inhabitants called Amathine; though the Macedonians have changed it for Epiphania, from one of their kings. Arudeus took poſſeſſion of the iſland Aradus. Arucæus had the town of Arce upon mount Libanus. As for the other ſeven, Euæus, Chetæus, Jebuſæus, [Eudæus,] Sinæus, Samaræus, and Gergeſæus, we have nothing more of them in the holy ſcriptures than their names; the Hebrews having razed all their cities for the reaſons following:

Noah plants a vineyard, Gen. ix. 20.

So ſoon as the earth began to return to its former condition again after the flood, Noah fell to cultivating the ground, planting vines, and gathering and preſſing his grapes in their due ſeaſon; whereby he became the firſt inventor of the uſe of wine: but one day after an oblation to God of the firſt-fruits of his vineyard, he drank ſo liberally of the juice, that he laid himſelf down quite ſenſeleſs, and fell aſleep, with his nakedneſs in a very indecent manner uncovered. His youngeſt ſon ſeeing his father thus ſhamefully expoſed, called his brothers in deriſion to make ſport with the ſpectacle; but they, out of a pious reverence to a parent, caſt a covering over him. Noah came ſoon after to be ſenſible of what had paſſed, and bleſſed his other children for the good office they had done him; but with a bitter imprecation upon the poſterity of Ham; and this malediction was followed upon them with a divine vengeance; but of this hereafter, only I muſt obſerve, that Ham in his own perſon eſcaped the curſe out of Noah's tenderneſs and reſpect to the nearneſs of his blood.

is drunk with the wine of it, Ver. 21.

his nakedneſs expoſed, ver. 22.

The poſterity of Ham accurſed, ver. 25.

The poſterity of Shem, Gen. x. 22.

SHEM, another of the three ſons of Noah, had five ſons, and the whole tract of Aſia was theirs, from Euphrates to the Indian ſea. From Elam came the Elamites, and from them the Perſians derive their original. Aſſur was the founder of Ninive, and thence came the Aſſyrians, a rich and a powerful people. From Arphaxed came the Arphaxadeans, or our Chaldeans. From Aram came the Arameans, whom the Greeks call Syrians. And from Lud came the Luddians, or our Lydians.

Aram, ver. 3.

ARAM had four ſons; Uz was the founder of Trachonitis, and Damaſcus, which lies betwixt Paleſtine and Cœle-Syria: Hull had Armenia: Gether was prince of the Bactrians; and Meſas of the Meſoneans, whoſe whole country at preſent bears the name of the camp of Paſinus.

Sales, ver. 42.

SALES the ſon of Arphaxad was the father of Heber, according to whoſe name the Jews were antiently called Hebrews. Heber begot Jucta and Phalec: The latter was born at the time of dividing the land, (Phalec in Hebrew ſignifying Partition.) Jucta the ſon of Heber had children; Elmodad, Saleph, Azermoth, Eiraes, Edoram, Uzal, Declas, Ebal, Abiamel, Sabeus, Ophir, Euilath, Jobab. The extent of their bounds, reacheth from the river Cophene in India, to the neighbouring part of Syria.

The genealogy of Abraham, Gen. xi.

HAVING ſpoken already of the ſons of Shem, I ſhall carry my diſcourſe forward to treat of the Hebrews. Phalec was the ſon of Heber, and Ragaus the ſon of Phalec. Ragaus begat Serug, Serug begat Nachor, and Nachor begat Thares the father of Abraham, the tenth generation from Noah. He was born about two hundred ninety two years after the flood. Thares was in the ſeventieth year of his age when he begat Abraham, Nachor one hundred and twenty when he begat Thares, Serug about a hundred thirty two when he begat Nachor, Ragaus one hundred and thirty when he begat Serug, and Phalec about the ſame age when he begat Ragaus, Heber one hundred thirty four when he begat Phalec, Sales one hundred and thirty when he begat Heber, Arphaxad one hundred thirty five when he had Sales. And this Arphaxad the ſon of Shem, and the grandſon of Noah, was born * two years after the flood.

Nachor and Aran, Abraham's brothers, ver. 27.

ABRAHAM had two brothers, Nachor and Haran, the latter died at Ur in Chaldæa, where there is to be ſeen at this day a ſepulchral monument erected in honour of his memory. He left behind him his ſon Lot, and two daughters, Sarah and Melcha: Nachor took the latter to wife, and Abraham took Sarah.

Thares the father of Abraham, ver. 32.

THARES the father of Abraham had contracted ſuch an averſion to Chaldæa, for the loſs of his ſon Haran, that he went away and all his family with him to Charran in Meſopotamia, where Thares died, and was buried after he had lived two hundred and fifty years †. The life of man was now ſhortened, and God ſoon after reduced it to the ſcantling of a hundred and twenty years, which was the preciſe age of Moſes himſelf.

The children of Nachor.

NACHOR had by his wife Melcha eight ſons, Uz, Baux, Camuel, Chazad, Azaus, Pheldas, Jadelphas, and Bethuel. Theſe were all the legitimate ſons of Nachor; but Tabæus and Gaham, Tavaus and Machas, he had by Ruma his concubine. Bathuel had a daughter and a ſon, Rebecca and Laban.

CHAP. VIII.

Abraham having no Children of his own, adopts his Nephew Lot, quits Chaldæa, and takes up his Abode in Chanaan.

Abraham goes into Canaan, Gen. xii. 5.

his piety, reſolution and wiſdom.

ABRAHAM having no legitimate iſſue of his own, adopted Lot, the ſon of his brother Aram, and the brother of his wife Sarah. In the ſeventy fifth year of his age he quit Chaldæa, and removed with his family and all that appertained unto him, into the land of Chanaan, as God had commanded him, where he took up his habitation, and in God's good time left it to his poſterity. He was a man equally wiſe and eloquent, of a piercing judgment, and an univerſal knowledge. He had the reputation of an underſtanding beyond other men; and as he wanted no skill, ſo he had the courage alſo to attack the moſt daring iniquities of the times, and by dint of his authority, as well as of his reaſon, to tear up falſe opinions in religion by the roots, and to terrify wicked men into the love and fear of that God whom they had deſpiſed. Abraham was the firſt who adventured to preach up the doctrine of One God, the Almighty Creator of all things in heaven and earth; and that it is to his infinite goodneſs, not to any power in ourſelves, that we ſtand indebted for all the comforts and conveniencies we enjoy in this world. This he argued from the orderly courſe of things both at ſea and land in their times and ſeaſons, and from his obſervation upon the motions and influences of the ſun, moon, and ſtars; inſomuch that without an over-ruling and an adminiſtring providence to preſerve and keep up the order of things, the whole frame of the univerſe muſt drop into confuſion; and conſequently that all we have to truſt to, for matters either of pleaſure, profit, or neceſſity, depends ſingly upon the good-will and bounty of the firſt mover: ſo that it is to him alone that we are to render all honour and thankſgiving, without aſſuming any thing to ourſelves.

Mentioned by Beroſus,

Hecatæus, and Nicolaus of Damaſcus.

THE people of Chaldæa and Meſopotamia were highly enraged at him for this doctrine; ſo that by God's order and aſſiſtance, he convey'd himſelf out of Chaldæa into Chanaan, where ſettling his abode, he erected an altar to God, worſhipped and offered ſacrifice. Beroſus hath a paſſage concerning our father Abraham, though without naming him: "In the tenth generation (ſays he) after the flood there was among the Chaldæans a certain great and juſt man, and one who was famous for his celeſtial obſervations." Hecatæus hath gone further yet, in an hiſtorical diſcourſe writ expreſly upon his affairs. Nicolaus of Damaſcus in the fourth book of his hiſtory does alſo make mention of him: "Abraham (ſays he) though a ſtranger commanded in Damaſcus, to which place he came with a numerous train from a country beyond Babylon, called Chaldæa; from whence he remov'd after a ſhort time with all his people, and went to Chananea, now called Judea, where he ſettled himſelf, and had a very numerous offſpring, of whom I ſhall ſpeak further in another book." But at Damaſcus the very name of Abraham is to this day had in great veneration; and there is a village too that yet bears the name of Abraham's habitation.

CHAP. IX.

Upon a Famine in Chanaan, Abraham removes into Egypt; and takes Sarah along with him, where he ſtays a while, and then returns.

A famine in Chanaan, Gen. xii. 10. Abraham goes into Egypt, ibid.

THERE happen'd in thoſe days a miſerable famine in Chanaan; and Abraham underſtanding that at the ſame time there was a great plenty in Egypt, reſolved upon a journey thither, partly to get a ſhare in their abundance, and partly to inform himſelf in the opinions and ſentiments of their prieſts, about divine matters; with an impartial deſire and diſpoſition to find out the truth, and either to give or to receive ſatisfaction, according to the right and reaſon of the ſubject in queſtion. Abraham taking Sarah along with him, who was a very beautiful woman, and being informed of the unbridled luſts of the Egyptians, fell into an apprehenſion that the king might probably put him to death upon the account of his wife; wherefore he bethought himſelf of an evaſion, in caſe of any difficulty, and to ſay ſhe was his ſiſter. Upon concerting the point

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* In the original 'tis twelve years by a miſtake.

† This differs from the ſcripture, which ſays he lived but two hundred and five years.

Pharaoh falls in love with Sarah, Ver. 15, &c.

He is viſited with a judicial ſickneſs, Ver. 17.

Abraham ſtudies the laws and cuſtoms of the country.

betwixt themſelves, and the preſent neceſſity conſidered, they concluded to agree in the ſame tale. At his coming into Egypt, it fell out as he foreboded; for the fame of his handſome wife was preſently ſpread about, till it came to the ear of Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, who was immediately inflamed with an impatience to ſee and to enjoy this miracle of a woman that he had heard ſuch wonders of, never queſtioning but he ſhould be able to gain his foul ends upon her. But in the mean while God put a check to the progreſs of his leud appetite, by viſiting this laſcivious prince with a plague and a ſedition both at once. In this diſtreſs Pharaoh had recourſe to his prieſts for counſel and direction, and to know what might be the ſin that brought this judgment upon him, and what the remedy. The prieſts upon ſacrificing returned him anſwer, that Heaven was diſpleaſed with him for the violence and abuſe he deſigned upon the wife of a ſtranger. This ſentence and reſolution put the king into ſuch a fright, that he immediately diſcours'd Sarah upon it with all frankneſs and reſpect, what ſhe herſelf was, and what the man was who brought her thither. She told him in ſhort the whole and the plain truth of the ſtory; whereupon Pharaoh excuſed himſelf to Abraham, that he took her for his ſiſter, not for his wife, and only deſired a fair alliance, without the leaſt thought of any ſcandalous indignity to her perſon. He made Abraham a preſent after this of a conſiderable ſum of money, and gave him a liberty of aſſociating and conferring with the moſt famous and learned men in his dominions, by which means he became better known, and conſequently more eſteemed for his excellent qualities and virtue. By the allowance of this freedom of conference and communication, Abraham had the means of obſerving all their diviſions about rites, ceremonies, and opinions, their factions and animoſities, and their reciprocal contempt and hatred one of another, and their diſagreement about religion; ſo that upon the whole matter, he made no difficulty to demonſtrate by dint of reaſon and argument, that their religion was vain and erroneous, a contradiction to itſelf, and without any foundation of truth to bottom upon. By theſe diſcourſes he gained himſelf infinite credit, not only for the ſolidity of his judgment, and an admirable felicity of elocution, but for this inſtructive talent alſo of informing and convincing his auditory both at once. He likewiſe inſtructed them in aſtronomy and arithmetick, which ſciences the Egyptians underſtood nothing of till Abraham brought them from Chaldæa into Egypt, and from thence they paſſed to the Greeks.

Abraham and Lot part lands betwixt them, Ver. 9, 10, 11.

ABRAHAM at his return to Chanaan, came to a diviſion of lands with Lot, the ſhepherds having had ſome quarrel about the bounds of their paſture. Abraham gave Lot the choice, contenting himſelf with what the other left, and took up his habitation in the city of Hebron, which was ſeven years older than Tanis in Egypt. Lot planted himſelf in the fields and plains that bordered upon the river Jordan, not far from Sodom; which Sodom was at that time a glorious city, but ſince laid in aſhes by divine vengeance, and ſo totally ruined, that the very memory of it is deſtroyed from off the earth. But of this we ſhall give the reaſons in their proper place.

CHAP. X.

The Sodomites defeated by the Aſſyrians, and Lot taken Priſoner.

Gen. xiv. 1.

Five kings of Sodom defeated by the Aſſyrians, Gen. xiv. 10.

Lot taken priſoner, Ver. 12.

WHILE the empire of Aſia was in the hands of the Aſſyrians, and Sodom in a condition ſo rich and populous, that five kings, viz. Ballas, Barſas, Senabar, Symobar, and the king of the Ballinians, had the adminiſtration of the government, and every king abſolute in his own territory; in thoſe days, I ſay, the Aſſyrians took the field with a mighty army, and marched againſt Sodom in four ſtrong bodies, well diſciplin'd, and commanded by brave and experienc'd officers, who after a bloody fight utterly defeated them; hereupon they impoſed a tribute upon the kings of Sodom, which they paid for twelve years; but the year following they fail'd, and forfeited. The Aſſyrians upon this advanced againſt them a ſecond time with another army as before, under the command of Amraphel, Arioch, Chodollogomor,* and Thabal; ravaged all Syria, ſubdued the race of the giants, and ſo enter'd the land of Sodom, encamping in the valley among the brimſtone-pits, which in thoſe days were very common thereabouts; but ſince the deſtruction of Sodom, that valley is turned into a lake called Aſphaltites, of which hereafter. This battle betwixt the Aſſyrians and the Sodomites was a terrible engagement; for the Sodomites were all either kill'd, or taken priſoners, of which latter number was Lot, who came to the relief of the place.

CHAP. XI.

Abraham routs and purſues the Aſſyrians, reſcues Lot and the reſt of the Priſoners. Melchiſedech treats Abraham, and Abraham preſents Melchiſedech with a tenth of the Spoil. God promiſes Abraham a Son. Abraham ſacrifices. Sarah *brings Hagar to Abraham's Bed, which creates an Envy. Hagar flies, and is comforted by an Angel. Iſhmael born. Iſaac promiſed. The Inſtitution of Circumciſion.*

Abraham routs the Aſſyrians, Ver. 15.

ABRAHAM had no ſooner heard the news of the Sodomites defeat, ſo many of his neighbours and friends killed and taken, and his kinſman Lot made a priſoner, but he poſted away immediately after the Aſſyrians, and the fifth night after his ſetting out, ſurprized them in their quarters near Dan, one of the heads of the river Jordan, where he found them in all the confuſion imaginable, ſome without their arms, others in bed, without the leaſt thought of an enemy; ſome drunk, ſome aſleep, and moſt of them in ſuch a condition, that they could neither fight nor fly. In this diſorder, Abraham put as many to the ſword as he could, and the next day purſued the reſt as far as Soba of Damaſcus. This therefore may ſerve for an inſtance, that it is not ſo much the number and multitude, as the valour of the combatants that gains the victory; for Abraham had but barely three hundred and eighteen of his own domeſticks, and three auxiliary friends, when he routed this numerous army; and thoſe few of the enemy that eſcap'd, were fain to fly home with ſhame and confuſion. Thus Abraham return'd to his people again with victory and peace, having reſcued, and ſet Lot and the reſt of the priſoners at liberty again.

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* Scr. Chedolaomer.

Abraham reſcues Lot and his fellow-priſoners, Gen. xiv. 16.

As Abraham was upon his return home, the king of Sodom met him at a place called the Royal Plain, to congratulate his ſucceſs, and there he was received by Melchiſedech the king of Solyma, now called Jeruſalem. Melchiſedech is as much as to ſay, a righteous king, which certainly this prince was, having been accounted worthy by common conſent to ſerve at the altar as a prieſt of the moſt high God. This Melchiſedech treated Abraham's followers and ſoldiers with great bounty, hoſpitality, and all ſorts of refreſhments; inviting Abraham himſelf to his table, and extolling him up to the ſkies for ſo noble an atchievement, and glorifying God's holy name for the bleſſing of ſo ſignal a victory, in a way of thankſgiving worthy of his ſacred character. Abraham alſo on the other hand preſented Melchiſedech with the tenth of the ſpoils he had taken, which he accepted of. Abraham made an offer of part of the booty to the king of Sodom alſo, whoſe anſwer was, that he only deſired to have his own people again, who had been taken priſoners by the Aſſyrians, and were now reſcued out of their hands; and for the reſt, Abraham might do with it as he pleaſed. But Abraham excuſed himſelf from dealing upon thoſe conditions, declaring that he was abſolutely reſolved to accept no ſhare of the booty himſelf, more than was ſufficient to ſupply his men with proviſions, and to reward Eſchol, Enner, and Mambres, his three friends, who had ſtood the ſhock of the battle.

Melchiſedech treats Abraham, Ver. 18.

Abraham preſents him with the tenth of the ſpoil, Ver. 20.

God promiſes Abraham a ſon, Gen. xv. 4.

God was ſo well pleaſed with the generous ſincerity of Abraham, that he aſſured him theſe good deeds of his ſhould never paſs unrewarded. "And what, good Lord, ſays this holy "man then, will all thy bounties and rewards "to come avail a perſon who hath never a "child to leave them to, or an heir to ſucceed "him." (Abraham being as yet childleſs.) Whereupon God not only promiſed him a ſon, but the bleſſing alſo of a poſterity, which ſhould be, "As the ſtars of the Heaven for number." Upon the hearing of theſe words, Abraham overjoy'd, offer'd up a ſacrifice according to the expreſs command and direction of Almighty God. He took a heifer, a goat, and a ram, of three years old each, a turtle-dove, and a pigeon; the birds he kept whole, dividing the reſt into halves, according to his order. While the altar was making ready, and birds of prey hovering up and down over the place, waiting for the blood of the carcaſſes, a voice was heard from Heaven, foretelling the bondage that the poſterity of Abraham ſhould ſuffer in Egypt from malicious enemies, for the ſpace of four hundred years, at the end of which term they ſhould over-run the whole territory of the Chanaanites, and make themſelves maſters of all their cities and dominions, from Egypt as far as Sidon.

Abraham ſacrifices, Ver. 10.

The Egyptian bondage foretold, Ver. 13.

Gen. xvi.

Abraham at this time dwelt near the oak of Ogyge, as they called it, a place not far from Hebron, where he paſſed his days very uncomfortably in the thought of his wife's barrenneſs, and the want of iſſue; but ſtill continuing to ſolicit Almighty God with daily prayers and ſupplications for a male child. Upon theſe importunities, God not only continued his former promiſe to him of a child, but gave him repeated aſſurances, that he ſhould receive all the other good things alſo which he promiſed him upon his quitting Meſopotamia.

Sarah brings Hagar to Abraham's bed, Ver. 3.

Hagar's contempt of Sarah, Ver. 5.

While things were at this paſs, Sarah by a particular direction from Heaven brought Hagar, an Egyptian ſervant in the family, to bed to her huſband, in hopes he might have children by her. This maid proving with child, behaved herſelf inſolently to her miſtreſs upon a vain preſumption, that the child ſhe had in her belly would in courſe be next heir to the government. Abraham was no ſooner aware of this ingratitude, but he immediately delivered her up into Sarah's hand, to chaſtiſe her as ſhe thought fit, which to the maid was ſo inſupportable a mortification, that ſhe reſolved to fly the place upon it, calling upon God ſtill to pity her in that miſerable condition. As ſhe was upon the way in her flight, and paſſing through a deſart, an Angel from Heaven met her, and ordered her back again to the place from whence ſhe came; adding, that this affliction had befallen her, only as a puniſhment for her arrogance and unthankfulneſs; denouncing at the ſame time preſent deſtruction upon her, if ſhe continued obſtinate, and contemn'd the commandments of God; but in caſe ſhe obey'd the admonition, and returned back again, ſhe ſhould live to be the mother of a child, that in time ſhould come to have the dominion of that country. She obeyed the voice of the Angel, went back to her miſtreſs, begged her pardon, and obtain'd it; and ſome time after this, ſhe was delivered of Iſhmael, (which ſignifies prevail'd upon,) God having heard and granted the prayers of the mother.

Hagar flies, and is comforted by an angel, Ver. 10, 11.

Iſhmael born, Ver. 15.

Gen. xvii. 1.

Abraham was eighty ſix when he begot Iſhmael, and at the age of ninety nine, God appeared to him, and told him that his wife Sarah ſhould bear him a ſon, with a command to call him Iſaac, foretelling alſo that mighty kings and nations ſhould come out of him, and make themſelves maſters by force of arms of the whole land of Chanaan, from Sidon to Egypt. And God commanded farther for diſtinction ſake, betwixt the race of Abraham and other nations, with whom there was to be no intermixture, that all his poſterity ſhould be circumciſed on their privities at eight days old, not only for the diſtinction aforeſaid, but for ſome other reaſons alſo hereafter to be declared. Abraham then conſulted God about the life of Iſhmael, and received anſwer that he ſhould live long, and be the father of many great and famous nations; whereupon Abraham gave God thanks, and was immediately circumciſed with his whole family, and likewiſe Iſhmael, who was now thirteen years of age, and Abraham about ninety nine.

Iſaac promiſed, Ver. 16.

The inſtitution of circumciſion, Ver. 10.

CHAP. XII.

The Deſtruction of Sodom by the juſt Judgment of God, for the execrable Wickedneſs of the People.

The wickedneſs of Sodom, Gen. xviii. and xix.

ABOUT this time the people of Sodom were ſo puffed up with pride in the contemplation of their prodigious wealth and plenty, that they behaved with unparallel'd inſolence towards men, and irreverence towards God. They were ungrateful for benefits received to the higheſt degree, inhoſpitable to ſtrangers, and burnt in unnatural luſts one towards another. By theſe provoking and abominable ſins, the wrath of God was ſo highly incenſed againſt them, that he took up a determination to avenge himſelf upon them for their arrogance and pride, and to deſtroy their cities, and lay their whole country waſte, that for the time to come, the ground there ſhould produce no more graſs, nor any plant or fruit for the uſe of man.

Abraham entertains three angels, Gen. xviii. 2.

THIS reſolution being taken, and the ſentence paſſed upon the Sodomites, as Abraham was ſitting one day at his tent door under the oak of Mambre, he ſaw three angels coming towards him, who to him ſeemed ſtrangers or travellers. He roſe up to meet them, and ſo after the firſt ſalutation and embrace, he gave them a fair invitation to the beſt entertainment his roof could afford. They accepted of his civility, and ſo his ſervants were preſently appointed to bake him a cake, and a calf was alſo killed and dreſſed; which being made ready, the treat was ſet before the angels under the oak where they lay. They gave him thanks, and in appearance fed upon it. But while the meat was yet before them, they enquired of Abraham where his wife Sarah was, who made anſwer, that ſhe was within there in the tent. Upon this they ſtood up as to go their way, telling Abraham that it would not be long before they ſhould come that way again, and that by that time they ſhould find Sarah a mother. Upon theſe words Sarah was called in, and could not forbear ſmiling to hear them ſpeak of her having a child at that time of the day, for ſhe herſelf was ninety years of age, and her huſband a hundred. When they had proceeded thus far, the angels caſt off their diſguiſe, owned who they were, and gave up an account of their commiſſion. One of them, they ſaid, was ſent to bring Abraham the tidings of a ſon that was to be born, and the other two were employ'd for the deſtruction of Sodom. The latter ſtruck Abraham with grief and concern, for the ſake of the Sodomites; inſomuch, that he got up and begged of God that he would be pleaſed not to deſtroy the innocent together with the guilty. God gave him for anſwer, that they were all alike, and that if there were but ten righteous men in the whole city, he would ſpare all the reſt for that ten's ſake. After this declaration, Abraham urged not one word more in their behalf.

They promiſe him a ſon, Ver. 10.

And foretel the deſtruction of Sodom, Ver. 17, &c.

Two of the angels are Lot's gueſts, Gen. xix. 1.

THE two Angels departed, and went into Sodom, and Lot obſerving them, invited them to a lodging in his houſe. Now Lot was naturally humane, and courteous to ſtrangers, and the very counterpart of Abraham for piety and good-nature. But ſo it fell out, that the inhabitants of the town taking notice that two beautiful graceful perſons entered into Lot's houſe, preſſed hard upon Lot to force their way into his lodgings, with a deſign of attempting ſome violent act of brutality upon their perſons. Lot ſaid all that was poſſible upon the ſubject of continence and hoſpitality, to divert them from ſuch an outrageous act of lewdneſs; nay, and rather than fail, offered them his two daughters in exchange for the two ſtrangers; but this would not ſatisfy them neither. God being provok'd at their diabolical impudence and inſolence, ſtruck them upon the very place with ſo judicial a blindneſs, that they could not find the way into the houſe, the whole people of Sodom being at the ſame time doomed to an exemplary perdition.

Lot's houſe beſet, Ver. 4.

The Sodomites ſtruck with blindneſs, Ver. 11.

Lot withdraws out of the city, Ver. 16.

Now Lot who had been forewarned of this approaching calamity, withdrew out of the city, with his wife and two maidens, her contracted daughters. The perſons to whom they were eſpouſed, were alſo earneſtly invited to accompany them out, but they turned all his admonitions into ridicule, looking upon them as the effects of a diſtemper'd brain, and ſo ſtaid behind, and ſhared the common fate in the general conflagration. Then it was that God diſcharged the fierce arrows of his wrath and vengeance upon this impious generation, conſuming not only the city itſelf, and every living ſoul in it, but deſtroying alſo the whole country thereabouts with the ſame irreparable deſolation, as may alſo be ſeen in my commentaries upon the wars of the Jews. The wife of Lot who went out with her huſband, whether out of curioſity or tenderneſs, could not forbear looking behind her, to ſurvey the deſtruction of the city, though directly contrary to the command of God, and was turned into a pillar of ſalt.* I have view'd it myſelf, and it remains to this day.

Sodom conſumed with fire, Ver. 24.

Lot's wife turned into a pillar of ſalt, Ver. 26.

Lot and his family fly to Zoar, Ver. 23.

LOT and his daughters after this terrible judgment, in order to ſave themſelves, fled into a little corner of the country call'd Zoar, (in Hebrew, Small,) the only place which this devouring fire had ſpar'd. In this retreat they led a ſolitary uneaſy life, for want both of converſation and proviſion. The daughters looked upon themſelves in that ſolitude, as in effect the only ſurvivors of mankind, and therefore ſo far conſulted common convenience in this extremity, as to reckon any thing warrantable that they found neceſſary, eſpecially where the conſervation of the whole race of mankind was the queſtion. On this conſideration they contrived the putting of a trick upon their father, by ſtealing to bed to him at a time when he knew not what he did; upon which they both proved with child of boys. The ſon of the elder was call'd Moab, (in Hebrew, of my father,) that of the younger was Ammon, (or of my race.) The one was the father of the Moabites, a mighty people yet in being; the other of the Ammonites, and they both inhabit Cœle-Syria. Thus it was that Lot made his eſcape from the fire of Sodom.

Lot's inceſt, Ver. 33, &c.

Moab and Ammon, Ver. 37, 38.

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* See Colomeſius's Obſervat. Sacr. p. 111. & Huetius's Alnet. Quæſt. l. ii. p. 193.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Abimelech, and likewiſe of Iſhmael the Son of Abraham, and the Arabians his Poſterity.

Abraham withdraws with Sarah to Gerar, Gen. xx. 1.

Abimelech falls in love with Sarah, Ver. 2.

Cautioned againſt it in a dream, Ver. 3.

Abimelech excuſes himſelf, Ver. 9.

As for Abraham, he withdrew himſelf to Gerar in Paleſtine, and took Sarah along with him, ſtill under colour of his ſiſter, as before, for fear of Abimelech the king of the place. Now this Abimelech did afterwards fall in love with her, and would have corrupted her, or attempted it at leaſt, if the hand of God had not, in the heat of his appetite and deſign, prevented him by a deſperate fit of ſickneſs. So ill he was, that the phyſicians deſpaired of his life; and in the height of his diſtemper he had a caution given him in a dream, not to offer any violence to Sarah, for ſhe was the ſtranger's wife, not his ſiſter. Abimelech ſome ſhort time after, finding himſelf in a hopeful way of recovery, called his friends about him, and told them of his paſſion, and of his dream, and every thing that had paſſed, with this inference upon the whole, that his preſent ſickneſs was a judgment upon him for an inordinate love. Upon this, by the advice of the people about him, he ſent for Abraham, and gave him all aſſurance that his wife's honour was ſafe, for God had ſupported and protected her, and he did now reſtore her to him as unſpotted as he found her, appealing to God and her own conſcience for the truth of what he ſaid, and proteſting that if he had but known her to have been his wife, he would never have attempted her, deſiring him likewiſe to paſs it all over, and to remember him in his prayers to Almighty God to forgive him. He told him further, that if he had a mind to ſtay, he ſhould be welcome, and ſufficiently provided for; or if he had rather depart, he ſhould have guides and carriages to attend him, and all manner of conveniences along with him, which he might have any occaſion for when he came into that country. Abraham, in return to what Abimelech had ſaid, did in ſome ſort juſtify the calling of Sarah his ſiſter, being the daughter of his brother, and ſo of the kindred; and that he had made uſe of this pretence as a ſecurity to him in his travels. Neither could he charge himſelf, he ſaid, as the cauſe of Abimelech's ſickneſs; but in concluſion he wiſhed him well with all his heart, and ſhould be glad to continue with him. Matters being thus reconciled, the king very generouſly gave Abraham a portion both of lands and money, contracted an alliance with him upon condition of a fair correſpondence betwixt them, without fraud or guile, and the league was ſtruck and ratified at a certain well called Berſube, (or the well of the oath,) which is the name it beareth to this very day.

Berſube, or the well of the oath, Gen. xxi. 31.

The birth of Iſaac, Ver. 2, 3.

Some little time after this, Sarah brought Abraham a ſon, (as God had foretold,) and they named him Iſaac, (in Hebrew, laughter,) alluding to Sarah's ſmiling at the improbability of her having a child at thoſe years, as the angel had foretold; ſhe herſelf being ninety years of age, and her huſband a hundred when Iſaac was born. Upon the eighth day he was circumciſed, and the Jews obſerve the ſame time and ſolemnity of circumciſion unto this day. The Arabians indeed are not circumciſed till the thirteenth year, as Iſhmael was, the ſon of Abraham by his concubine, and the perſon from whom they derive their original. But of him more particularly in what I am about to ſay.

Sarah ſolicits Abraham to ſend away Hagar and Iſhmael, Ver. 10.

Hagar and Iſhmael ſent away, Ver 14.

Hagar in deſpair, and an angel comforts her, Ver. 17.

Sarah had at firſt as tender an affection for Iſhmael the ſon of her handmaid Hagar, as if he had been her own fleſh and blood; beſides, that he was alſo trained up and educated with infinite care and reſpect, as the preſumptive heir of the government. But when Iſaac came to be born, Sarah did not think it ſecure or reaſonable to have the two children brought up together, for Iſhmael was ſo much the elder, that in caſe of Abraham's death, he might find himſelf under ſome temptation, perhaps, to ſupplant the other; ſo that Sarah for fear of this, employed all the power ſhe had with Abraham, to have both mother and child ſent away and diſpoſed of in ſome remote country. Abraham at the firſt motion was utterly againſt it, as a barbarous cruelty to expoſe an innocent helpleſs child, and a neceſſitous mother to the wide world at that inhuman rate; but Abraham at length being over-ruled by God's command, hearken'd to the voice of his wife, and delivered the boy, who was not yet big enough to ſhift for himſelf, into the arms of his mother; gave her a proportion of water and bread for a ſubſiſtence, and ſo turned them looſe to ſeek their fortunes. They had not travelled far before their proviſions failed them, the water was all ſpent, the child ready to periſh for want of drink, and the woman in ſhort at her wits end. In this diſtreſs ſhe laid the boy down at the foot of a fir-tree, and went off herſelf to ſome diſtance, that ſhe might not ſee ſo diſmal a ſpectacle as that would have been, of her poor child in his laſt agonies. While Hagar was in this anxiety and deſpair, there came an angel to her, which ſhewed her a fountain hard by, and bad her be ſure to look carefully to her charge, for it was a matter of great moment, and her own happineſs depended in a great meaſure upon the ſafety of that child. This conſolation put the woman ſomewhat in heart again, ſo that ſhe continued wandering on ſtill, till by providence ſhe fell into the company of ſhepherds, who contributed very much to her relief.

Iſhmael's twelve ſons.

When Iſhmael was grown up to man's eſtate, his mother married him to one of her own country, an Egyptian woman, who brought him twelve ſons, * Nabaioth, Cedar, Abdeel, Mabſamas, Maſmaus, Idumus, Maſſaus, Chodad, Theman, Jetur, Naphaiſh, Cadmas; who had in their poſſeſſion all the lands from Euphrates to the Red-Sea. The country is called Nabathæa; and theſe were they that gave both reputation and names to the nation and tribes of the Arabians, by their own valour and the dignity of Abraham.

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* Theſe are writ after the following manner in Gen. xxv. 13, 14, 15. Nebajoth, Kedar, Abdeel, Mibſam, Miſhma, Dumah, Maſſa, Hadar, Tema, Jetur, Naphiſh, Kedemah.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

God commands Abraham to ſacrifice his beloved Son Iſaac. Iſaac's Faith and Obedience, and the Bleſſing that attended it.

God tries Abraham, Gen. xxii. 1.

God demands Iſaac for a ſacrifice, Ver. 2.

Abraham's faith and obedience, Ver. 3.

ISAAC was the only begotten ſon of Abraham, ſent him by God as the bleſſing of his age, and infinitely dear to him upon that account. But in the mean time, this tender affection of the parents was both anſwered and juſtified by the early piety, virtue, and reverence (towards God and man) of a child that deſerved it. When Abraham found himſelf ſecured in the proſpect of ſo excellent a ſucceſſor, he was no longer ſolicitous for his own life, or the things of this world, but placed his whole truſt upon the hope of his next heir, with a chearful diſpoſition to reſign his authority and poſſeſſions to his beloved ſon, and his very being to God and his good pleaſure. But it pleaſed the Lord ſtill after all this, to make a further trial of his integrity, and ſo enumerating to him the great things he had already done for him, the victories, the wealth, the happineſs, and the child, all which he had received from his bounty, he demanded, in fine, his dear and only ſon Iſaac for a ſacrifice, and to be offered on a mountain of Moriah, upon an altar there, as the utmoſt proof of his faith and obedience. Now Abraham, who lov'd and honour'd God without any conditions or reſerve, made no difficulty of reſolving without the leaſt ſcruple to deliver up the life of his ſon to the will of his maker, and the author of life itſelf; ſo that without one word ſpeaking to his wife, or any of his people, either of the command, or of his purpoſe, leſt peradventure they might oppoſe him in it, he took his ſon Iſaac with two of his ſervants, and an aſs laden with neceſſaries for the ſacrifice, and with them ſet forward two days journey towards the mountain. But approaching on the third day within ſight of the mountain, where David afterwards built a temple, he took Iſaac alone with him up into it, and left his ſervants below in the field. Iſaac was now twenty five years of age, and taking notice as he was preparing for the altar, that all things were ready for the ſacrifice, but no ſacrifice to be ſeen, he asked his father what offering he intended, for he ſaw none? Abraham made anſwer, that God would provide one, in whoſe power it was to give to thoſe that want, and to take away from thoſe that have abundance, and all for the beſt to them who put their truſt in God; wherefore he might take it for granted, that God would find the ſacrifice, if he ſhould vouchſafe to accept of an oblation.

Abraham's diſcourſe to Iſaac before the altar, Ver. 8.

So ſoon as the wood was laid, and every thing made ready, "My dear ſon, ſays he, thou haſt been the child of many prayers to me, and ſince thy coming into the world, I have ſpared for nothing in thy nurture and education. There is not any happineſs I have more wiſhed for, than to ſee thee ſettled in a conſummated ſtate of age and reaſon, and whenever God ſhall take me to himſelf, to leave thee in poſſeſſion of my authority and dominions; but ſince it hath pleaſed God, firſt to beſtow thee upon me, and now to call thee back again, my dear ſon, acquit thyſelf generouſly under ſo pious a neceſſity. It is to God that thou art dedicated and delivered up on this occaſion, and it is the ſame God who now requires thee of me in return for all the bleſſings and favours he had ſhower'd down upon us both in war and peace. It is but according to the law of nature for all that are born, to die; and a more glorious end thou can'ſt never have than to fall by the hand of thine own father, a ſacrifice to the God and father of the univerſe, who hath rather choſen to receive thy ſoul into a bleſſed eternity upon the wing of prayers and ardent ejaculations, than ſuffer thee to be taken away by ſickneſs, war, paſſion, or any other of the common chances of mankind. Conſider it well, and thou wilt find, that in that heavenly ſtation to which thou art now called, thou may'ſt make thyſelf the true ſupport of thy aged father, and that inſtead of my ſon Iſaac, I ſhall have God himſelf for my guardian."

A voice from Heaven bids Abraham hold his hand, Ver. 12.

ISAAC attended to all that had been ſaid, with a conſtancy and reſignation becoming the ſon of ſo great a father; declaring, that if he ſhould not frankly deliver up that life to God and his father, which they themſelves had given him, he had better never have been born; nay, that it was at the devotion even of his father alone, if he ſhould require it. With theſe words Iſaac advanced up to the altar, and preſented himſelf to the ſlaughter; but upon the very point of doing the execution, God Almighty called aloud to Abraham, and prevented it. "He bad him hold his hand, and ſpare his ſon; for, ſays he, I did not require it of you out of any delight I take in human blood, or that I would make a father the aſſaſſin of that very child which I myſelf had given him, but to ſee how far you would ſubmit to your God, in a ſelf-denial to your inclination and nature. But now ſince I find your piety to be proof againſt all temptations, I do here confirm over again to you all my former promiſes. I do accept of your ſacrifice, and for yourſelf and your poſterity, my providence ſhall never forſake you. I will bleſs your ſon Iſaac with long life, and make his offſpring illuſtrious, by a numerous ſucceſſion of great and virtuous men. His poſterity ſhall give laws to many nations; they ſhall ſubdue the land of Chanaan by the ſword, and their wealth and renown ſhall make them the envy of the reſt of the world."

A ram for a ſacrifice, ſupplies the place of Iſaac, Ver. 13.

So ſoon as God had made an end of ſpeaking, there appeared moſt unexpectedly a ram for a ſacrifice. Upon this ſurprize the father and the ſon, in a tranſport of joy, exchanged all ſorts of endearments; bleſſing God for his gracious promiſes and infinite goodneſs, and thereupon offering a up their ſacrifice. That duty being over, they returned to Sarah, and lived happily after it; for God's bleſſing went along with them in whatever they did.

CHAP. XV.

The age and death of Sarah.

The age and death of Sarah, Gen. xxiii, 1, 2.

NOT long after this Sarah died, being a hundred twenty and ſeven years of age. She was buried in Hebron, and the Chanaanites would have given her the ſolemnity of an interment, but Abraham choſe rather to buy a burying-place for himſelf and his family, which he did of one Ephraim, an inhabitant of Hebron, at the price of four hundred ſhekels*, where the monuments of himſelf and divers of his poſterity are yet to be ſeen.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Abraham and his wife Chetura, and their poſterity the Troglodytes. Iſaac marries Rebecca.

Abraham's children by Chetura, and their offſpring.

AFTER the death of Sarah, Abraham took to wife Chetura, by whom he had ſix ſons, men of induſtry and wiſdom; their names were † Zembran, Jazar, Madan, Madian, Jozubac, and Suus.

SUUS had two Sons, Sabathan and Dadan, who had Latuſim, Aſſur, and Luom. Madian had five ſons, Epha, Opher, Enoch, Ebidas, and Eldas.

THESE people, upon Abraham's advice, diſperſed themſelves into colonies; and took poſſeſſion of the country of the Troglodytes, and that part of Arabia Felix which lies towards the Red-Sea. There is a report that it was this ſame Opher who entered Libya with a powerful army, and over-ran the country. His ſucceſſors held it after him, and gave it the name of Aphrica. Alexander Polyhiſtor is of this opinion, when he ſays that Cleodemus the prophet, otherwiſe called Malchus, in a hiſtory of the Jews, which he has written after the manner of Moſes their Law-giver, makes mention of ſeveral children that Abraham had by Chetura, and three by name, i. e. Apheran, Surim, and Japhran; the Syrians taking their names from Surim, and the city of Aphra and Aphrica theirs from Japhran and Apheran. Theſe are the people who are ſaid to have fought againſt Libya and Antæus under the command of Hercules. And the ſtory goes, that this Hercules married the daughter of Aphra, and had by her Dedor the father of Sophon, from whence the barbarous Sophaces derived their name.

The fable of Hercules.

Abraham propounds a match for his ſon Iſaac with Rebecca the grand-daughter to Nachor, Gen. xxiv. 4.

The Formality of an oath, ver. 2.

The civility and good nature of Rebecca, ver. 18, 19, &c.

What paſſed betwixt Abraham's ſervant and Rebecca, ver. 23.

ISAAC was at this time about forty years of age, when his father had ſome thoughts of marrying him to Rebecca the grand-daughter of his brother Nachor. The reſolution being taken to attempt that match, he ſends the moſt approved and truſty ſervant he had on the errand; but firſt gives him his oath in form, to be true to his truſt, which was performed by putting his hand under his thigh, according to the cuſtom of the country. This being done, he gives him his commiſſion and inſtruction, with full power and authority to treat and conclude; and having furniſhed him with choice and rich preſents, ſuch as were ſeldom or never ſeen in that country, and accommodated him with neceſſaries ſuitable for his journey, he ſends him forward. His way lay thorough Meſopotamia, which, betwixt dirt in the winter, want of water in the ſummer, and the inevitable danger of robbers, if people be not very cautious, is a very troubleſome and incommodious paſſage for travellers. But yet after all theſe difficulties, he came at laſt to Charran, where, upon entering the ſuburbs, he ſaw a great many young maiden women going to the wells for water: Upon which ſight, he put up a mental prayer to God Almighty, deſiring, that if heaven approved of the match he came about, he might find Rebecca in that company; and further, that he might know which which was ſhe, by her giving him water upon his deſiring it, and the reſt refuſing. This thought ran in his head till he came to the well, where the virgins being gotten together, he begged of them one by one to beſtow the charity of a draught of water upon him. One ſaid, ſhe had taken a great deal of pains to get it, and could not part with it ſo eaſily; another, that ſhe drew water for herſelf and not for other people; ſome made one excuſe, ſome another, but all upon the negative, till at laſt, one ſingle virgin chid her companions for want of good nature and civility to a ſtranger, and aſking them whether they had been educated among reaſonable creatures or brutes, that could deny a ſtranger the common rights of hoſpitality for ſo ſmall a matter: whereupon ſhe herſelf, with great courteſy and freeneſs gave the ſtranger to drink. This was as auſpicious an entrance upon his buſineſs as he could have wiſhed: but yet for ſureneſs ſake, after the prologue of a decent reſpect to the perſon of the virgin, and a declaration how much he was obliged to her for her civilities to a ſtranger, he came by degrees to the more neceſſary point of enquiring into her family and extraction, bleſſing the happy parents of ſo gracious a daughter, with a thouſand prayers that they might live to beſtow her where ſhe would enjoy all the comforts of a married ſtate, in the love of a kind and virtuous huſband, and a numerous ſtock of obedient children. Rebecca, without any ceremony at all, courteouſly anſwer'd his queſtion; "My father's name (ſays ſhe) was Bathuel; but he died a long time ſince, and left my mother and myſelf, with the whole family and fortune, under the care of a brother of mine yet living, whoſe name is Laban, and mine is Rebecca." The Man was overjoy'd at what he had heard and ſeen, being now fully aſſured that God would proſper his journey. Upon this he took out a chain, and ſome other ornamental curioſities, that women of Rebecca's age are commonly well enough pleaſed with, and made the virgin a preſent of them; both as an inſtance of his eſteem for her ſingular goodneſs, and as an acknowledgment of the particular obligation ſhe had laid upon him. He made it his requeſt then, that for that night he might be permitted to lodge with the family of her relations; for it was grown late, and would be dangerous and incommodious travelling further; beſide, that he had a charge of rich jewels and coſtly womens apparel with him, which he could not think any where ſafer than in the hands of perſons of ſo approved an integrity; for he preſumed to make a judgment of the honour and integrity of the mother and ſon, by the goodneſs that he had experimented in herſelf; adding further, that he hoped there would be no ſcruple made of entertaining a ſtranger, who would bear his own expences, without the leaſt charge or burden to the family. The maid reply'd, that he was much in the right to think well of the humanity of her relations; but ſhe deſired him however to have a better opinion of their generoſity, for it ſhould coſt him nothing: but ſhe would nevertheleſs, ſhe ſaid, aſk her brother's leave to introduce him. Which was ſoon granted, and done accordingly. He was no ſooner brought in, but Laban's ſervants were ordered to look to his camels, and himſelf invited into ſupper with the maſter of the houſe. When ſupper was over, the gueſt addreſſed himſelf to the ſon, and the mother of the family after this manner: "I am come hither from Abraham, the ſon of Thares, and your kinſman; for Nachor (addreſſing himſelf to Rebecca's mother) the grandfather of your children, was Abraham's brother by the ſame father and mother. This Abraham is my maſter, and from him I now come with a commiſſion to propoſe a marriage betwixt this virgin here, and his only legitimate ſon and heir. He could have had his choice of the moſt conſiderable matches in his own country, but out of a preference to thoſe of his own blood, he has rather made this election. Pray do not oppoſe it, for God himſelf hath appeared in favour of it; and it was a ſtrange direction from heaven that brought me both to this virgin and to your houſe, over and above ſeveral propitious circumſtances that happened to me in my journey. As I was coming into this town, I ſaw a great many maidens going to fetch water, when I pray'd in my heart that I might find this very virgin; and providence directed me to her: ſo that this marriage is as good as made in heaven already, and wants only your authority to confirm it." This propoſal was ſo advantageous and deſirable in itſelf, and ſo manifeſtly conſentaneous to the will of God, that Rebecca was delivered up to the ſervant upon the conditions of the treaty, who carry'd her home with him to Iſaac, being now the lord and maſter of Abraham's poſſeſſions; for the children that Abraham had by Chetura were gone to plant in other provinces.

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* The ſhekel here meant was the common ſhekel of ſilver, in value about two ſhillings, one penny, and three 8ths in our money; ſo that four hundred of them muſt amount to 40 l. 5 s. 10 d. or thereabouts.

† Gen. xxv. 2, 3, &c. Zimran, Jockſhan, Medan, Midian, Iſhbak, and Shuah. And Jokſhan begat Sheba and Dedan. And the ſons of Dedan were Aſhurim, and Letuſhim, and Leummim. And the ſons of Midian Ephah, and Epher, and Hanoch, and Abidah, and Eldaah: all theſe were the children of Keturah.

Laban entertains Abraham's ſervant Ver. 31, &c.

He communicates his inſtructions. Ver. 34, 35, &c.

The match concluded, and Rebecca deliver'd up, Ver. 59.

CHAP. XVII.

The death of Abraham.

The death, age, and burial of Abraham, Gen. xxv. Ver. 7, 8, 9.

Abraham lived but a ſhort time after the marriage of Iſaac: A man conſpicuous for his piety and virtue, and beloved both of God and man. His age was one hundred and ſeventy five years when he died. He was buried at Hebron, and laid by his wife Sarah; Iſaac and Iſhmael taking upon them the care of his burial.

CHAP. XVIII.

The birth of Eſau and Jacob. Eſau's Wives. Iſaac ſends Eſau a hunting; but being in years, and dim-ſighted, Jacob perſonates and ſupplants him; and the father bleſſes one for the other.

Soon after the deceaſe of Abraham, Iſaac's wife was found to be with child: and her bigneſs ſo extraordinary, that Iſaac under a great concern, beſought God to reveal unto him the meaning of it. He received for anſwer that ſhe ſhould bring forth twins; and that from thoſe two twins, two nations ſhould deſcend of their own name; and that in proceſs of time, the younger ſhould be the greater of the two. This fell out accordingly not long after; for Rebecca had twins, the elder of them all hairy from head to foot, and the other catching him by the heel as he was coming into the world. The elder was the father's darling, and his name Eſau or Seir, (which word in Hebrew ſignifies Hair,) and the younger, whoſe name was Jacob, the mother's.

Jacob and Eſau twins, Gen. xxv. 24, 25.

A famine in Chanaan, Gen. xxvi. 1.

Iſaac goes to Gerar, ibid.

Abimelech kind to him at firſt, and then breaks with him, Ver. 11 to 16.

There happened in thoſe days to be a terrible famine in the land of Chanaan, and at the ſame time great plenty of every thing in Egypt, whither Iſaac fully purpoſed to have gone; but God diverted him, and ſo he went to Gerar. King Abimelech treated him there with all the appearance of reſpect imaginable, at firſt, upon the account of that antient league of friendſhip and alliance which had formerly paſſed betwixt himſelf and Abraham; but this was not likely to continue long in a man who ſacrificed all other conſiderations to his envy. He found that Iſaac was more in God's favour than himſelf, and ſo turned him off. Iſaac perceived that this change of humour proceeded only from envy, and ſo withdrew to a place called the valley, not far from Gerar. And as he was there digging for water, Abimelech's ſhepherds aſſaulted him in a violent and outrageous manner, and ſtopt his proceeding. He had no mind to contend, ſo that the ſhepherds ſeemed to have the better of him. Upon this he went a little further, and digged a ſecond time, and was again interrupted by Abimelech's ſhepherds, as before: whereupon he thought it good diſcretion to leave off there too, and wait the providence of a more favourable occaſion. After this he made a third attempt, and the king then gave him leave to dig, and he gave the place the name of *Roobath, (as much as to ſay, Large or Spacious.) And for the other places before-mentioned, the former he called Eſcon (or Contention;) and the other Sitenna, which ſignifies Enmity.

Iſaac's power, intereſt, and reputation encreaſing daily, Abimelech had an eye upon him, as a growing adverſary; for he was conſcious of his own inſincerity, and not without ſome apprehenſion that the countenance he ſhewed at firſt, compared with his unfriendly dealing afterward, might provoke him to a revenge; beſide that he would not willingly have ſuch a man his enemy. Theſe things premiſed and conſidered, Abimelech went directly to Iſaac, with a motion to renew an alliance with him; taking one of his great officers and friends along with him for a party to the treaty. Iſaac's good-

Abimelech renews his alliance with Iſaac, ver. 31.

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* The Scripture has it Rehoboth, Eſek, and Sitnah, Gen. xxvi. 20, 21, 22.

good-nature was eaſily prevailed upon to lay aſide all former animoſities, out of a reverence to the memory of the former friendſhips and good offices, which had paſſed betwixt Abimelech and his father; and ſo all things were brought to an amicable accommodation.

Eſau's wives, Gen. xxviii. 9.

Esau, the beloved ſon of his father Iſaac, at forty years of age married two wives, Adah the daughter of Elon, and * Alibama the daughter of † Eſbion, perſons of quality and diſtinction among the Chanaanites. Now this he did upon his own head and fancy, without ever conſulting his father; or if he had, he would hardly have given his conſent; having taken up a firm reſolution never to enter into any ſort of alliance with that people. But, however, the thing being done, could not be undone, and Iſaac thought it his beſt courſe rather to paſs it over in ſilence, without noiſe, than to put it to the extremity of making him turn the women away.

Iſaac ſends Eſau a hunting, Gen. xxvii. 3.

Jacob perſonates Eſau, Ver. 19.

Ver. 22.

Jacob defrauds Eſau of his bleſſing, Ver. 27, &c.

Isaac was now grown old, and very dimſighted, if not quite blind. In this condition he call'd his ſon Eſau to him; and prefacing what he had to ſay with ſomewhat of reflection upon his age and infirmity, he fell to lamenting his condition, that he was not able to ſerve God with that vigour of devotion now, as he had done formerly; and after this, he order'd his ſon Eſau to go out a hunting, and provide him ſome good thing for his ſupper, ſaying, that he would afterwards give him his prayers and his bleſſing, and beſeech God to be his comforter and protector to his life's end. “My diſſolution, ſays he, I am very “ſenſible is not far off; the time uncertain, “and I cannot ſpend the remainder of my life “better, than in prayers to God for thy wel“fare.” Eſau went preſently out to ſee what he could catch, and in the mean while Rebecca bethought herſelf of a way to transfer the bleſſing to Jacob that was intended for Eſau, out of a partiality of affection to the one, rather than the other; ſo ſhe bad Jacob (but without the privity, and againſt the very deſign of Iſaac) go out and kill a kid, and have it dreſſed ready for ſupper. Jacob very punctually put his mother's commands in execution, without delay; and when ſupper was ready, having put kids ſkins over his arms and hands, that he might ſeem hairy, (the twins being in every other particular ſo alike that there was no diſtinguiſhing betwixt them,) he ſet it before his father; but with a thouſand difficulties in his head, for fear of being detected in the impoſture, and drawing a curſe upon himſelf inſtead of a bleſſing. Iſaac, it ſeems, taking notice of ſomewhat very particular in his ſon's voice, bad him come to him; and upon finding his hands all hairy, paſſed this reflection upon it; “The voice, ſays he, is Jacob's “voice, but the hands are the hands of Eſau.” And ſo without any further ſuſpicion, he went to ſupper; and after that offered up a prayer ſuitable to the occaſion, in words to this effect. “Eternal God, the creator of all “things that are made, thou that haſt been ſo “gracious and bountiful to my father, to my“ſelf, and to our offſpring; not only promi“ſing, but alſo beſtowing on us all good “things, and giving us aſſurances of greater “bleſſings ſtill to come; Lord, make thy words “good to us by effects, and do not deſpiſe thy “ſervant for his preſent infirmities, which make “him the more ſenſible of his need of thy “ſupport; preſerve this child from all evil, “in thy mercy and infinite goodneſs; give “him a long and a happy life; bleſs him “with all worldly enjoyments that may be for “his good; make him a terror to his enemies, “and an honour and a comfort to his friends.”

Eſau's diſappointment, Ver. 34, &c.

Isaac had no ſooner ended his prayer for Eſau, as he thought, and intended it, but Eſau himſelf returned from the chace, which gave Iſaac to underſtand his miſtake; but he did not think fit to make any words of it. When Eſau came to be informed of what had paſſed, he beſought his father only to beſtow the ſame bleſſing upon himſelf over again, which he had pronounced upon his brother. But Iſaac excuſed himſelf, that he could not either transfer, or take away the benediction he had already conferred. This diſappointment drew tears from Eſau, and his ſorrow ſo far wrought upon the tenderneſs of his father, that all the bleſſings he had left, he gave him; that is to ſay, he declared to him, that he ſhould be a famous hunter, and a great man at arms; and that he himſelf and his poſterity ſhould gain immortal honour by their exploits that way; but in the cloſe, that he muſt be ſubject to his younger brother.

Jacob withdraws for fear of his brother, Ver. 43.

Eſau marries an Iſhmaelitiſh woman, Gen. xxviii. 9.

Jacob was exceedingly afraid, leſt his brother ſhould revenge the injury, and Rebecca no leſs conſcious of the provoking affront that was put upon him; ſo that ſhe bethought herſelf of this way to divert the danger of it. She prevail'd with Iſaac to diſpatch Jacob away into Meſopotamia, to take a wife out of her alliance there. Eſau finding how he had diſobliged his father and relations, by matching with the Chanaanites, (whom they utterly abhorred,) had now taken to wife Baſſemath, the daughter of Iſhmael, whom he lov'd the beſt of all his wives.

CHAP. XIX.

Jacob ſent into Meſopotamia to treat about a match with Rachel, Laban's daughter. His viſions upon the way. He treats with Laban, who impoſes upon him.

Jacob treats about a match with the daughter of Laban, Gen. xxix. 18.

Jacob's viſion of the ladder, Gen. xxviii. 12.

BY the advice of Rebecca, and at her inſtigation, and with the conſent of Iſaac too, Jacob was ſent away into Meſopotamia, to treat about a match there with the daughter of Rebecca's brother Laban. But the animoſities being at that time ſo fierce and violent betwixt his family and the Chanaanites, and Jacob's way lying through the land of Chanaan, he durſt not venture himſelf in any of their houſes upon his journey, but took up his lodging in the open air, and made uſe of an heap of ſtones to lay his head upon, inſtead of a pillow. As he lay thus at reſt, he had one night in his ſleep this viſion; he dreamt that he ſaw a ladder ſtanding upon the earth, and the upper end of it reaching the Heavens, with certain glorious figures, that to his view ſeemed more than human, deſcending by the rounds of it; and from the top, God himſelf manifeſtly appearing, and ſpeaking to Jacob

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* Scr. Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon.

† Or Sibeon.

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God ſpeaks to Jacob, Ver. 13, &c.

by name in theſe words; “It is not for you, Jacob, that have in your veins the blood of your father and grandfather Iſaac and Abraham, men remarkable for their faith and virtue, to deſpond under any diffidence of my care for you in your preſent troubles, but rather to ſupport yourſelf in hopes of better things. Depend upon me for your protector, and aſſure yourſelf, that your beſt days are yet to come. It was I that brought Abraham out of Meſopotamia hither, when he was forc'd away by his relations; it was I that crown'd your father with bleſſings, and it is I again that reſolve to do as much for you; wherefore take courage, and purſue your journey under my conduct and direction. The marriage you are now going about ſhall ſucceed to your wiſh; you ſhall be the father of dutiful children, and your iſſue ſhall increaſe without number. This land will I give to them and their poſterity; and they ſhall people the whole earth, and the iſlands as far as the ſun ſhines; wherefore let no labour or danger diſcourage you, but commit yourſelf to my care, not only at this preſent, but always.”

Jacob makes a vow, Ver. 20, 21.

Jacob was tranſported with joy at this viſion and prediction, and anointed the ſtone in honour of that bleſſed revelation; making a vow at the ſame time, to erect an altar there, and offer ſacrifice upon it, if ever it ſhould pleaſe God to bring him home again in ſafety and proſperity; which vow he performed at his coming back, preſenting to God the tenths of all his goods for an oblation. And further, for a memorial in reverence to the place, and what befel him there, he gave it the name of Bethel, or the houſe of God.

Bethel, or the houſe of God, Ver. 22.

Jacob comes to Charran, Gen. xxix. 4.

He finds Rachel the daughter of Laban, Ver. 9.

Their diſcourſe, Ver. 12, &c.

Rachel's incomparable beauty, Ver. 17.

Jacob gives her an account of the two families, Ver. 12.

Rachel's tenderneſs toward Jacob.

Jacob's diſcourſe with Laban.

The cauſe of Jacob's withdrawing himſelf.

Upon this he purſued his journey to Meſopotamia, and after a tedious paſſage, he came to Charran, where he found ſeveral ſhepherds, young men and maidens, about a well, and drawing of water; he join'd the company, deſired a little drink of them, and ſo by little and little fell to diſcourſe with them, whether they knew one Laban thereabouts, or no; and if he were yet living. They all ſaid they knew him, and ſo muſt every body, for he was a perſon of conſiderable note; his daughter and they fed their ſheep together; and it was a wonder ſhe was not come yet; that when ſhe came, ſhe could reſolve him in whatever he wanted to know. The words were no ſooner out of their mouths, but the daughter herſelf approached them, accompanied with her ſhepherds. They told Jacob, that was ſhe, and then acquainted the virgin how that ſtranger there had been inquiring about her father. The maiden upon the ſight of Jacob, with the gaiety of an innocent young creature, began to aſk him queſtions, who he was, whence he came, and what was his buſineſs, demanding of him in a very obliging way, if there was any thing they could ſerve him in. Jacob was ſo mightily taken, both with the kinſwoman and the gracefulneſs of her deportment, eſpecially with the charms of her incomparable beauty, that at firſt ſight he fell directly in love with her, and thus accoſted her; “There hath been, ſays he, a great friendſhip betwixt our two families, at leaſt (if you are indeed the daughter of Laban) of a date long before either you or I were born; for Abraham, Aran, and Nachor, were the ſons of Thares; and Bathuel, your grandfather, was Nachor's ſon; Iſaac is my father, begotten by Abraham upon Sarah the daughter of Aran; and we are nearer yet ſtill; for Rebecca my mother is the ſiſter of your father Laban, by the ſame father and mother; ſo that in the degrees of affinity, you and I are firſt couſins; and I am now come to greet you with all the offices of a friend and a kinſman toward the renewing of that kind agreement of ancient date.” This brought into the mind of the virgin, what ſhe had often heard her father ſay of Rebecca; and taking for granted how glad her parents would be to hear any tidings of that excellent perſon, the paſſion ſhe had for the pleaſing of her father, tranſported her to ſuch a degree, that ſhe burſt out into tears, took Jacob about the neck, and kiſſed him, and then holding him in her arms, ſpake to him after this manner; “You are, ſays ſhe, the bearer of the moſt agreeable news to my father and the whole family, that ever came under our roof. Good man! he was hardly ever well but when he was ſpeaking of your mother; and I dare ſay, he would not exchange the felicity you have now brought him for any other happineſs under the ſun; wherefore, ſays ſhe, not to deprive him any longer of the joy you are to carry him, follow me immediately.” With theſe words ſhe introduced him to Laban, where he was made known to his uncle, ſafe in the hands of his friends, and thoſe friends of his overjoy'd at the providence of ſo unexpected a ſurprize. They had not been many days together, when Laban made an open profeſſion of the ſatiſfaction he had in his converſation, and that it was ſo great, he wanted words to expreſs it. After this declaration, his curioſity made him a little inquiſitive how he came to leave his father and mother in their extreme age, and when they could worſt ſpare him; but aſſuring him withal, that whatever he could do in the world for him was at his ſervice. Jacob, upon this, to ſatisfy his enquiry, gave him in ſhort the whole hiſtory of their family. “My mother Rebecca, ſays he, had two twin ſons, Eſau and myſelf. Eſau being diſappointed of our father's bleſſing by an artifice of my mother's, to put me in my brother's place to receive it, he looks upon me for this as a ſupplanter of him in his right, as well to his father's vows and prayers, as to a kingdom and an inheritance which God had aſſign'd him; and for this circumvention he reſolved to take away my life. Now to avoid this danger, and in obedience to my mother's command, I am come hither for ſanctuary, as to the neareſt relation ſhe hath in the world; and next under God, I depend upon yourſelf for my ſecurity.” Laban promiſed him all ſorts of aſſiſtance and reſpects; not only for his own ſake, but as the ſon likewiſe of his dear ſiſter, whom he lov'd tenderly, at what diſtance ſoever. Laban told him further, that he would at preſent ſet him over his flocks, and give him authority over all the keepers of his ſheep; and that if any time hereafter he ſhould have a mind to return, he might aſſure himſelf of a conſideration and reward anſwerable to the merit of ſuch a kinſman. Jacob was well enough content

tent to undergo the labour, provided he might continue in the family; and he told Laban as much, upon condition he might have Rachel in marriage for his ſervice; a perſon that he loved not only for her ſingular worth and virtue, but as the providential inſtrument of introducing him into the family; profeſſing that it was only his exceſs of love that made him ſpeak what he did. Upon this profer, Laban immediately concluded the match, with all imaginable chearfulneſs; ſolemnly proteſting, that there was not a man in the world whom he would chuſe for a ſon-in-law ſo ſoon as himſelf; only he muſt have patience to ſtay a while; for he ſhould be loth to ſend his daughter ſo far as Chanaan; and truly he had almoſt repented ſometimes of ſending his ſiſter thither too. Jacob ſubmitted to wait, and ſo bound himſelf to his father-in-law for ſeven years, to ſhew that he had no other views in what he did, than that of love, generoſity, and juſtice.

Jacob ſerves ſeven years for Rachel, Gen. xxix. 20.

Leah put upon Jacob for Rachel, ver. 23.

At the end of the term, and upon the preciſe day, Laban prepares the wedding-feaſt, and late at night, unperceived by Jacob, privately convey'd the elder ſiſter to his bed inſtead of the younger; and ſo they lay together, wine and darkneſs contributing to complete the miſtake. When Jacob came to awake in the morning, and find how he was impoſed upon, he fell to expoſtulating the matter with Laban, as a violation of common faith and juſtice: Laban only excuſing himſelf under the pretence of a neceſſity, without any malice at all, it being the cuſtom of the country, he ſaid, not to marry the younger ſiſter before the elder: but this, ſays he, ſhall be no obſtacle to your marrying of Rachel; for after ſeven years more, you ſhall have her bare-faced, and by day-light, when you may ſee and know what you do. Jacob, who was under the influence of a very ſtrong and violent paſſion, could not but comply with his propoſals, and ſo bound himſelf for the other ſeven years; after the expiration of which he had Rachel given him to wiſe.

The original of the Iſraelites, Gen. xxix & xxx.

These two ſiſters had two maidens allow'd them by Laban: [*]Zelphah was with Leah, and [†]Bala with Rachel; not in the quality of ſervants, but yet in ſubjection to them. Leah underwent great affliction of mind to ſee that her ſiſter had a greater ſhare in Jacob's affection than herſelf; but lived in hope ſtill that the bringing of him children, which was her daily prayer, might gain her a greater ſhare in his love. And in the end it did ſo; for being delivered of a ſon, whom ſhe called [‖]Rubel, (or divine mercy, for ſo the word ſignifies,) it wrought upon her husband's affections; and after this ſhe had three other ſons; Simeon, (i. e. God is favourable,) Levi, (i. e. the ſupport of ſociety,) and Judah, (that is to ſay, Thankſgiving.) Rachel was mightily in pain leſt the fruitfulneſs of her ſiſter might take off ſomewhat of Jacob's kindneſs to herſelf; and therefore contrived the putting of her woman Bala in her place, which ſhe did accordingly, and Jacob had a ſon by her, called Dan, (i. e. the Judgment of God.) And a while after this, ſhe brought him Nephthalim, (which ſignifies artificial;) alluding to Rachel's contending with her ſiſter for children by craft. Leah after this, made uſe of her ſiſter's ſtratagem, and put in Zelphah to Jacob, by whom he had two ſons; the firſt Gad, (or by chance,) and afterwards Aſer, (which ſignifies Beautifying) becauſe they got honour by it.

Rachel longs for Leah's Mandrakes.

One time, when the two ſiſters were got together, Rubel, the eldeſt ſon of Leah, brought his mother ſome Mandrake-apples, which Rachel would fain have had a part of; but the other told her with ſome paſſion, that it was too much to have her husband and her apples too; but Rachel, to pacify her, made her an offer of having Jacob to herſelf that night. Leah accepted it, and they lay together accordingly. Jacob after this had more children by Leah; as Iſſachar, (i. e. born for hire,) Zabulon, (that is, a pledge of love,) and a daughter named Dinah. Rachel ſtay'd a long time, and at laſt brought forth a ſon, whoſe name was Joſeph, (or an addition.)

Jacob ſteals away from Laban, Gen. xxxi. 17, 18.

It was already full twenty years that Jacob had ſerved his father-in-law, in the quality of an overſeer of his ſhepherds and herdſmen; ſo that it was now high time, he thought, to think of returning homeward again, and to take his wives along with him. But this was to be privately managed, ſince his father-in-law had abſolutely refuſed to give him leave. He was not willing to come to any reſolution, however, without conſulting his wives firſt, to ſee how they ſtood affected to the journey. But finding them willing, they ſet out altogether without any delay: the two ſiſters and their women, and all their children, and all that belonged to them, and Jacob alſo, with one half of the flocks, without ever making Laban in the leaſt acquainted with his intentions. Rachel took away with her the images of the Gods of the country, not out of any reverence ſhe had for the idols; for her husband had taught her better things, and to contemn them; but ſhe fancied to herſelf, that in caſe they ſhould be purſued by her father and overtaken, by their help matters might be brought to a more eaſy compoſition.

Laban overtakes him, ver. 25.

God warns Laban in his ſleep not to hurt him, ver. 24.

The day following, when Laban came to be informed of Jacob's departure by ſtealth, with his daughters, he called his people together in a fury, and with a ſtrong body of men immediately purſued them. Upon the ſeventh day in the evening, they overtook them reſting themſelves upon a little hill; but being late, Laban and his people betook themſelves quietly to their repoſe, without attempting any violence againſt them. That very night God appeared to Laban in his ſleep, and bad him have a care not to offer any violence or indignity to his fugitive ſon-in-law and daughters, but rather diſpoſe himſelf to make an amicable agreement, and cultivate a better underſtanding with them: "And do not you de-
"ſpiſe them, ſays the viſion, for the ſmallneſs
"of their number; for if you do, I myſelf
"will fight their battles."

Laban reproaches Jacob, ver. 26, to 30.

Laban early next day ſent for Jacob, (who ventured to come to him in confidence,) and told him of the dream he had had; afterwards turning his diſcourſe to reproaching and upbraiding him. "You cannot forget (ſays he)
"that I took you into my houſe a beggar,
"and a wretch indigent to the laſt degree;
"how generouſly I relieved and entertained

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[*] The Scripture calls her Zilpah.
[†] Scrip. Bilhan.
[‖] Scrip. Reuben.

“you, married you to my daughters as the higheſt obligation to an inviolable friendſhip and reſpect that I could lay upon you; And pray how comes it now, that without any regard to your mother and my ſiſter, or to the alliance of blood betwixt us, the wives you have married out of my family, and the children of thoſe wives who call me grandfather? How comes it, I ſay, after all this, that you ſhould treat me at laſt at the rate of a profeſt enemy, ſeize my goods, force my daughters away from their parents, carry off the Gods of my country, which my foreſathers have ever had ſo great a veneration for, as things moſt ſacred? for you have laid your ſacrilegious hands even upon them too; a violence which any honourable enemy would have forborn: And who is it that has done all this now, but my kinſman, my nephew, my ſon-in-law, my gueſt, and the man that I have fed at my own table!”

Jacob clears himſelf, Ver. 31, &c.

Jacob made anſwer, that he was not the only man who had a natural affection for his native country; and that after ſo long an abſence, it was but reaſonable to think of returning home again. As to the robbery or injuſtice, he was willing to appeal to any other judge than himſelf. “Now, ſays he, I expected rather that you ſhould have given me thanks for managing and improving your eſtate, than think much of the ſmall pittance I have taken out of it. And pray do not call it a violence neither upon your daughters; for as there is no evil intention in the caſe, ſo that which you miſtake for a force is only a conjugal duty, both in my taking them away, and in accompanying their huſband and their children.” This he ſaid in his own defence, and for the reſt, only turned Laban's reproaches upon himſelf; wondering and complaining, that an uncle and a father-in-law, after the hardſhip of twenty years ſervice, beſide what he willingly ſuffered for the ſake of Rachel, and more afterwards, ſhould at laſt treat his ſon-in-law and kinſman at the rate of the worſt of enemies. Jacob had great reaſon undoubtedly to complain of Laban's ill uſage; who obſerving that God bleſſed Jacob in all he did, would be cajolling him with fine words, promiſing one while to give him all the white cattle that ſhould be produced, another while all the black; and ſtill as thoſe deſigned for Jacob's part came to be the greater, he went from his word, and put it off to another year, in hopes to find it leſs then; but in caſe it ſhould prove otherwiſe, with a reſolution before-hand to depart from his promiſe.

Rachel conveys away the idols, Ver. 34.

As to the images, Laban having free liberty to ſearch, Rachel convey'd them away into the ſtuffing of the camel's ſaddle, which ſhe rode upon, and pretended to have the woman's ſickneſs at that time upon her; Laban paſſed her over unſearched, upon a preſumption, that in ſuch a condition ſhe would not come ſo near any thing that was ſacred. Upon this, Laban entered into a league with Jacob, granted an act of oblivion to his daughters for all that was paſt, promiſing that for the future they ſhould be as dear to him as ever they were, and all this was confirmed with an oath. The ſolemnity paſſed upon a certain mountain, where a pillar was erected in the form of an altar, and they called it * Galad, as the hill of witneſs, which name was likewiſe given to the whole country thereabouts. After the ceremony of the league, they feaſted together, and upon parting Laban returned to his own home.

A league betwixt Laban and Jacob, Ver. 44, &c.

* Scr. Galeed. Galad, or the hill of witneſs, Ver. 47.

CHAP. XX.

The greeting of Jacob and Eſau.

Jacob's viſions, Gen. xxxii. 1, 2.

JACOB went forward on his way towards Chanaan, and had ſeveral propitious viſions in his paſſage, which gave him great hope of future ſucceſs, calling the place where he ſaw them the Field of God. But the old grudge that Eſau bore him was not yet out of Jacob's head, which made him ſend every where up and down to learn how his brother ſtood affected to him; beſide ſeveral expreſs meſſengers to find him out, with a commiſſion in his name to addreſs him to this effect. “That Jacob finding himſelf under his brother's diſpleaſure, voluntarily abandoned his country, and in confidence, that after ſo long an abſence, all paſt unkindneſſes are buried and forgotten, he is now returning with his wives, children, goods, and ſubſtances, to lay himſelf and all he has at his brothers feet; propoſing to himſelf no greater happineſs than to enjoy all the bounties which God in his goodneſs hath been pleaſed to beſtow upon him, in common with his brother.”

Jacob compliments, and preſents Eſau, Gen. xxxiii. 3, 4.

Upon the delivery of this meſſage, Eſau in a tranſport of joy advanced preſently with a band of four hundred men to meet his brother. Jacob was not a little ſtartled at the number; but put himſelf in a poſture however, with God's aſſiſtance, to defend himſelf and his people in caſe of the worſt. He diſpoſed his body into two diviſions; the one to advance, and the other to follow, within diſtance of either receiving or ſeconding the van, if it ſhould come to an attack. When he had ordered his people after this manner, he ſent his fore-runners to his brother with preſents: ſome for uſe, others for curioſity, as creatures of burden, and ſeveral ſorts of ſtrange beaſts that might be acceptable for their rarity ſake. Theſe were to march in looſe order at ſome convenient diſtance, one after another, to make them appear more than they were; the meſſengers having this eſpecially in charge, to behave themſelves towards Eſau with all poſſible ſmoothneſs and reſpect; not doubting but by this gentleneſs of proceeding to rectify all miſunderſtandings, if they were not already compoſed. It was a whole day's work to put Jacob's troops in order, and at night they marched. When they were got over the torrent of Jabac, Jacob being a little behind, a ſpectre engaged with him, and Jacob wreſtling with this apparition had the better of him; whereupon a voice called out to him, and ſaid, “Comfort thyſelf in what thou haſt done, for it is not a common adverſary that thou haſt foiled, but an angel of the Lord. Take it for a preſage, that your poſterity ſhall continue for ever, and that you ſhall never be overcome.” Upon this, he gave him the name of Iſrael, which in Hebrew ſignifies ſtruggling with an angel of God. This was revealed to Jacob at his own requeſt, and when he

Jacob wreſtles with an angel, Gen. xxxii. 24, &c.

Jacob called Iſrael, or Struggling, Ver. 28.

Phanuel, or the face of God, Ver. 30.

found it was an angel ſpake to him, he beſought them to reveal ſome other future events that were to befal him, which the ſpectre did, and ſo diſappear'd. Jacob was ſo tranſported with what he had heard, that he gave this place the name of Phanuel,* (or the face of God.) He had a ſinew of his thigh ſtrain'd in the encounter, for which reaſon he would never afterward eat that part of any creature; and upon that account we do forbear it alſo to this day.

The greeting of Jacob and Eſau, Gen. xxxiii. 3, 4, &c.

UPON the news of Eſau's being advanced, and drawing near to his brother, Jacob ordered his wives to go before with their women, and to march apart from one another, ſo as to ſee the action at a diſtance, if Eſau ſhould think fit to put it to a battle. But when Jacob ſaw that Eſau came towards him with peace and chearfulneſs in his countenance, he went and threw himſelf at the feet of his brother. Eſau in the mean while embracing him, ask'd him ſeveral queſtions about the women and the children, and gave him afterwards an earneſt invitation to his father's houſe. Jacob excuſed himſelf, that his horſes and cattle were very much tired, and not in a travelling condition; and then Eſau departed to his habitation at Seir, ſo called from the hairineſs of Eſau.

CHAP. XXI.

The rape of Dinah. The children of Jacob.

Jacob goes to the tabernacles, and ſo to Sichem, Ver. 18.

The rape of Dinah, Gen. xxxiv. 2.

The maſſacre of the Sichemites, Ver. 26.

Rachel dies in labour at Ephrata, Gen. xxxv. 19.

JACOB for his part went to the place called the tabernacles, which name it bears to this day, and ſo to † Sichem, a city belonging to the Chanaanites. There happened to be a great feſtival there, and Dinah, the only daughter of Jacob, went thither to ſee the city, and the dreſs and faſhions of the women of the place. Sichem, the ſon of king ‡ Emmor fell in love with her, took her away, and raviſhed her, and liked her ſo well, that he begged his father's leave to marry her; who not only gave his conſent, but went himſelf to Jacob with the ſame requeſt on his ſon's behalf. Jacob was under a ſore dilemma what anſwer to give; for he could not in conſcience marry his daughter to a ſtranger; neither could he refuſe any thing decently to the quality of a royal advocate. But upon ſecond thoughts, he came to a reſolution to deſire time to conſider of it; ſo the king went away, little doubting of his compliance with the propoſals he had made. Upon this juncture, Jacob having conferr'd with his ſons about the indignity that had been put upon their ſiſter, and the requeſt of Emmor, the greateſt part of them had not a word to ſay, being at their wits end what to adviſe; only Simeon and Levi, the brothers of Dinah by the ſame mother, laid their heads together, and agreed upon a deſign betwixt themſelves, without ſpeaking one word to their father of it, which they executed as follows: Upon the next feſtival at Sichem, late in the night they fell upon the guards, and eaſily maſter'd them, finding them drowſy and ſecure in their drunken revels. They took poſſeſſion of the city, kill'd all the males they could meet with, the king and his ſon being in the number, ſparing only the women; and upon the finiſhing of this exploit, brought home their ſiſter again to their father. Jacob was ſtruck with horror at the barbarity of ſo bloody an action, and highly incenſed againſt his ſons for what they had done; but God comforted him in a viſion, bad him have a good heart, and purge his tents, and not forget the ſacrifice he promiſed after his dream in his Meſopotamian progreſs. While Jacob was executing this command, he happened to find Laban's Gods, which Rachel had ſtolen and buried under a certain oak, without informing him any thing about it. From thence he went and ſacrificed at Bethel, where he had that divine revelation upon his going into Meſopotamia. He went next to Ephrata, where Rachel died in labour, and there he buried her, the only perſon of his relations who died and was not interr'd at Hebron. This loſs very ſenſibly affected him, but the child liv'd, and he gave it the name of Benjamin, || from the great grief it brought to the mother.

The children of Jacob, Ver. 22.

Now the children of Jacob were twelve ſons, and one daughter; eight of them legitimate, ſix by Leah, and two by Rachel; four more by Zilphah and Bala, two by each: their names we have given already.

CHAP. XXII.

Iſaac died at the age of one hundred and eighty five years, and was buried in Hebron.

The death, age, and burial of Iſaac, Ver. 28, 29.

FROM thence he went to Hebron in Chanaan, where Iſaac dwelt; but they two did not live long together. Rebecca died before the arrival of Jacob, and Iſaac follow'd her not long after. Eſau and Jacob buried him, and laid him by his wife in Hebron, in the burying-place of the family. Iſaac was a perſon acceptable in the ſight of God, and attended by ſpecial providences in the courſe of his life, next to Abraham. He lived to the age of a hundred eighty five years, in a ſteddy and eminent courſe of piety and virtue.

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* Scr. Peniel. † Scr. Shechem. ‡ Scr. Hamor. || This is falſe. See Gen. xxxv. 18. in the LXX. and Cotelerius's notes to the ſecond volume of his Eccleſ. Gr. Monumenta, p. 548. See Voſſius's Caſtigationum Auctarium, p. 363.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK II.

From the Tear of the World 2230 to 2454.

CHAP. I.

Eſau and Jacob divide their poſſeſſions. Idumea falls to the former, and Chanaan to the other.

AFTER the death of Iſaac, the two brothers kept no longer to their paternal eſtates, but divided their poſſeſſions; whereupon Eſau yielded up the city of Hebron to his brother, and went and ſettled himſelf at Seir. He was lord and maſter of Idumea, and gave it his own name; that is to ſay, Adom *, which was a kind of a by-name given him upon this following occaſion: One day when he was a youth, he had been out a hunting, and coming home very much tired and hungry, he found his brother making a ſoup of lentils for his dinner: they looked red, and the very colour of them ſet him a longing, and a begging with great importunity for a meſs of this pottage; but Jacob abſolutely refuſed ſo much as one drop of them to his brother, unleſs he would condeſcend to make over his birthright to him, which Eſau, compelled then by hunger, ſubmitted to, formally renouncing all the privileges of his ſeniority with a ſolemn oath. His youthful companions made ſport with him for what he had done, and nick-nam'd him Adom, from the colour of the ſoup; for Adom in Hebrew ſignifies red. This name went alſo to the country under his juriſdiction, though the Greeks have diſguiſed and ſoftened it a little, by calling it Idumea.

Eſau, or Adom, Gen. xxxvi. 6, 7, 8.

Eſau ſells his birthright, Gen. xxv. 33.

From Adom came Idumea.

ESAU had five children by three wives; three of them by his wife † Alibama; that is to ſay, ‡ Jaus, Jalom, and Core; ‖ Aliphaz by Adah, and ** Raguel by *† Baſſemath.

The race of Eſau, Gen. xxxvi. 9, 10, &c. And 1 Chron i. 35, 36, &c.

ALIPHAZ had five ſons lawfully begotten; Theman, Omar, *‡ Saphus, Gotham, and Canaz; for Amalek was a baſtard that he had by *‖ Thamna his concubine. Theſe inhabited that part of Idumea which was called Gobolitis, and the country of the Amalekites, call'd ſo from Amalek. It was formerly a huge tract of ground that went under the name of Idumea; but the whole, as well as the parts of it, retain the name ſtill of their firſt planters and founders.

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* Scr. Edom. † Scr. Aholibamah. ‡ Scr. Jeuſh, Jaalam, Korah. ‖ Scr. Eliphaz. ** Scr. Reuel.
*† Scr. Baſhemath. *‡ Scr. Zepho, Gatam, Kenaz. *‖ Scr. Timna.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Joſeph's dreams. His brothers envy him, and conſpire againſt his life.

Jacob happy in himſelf and family.

JACOB was one of the happieſt men upon the face of the earth, and not another in the whole country to compare with him, either for wealth and command, or for well accompliſh'd and virtuous children; who wanted nothing to make them great men, as well for action as for counſel; for they were indefatigably induſtrious, valiant even to the ſtricteſt punctilio's of generoſity and honour; and, to perfect the character, endued with a talent of underſtanding that crowned all the reſt; nay, and ſo wonderful a providence continually attended them in all the chances and encounters of their lives, that their very ſufferings and afflictions turn'd to their advantage, in being made the inſtruments of Almighty God toward the bringing of our forefathers out of the bondage of Egypt. The ſtory is this:

Joſeph his father's favourite, Gen. xxxvii. 3.

The envy of his brethren, Ver. 4.

JOSEPH, the ſon of Jacob by his wife Rachel, was much the deareſt child to his father of all the offspring, in regard of the excellencies both of his body and of his mind; for, over and above the gracefulneſs of his perſon, he was no leſs eminent and extraordinary for uncommon ſenſe and underſtanding. This exceeding tenderneſs of the father drew upon the ſon the envy and ill-will of the reſt of the brothers, and this factious malevolence was much embitter'd by certain dreams Joſeph had, that look'd like preſages of his future felicity and greatneſs. This he communicated to his father and brethren, and no wonder if it ſtirr'd up a dangerous emulation againſt him. The viſions were theſe:

Joſeph's dream of the wheat-ſheaves, Ver. 7.

And of the ſun, moon, and eleven ſtars, Ver. 9.

Preſages of power and greatneſs, Ver. 10.

HIS father ſent him out one day into the field with his brothers, in harveſt time, to reap corn, where he had a dream quite of another nature than thoſe phantaſtical images of things that appear to us commonly in our ſleep. He told this to his brothers upon waking, and put it to them to expound it. Now the dream was this; "Methought, ſays he, I ſaw this " laſt night my own ſheaf of wheat ſtanding " upright, and all my brothers ſheaves come " running towards it, and falling down before " it, as ſo many ſervants would do to their " maſter." There went no great myſtery to the unriddling of this dream; for they ſaw manifeſtly that it pointed at the power and authority which Joſeph in time to come was to have over them, even to the degree of their becoming ſubjects to him. But to their brother they pretended ignorance, and could make nothing of it, they ſaid; praying, however, within themſelves ſtill, that God would avert the omen, their hatred increaſing all this while to Joſeph yet more and more. Soon after this he had another viſion, much more remarkable than the former, which was ſent from God for the confounding of their malice. He ſaw in his ſleep, he thought, "The ſun, " the moon, and eleven ſtars coming down " from the heavens to the earth, and doing " him reverence." Joſeph communicated this viſion alſo to his father, in the hearing of his brothers, (miſtruſting no miſchief from them all this while,) telling him that he ſhould be very glad to underſtand what it meant. Jacob was highly delighted with the dream, as a preſage of happy and glorious days to his ſon Joſeph; and that the time by God's providence would come, when both father and brothers ſhould do him reverence and honour. By the ſun and moon he underſtood the father and mother, under this analogy, that the office of one was to increaſe and nouriſh, and that of the other to give form and force. By the eleven ſtars were meant the eleven brothers who had their light and virtue from the ſun and moon alſo.

A plot upon Joſeph's life.

The brothers ſteal away to Sichem.

THIS was no idle interpretation of Jacob's; but it gall'd to the very heart the brothers of Joſeph, quite contrary to the reaſon and duty of the matter in queſtion; for they ſhould have joy'd in their brother's good as in their own, without envying thoſe graces and benefits to ſo near a relation, that they would have been leſs troubled at in a ſtranger. But their impious malice was now come to that height, that without any more ado, they fully intended to deſtroy him, and after this manner they reſolved to put their project in execution. So ſoon as harveſt was over, they went with their flocks to Sichem, (an excellent feeding ground,) but without ever ſpeaking one word to their father of the place they were going to. When they had been gone a pretty while, and no news or certainty of what was become of them, Jacob fell into a terrible apprehenſion, leſt ſome miſchief might have befallen them, and ſo ſent Joſeph with orders to inform himſelf punctually upon the whole matter, and to bring him word back what was become of his brothers, and how they did.

CHAP. III.

Joſeph ſold by his brethren into Egypt, *where he is highly advanc'd.*

Joſeph. finds out his brethren, Ver. 17.

Who preſs the killing of him out of hand, Ver. 20.

Rubel intercedes for him, Ver. 21.

JOSEPH ſet forward upon his journey, according to his command and commiſſion, and great joy there was among the brethren at his arrival, not as a brother or a meſſenger come from their father, but as an enemy whom God had delivered into their hands; and therefore they were for diſpatching him immediately, without ſlipping the preſent opportunity. Rubel, the eldeſt of the brothers, found the conſpiracy ſo ſtrong and deſperate, that he employ'd all his art and intereſt to prevent, or at leaſt to divert it, ſetting before them the heinouſneſs of the ſin, and the indelible ſcandal and odium that they would draw upon themſelves by an action ſo hateful in the ſight of God and man. "It were an abomi- " nable wickedneſs, ſays he, to take away the " life even of a ſtranger; but to deſtroy a kinſ- " man, and a brother, and in that brother a " father and a mother too, with grief for the " loſs of ſo good and ſo hopeful a ſon.—— " Bethink yourſelves, ſays he, if any thing " can be more diabolical; conſider that there " is an all-ſeeing God, who will be both wit- " neſs and avenger of this horrid murder: Be- " think yourſelves, I ſay, and repent of your " barbarous deſign, and conſult the meaſures " of humanity and moderation; for you muſt " never think to conſummate this flagitious " villany, and divine vengeance not overtake " you; for God's providence is every where,

“ in the wilderneſs as well as in the city, and
“ whereſoever there is a man there is a God;
“ beſide the horror of a guilty conſcience to
“ purſue you wherever you go, and, whether
“ it be good or bad, to bear you company for
“ ever. Or put the caſe your brother had done
“ you wrong now, would you take away his
“ life for it? when it is our part to paſs over the
“ ſlips of our friends, even though they may
“ have fail'd in their duty. But what, in fine,
“ has Joſeph done againſt you? or if he had,
“ the ſimplicity of his youth might plead his
“ excuſe; and his brothers, of all men living,
“ ſhould be his friends and guardians rather
“ than his murderers: And then the very
“ ground of your cruelty will be a ſevere aggravation,
“ even of the ſin itſelf. His life is
“ to be taken away at preſent, for fear he
“ ſhould be great and happy hereafter; nay, and
“ to be taken away by them too who are to
“ go ſharers with him. But the wrath of God
“ will fall heavier upon you ſtill, if you proceed
“ to execute ſo barbarous a piece of cruelty;
“ for you will thereby diſappoint yourſelves
“ of enjoying a ſhare in that proſperity
“ and happineſs, and thoſe bleſſings which
“ God for the ſake of his virtues and goodneſs
“ has promiſed he will confer upon him.”
Rubel uſed all theſe and more arguments, either to deter or diſſuade them from this accurſed attempt; but when he found them ſo abſolutely inexorable, that neither humanity, reaſon, nor religion could prevail, and that the peremptory ſentence was pronounc'd, he bethought himſelf of a certain middle way of qualifying the matter. Well, ſays he, ſince the death of this our brother is abſolutely decreed, you have nothing elſe to do but to make the ſin, the envy, and the ſcandal of it as eaſy as you can; and therefore my advice is rather to caſt him into the next pit, and there leave him to periſh, without imbruing your hands in his blood. The motion was approv'd, and Rubel tied a rope about Joſeph, by which he let him gently down into a dry well, and preſently went his way to look after his ſheep.

Joſeph's brethren inexorable, Ver. 22.

Joſeph caſt into a dry well, Ver. 24.

Rubel had no ſooner turn'd his back, but there appear'd in ſight a troop of Arabian merchants (Iſhmaelites) who came from Galaad with ſpices and Syrian commodities, which they were carrying into Egypt. * Judas, upon this occaſion adviſed the taking of Joſeph out of the well to ſell him to theſe merchants, by which means they might be quit of him, and out of danger of ever ſeeing him again, and at the ſame time avoid polluting their hands in his blood. This was agreed to, ſo that they took up Joſeph out of the well, and ſold him to the merchants, being ſeventeen years of age, for twenty pieces of ſilver.

Taken out and ſold to Arabian merchants, Ver. 28.

Rubel was contriving all this while how he might ſave his poor brother, and without a word ſpeaking to any of the reſt, he went late at night to the well, where he call'd ſeveral times to Joſeph; but hearing no anſwer, he preſently concluded that his brothers had murder'd him, and accordingly charged them with the fact; but when he came to know what had paſſed, he was very well ſatisfied with the proceeding. The next thing now to be thought of, was how to excuſe and palliate the matter to the father, ſo that the brothers might not be ſuſpected. They debated this point a while among themſelves, and came in the end to this concluſion, that they ſhould take Joſeph's travelling coat, which they ſtripped him of when they put him in the well, tear it and ſtain it with goat's blood, and ſo carry it to Jacob, that he might think his ſon was devour'd by wild beaſts. They came to the old man with this pretence, (who had heard ſomewhat already of his ſon's misfortune,) ſhew'd him the coat all torn and bloody, (at leaſt, ſaid they, if that were the coat Joſeph had on when he went out,) and ſo took it for granted that he was deſtroy'd by wild beaſts; for neither had they ſeen him, nor could they imagine what was become of him, as they pretended. Jacob comforted himſelf till now with the hope he might be taken priſoner, or poſſibly that ſome gentler ill hap might have befallen him, but upon the ſight of the blood and the coat, (for it appear'd to him evidently to be Joſeph's,) he immediately cloathed himſelf in ſack-cloth, and fell into ſo inconſolable a paſſion of ſorrow and lamentation, that he would not ſuffer either his ſons or his own reaſon to comfort him.

Rubel's care of his brother, Ver. 29.

Joſeph's coat ſhewed to Jacob all torn and bloody, Ver. 33.

Jacob's lamentation, Ver. 34.

CHAP. IV.

Joſeph tempted to lewdneſs by Petepher's wiſe. His exemplary continence.

WHEN the merchants who had bought Joſeph came to Egypt, they ſold him to † Petepher, the head officer over king Pharaoh's kitchin, who treated him not like an ordinary ſervant, with reſpect either of liberty or diet, but with the freedom of a generous education, training him up to letters, and in a ſhort time advancing him to be overſeer of the houſe. In this change of condition his mind and his virtue were ſtill the ſame, and he gave evident demonſtration, by the prudence of his conduct, that a wiſe man will ſtand his ground in all fortunes. He was a ſtripling of ſo gracious a perſon, and ſo agreeable an addreſs, that Petepher's wife fell paſſionately in love with him, making no queſtion, but upon the firſt diſcloſing of her mind to him, the vanity and ambition of ſo great an honour would win him over to her. But ſhe made this judgment upon Joſeph, more upon the conſideration of the narrowneſs of his preſent circumſtances, than upon any reaſon ſhe had to ſuſpect the unchangeable dignity of his ſoul. However, in this confidence and opinion, ſhe told him in plain downright terms that ſhe had a mind to lie with him. He begg'd of her upon the very firſt motion, to deſiſt her ſolicitations upon that ſubject; for he could not be ſo ungrateful as to betray ſo kind a maſter, and to pay him with treachery and affront for all the obligations he had laid upon him. He adviſed her to ſmother that unruly paſſion, telling her he ſhould never be induced to oblige her in ſo criminal a requeſt. He ſhould account it a glory, he ſaid, to ſerve her in all lawful commands; but for any thing that was diſhoneſt, he could never ſubmit to it. This refuſal did but ſet her more and more on fire,

Joſeph ſold to Petepher, Gen. xxxix. 1.

Petepher's wife tempts Joſeph to lewdneſs, Ver. 7.

Joſeph's exemplary virtue, Ver. 8.

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* Scr. Judah.

† Scr. Potiphar.

She makes a ſecond attempt, Ver. 12.

for ſhe could not imagine that Joſeph would have rejected her offer. But when ſhe came to find that this would not do, ſhe ſet her wits to work upon another project. There was a great publick feaſt-day at hand, that commonly brought all the women of quality together. Petepher's wife made choice of this occaſion to feign herſelf ſick; whereupon ſhe took to her chamber, and laid hold of the opportunity of being alone with Joſeph. She got him, in ſhort, into her apartment, and there treated him with wonderful tenderneſs and reſpect, in words to this effect: “It would have been much better for you, ſays ſhe, to have complied fairly with my former requeſt; though it had been but out of a regard to the dignity of the petitioner, or the exceſs of my paſſion; and it would have ſav'd me the ſhame too of condeſcending to ſome words and expreſſions that I am yet out of countenance to think of; but I hope you will now have the wit to attone for your firſt error. If you waited for a ſecond application, you ſhall have it now a little more artificial than it was before; for I have counterfeited myſelf ſick on purpoſe to avoid the jollity of the day, and to ſhew you that I can quit all other converſation for the love I bear you; or perhaps you might make ſome doubt before, whether I was in earneſt or not; but this is now to ſatisfy you that I meant you no ill, by that I perſiſt ſtill in the ſame mind; wherefore take your choice now, whether you will improve this opportunity of a preſent ſatisfaction in the embraces of a perſon who loves you, and from whom you may over and above expect yet greater things, or ſtand the ſhock of my hatred and revenge, if you ſhall preſume to value yourſelf more upon the vain conceit of your own chaſtity, than upon my favour; and if it comes to that once, do not flatter yourſelf into a fooliſh confidence of eſcaping, with a dry oſtentation of your virtue; for I will certainly accuſe you to my huſband of an attempt upon my honour; and when the word is out once, true or falſe, you will find more heed given to my charge by Petepher, than to your juſtification.”

Joſeph ſtands firm, Ver. 8.

And reaſons the matter with her, Ver. 9.

THIS ſpeech was accompanied with prayers, menaces, and tears; but neither the one nor the other, neither compaſſion nor terror had the power to make any impreſſion upon his virtue; for he ſtood firm againſt all her threatnings, in an unalterable determination, rather to abide the worſt of extremities, than to yield to the lewd importunity of a diſhoneſt appetite; being in his own conſcience ſatisfied, that no puniſhment could be too great for a man who ſhould do ſo baſe a thing to pleaſe a woman. He was not wanting neither to put her in mind of her duty, both to herſelf and to her huſband, and of what ſhe ow'd to piety, honeſty, cuſtom, and common fame. “What ſignifies, ſays he, a momentary pleaſure attended with a certain remorſe immediately conſequent upon it? A heavineſs of heart for a thing once done, and an utter impoſſibility of recalling and undoing it? Perpetual fears of diſcovery and diſgrace? What does all this ſignify, I ſay, in balance with the moſt ſubſtantial comforts, and the moſt neceſſary duties of human life? whereas in a conjugal ſtate, the ſelf-ſame delights are all free, ſafe, innocent, and warrantable before God and man. Conſider again, how it would leſſen your authority, to make your ſervant your equal, by a ſhameful participation in one common crime. And pray, is it not better to truſt to a good conſcience that fears no light, than to commit wickedneſs in the dark, and ſpend all your days in a reſtleſs dread of being detected?” Joſeph ſaid this, and a great deal more, to try if it were poſſible by words to do any good upon the paſſion of an impetuous woman, and to reduce his miſtreſs to ſobriety and reaſon. But all this was only adding more fuel to the fire, ſo that what ſhe could not obtain by intreaties, ſhe attempted by violence, catching hold of his garment to force him to commit lewdneſs with her. But Joſeph not being able to bear the extravagant folly of this ſhameleſs woman any longer, broke looſe from her, and ſo fled out of the door, and left his coat in her hand. She was at firſt miſerably diſtracted, betwixt the ſting of the repulſe, and the fear of being diſcover'd; but coming in an inſtant to a reſolution of outfacing the whole ſtory, and turning it upon Joſeph, by which means ſhe conſulted her ſecurity and revenge both in one, ſhe kept herſelf cloſe to her chamber, all in tears and trouble, imputing the paſſion ſhe was in at the diſappointment of her luſt to the ſcrupulous ſenſe of an indignity offer'd to her honour. While ſhe was in this diſorder and confuſion, in comes her huſband, who taking notice of more than ordinary melancholy and diſorder in her countenance, enter'd preſently into a ſtrict enquiry what might be the matter. “Alas! my dear huſband, ſays ſhe, you will not deſerve to live, unleſs you make an example of this perfidious and baſe wretch your man. He has forgotten what he was when you took him into your houſe; how kindly and reſpectfully he has been treated here, to a degree beyond his very hope, as well as his deſert; the charge of your whole family is committed to him, the command of the reſt of your ſervants, and the truſt of all you have. What will you think of this fellow now, that, in requital of all your bounties and good offices, could have the impudence to offer at the violation of your bed, and to take the opportunity of this day of freedom, when you were out of the way, to break in upon my privacy, and preſs the enjoyment of his beaſtly ends? This thankleſs villain that was effectually the maſter of all other things under your roof! would nothing ſerve him but he muſt have your wife too? What a countenance of modeſty did this wretch put on to blind his maſter, without poſſeſſing one grain of it in his diſpoſition and nature! Nay further, ſays ſhe, in confirmation of all I have ſaid, here is his garment too, which I laid hold of when he would have forc'd me, and which he was obliged to leave behind him upon the ſtruggle.”

Joſeph's miſtreſs lays hold of him to force him, Ver. 12. He breaks looſe, and leaves his coat behind him, ibid.

She accuſes Joſeph to her huſband, Ver. 17, 18.

THIS plauſible courſe of words, and the tears that went along with them, wrought ſo effectually upon the eaſy credulity and affection of Petepher, that being thoroughly ſatisfied with the virtue of his wife, on whom he doated, and reckoning himſelf as good as a witneſs of it too, there was no need or thought of farther enquiry or examination into circumſtances, Joſeph committed to the common jail upon it, V. 20.

ſtances, but all was taken for granted, and his wife celebrated for a woman of a moſt inviolable unſpotted faith. This was enough to caſt Joſeph into the common jail among the moſt infamous of malefactors.

CHAP. V.

Joſeph falſly accuſed, and committed to priſon; and what befel him there. His interpretation of ſeveral dreams.

Joſeph's patience and reſignation.

His keeper kind to him, Ver. 22. 23.

Pharaoh's butler's dream. Gen. xl. Ver. 9, 10, 11.

Joſeph expounds it. Ver. 12, 13.

JOSEPH, in this condition, never concerned himſelf, either to make apologies in his own vindication, or remonſtrances of the truth of the ſtory; but committed his innocence to the protection of the Almighty, and bearing his chains with patience, ſupported himſelf with this comfort, that the power of God, who knew the juſtice of his cauſe, was greater than that of his enemies, as it ſoon appear'd in this following providence: For the keeper was ſo charmed with his fidelity and careful diligence in all he commanded him to do, together with the comelineſs of his perſon, that he diſcharged him of his irons, and by this means of a conſiderable part of his trouble; allowing him alſo better entertainment and better accommodations than the reſt of the priſoners uſually had. It was with Joſeph and his fellow-priſoners, as it is commonly with other people in their conditions. They had their intervals of time from labour, which they would imploy in talking and getting together in companies, and would be naturally enquiring of one another what this and t'other was in for. Upon this occaſion Pharaoh's butler, a man much in the king's eſteem, though at that time upon ſome unlucky diſſatisfaction he was a priſoner there, had contracted a familiarity with Joſeph. This butler had an high opinion of Joſeph's parts and underſtanding, and ſo took liberty to tell him of a dream he had, and to conſult Joſeph about the interpreting of it. He was very unhappy he ſaid, to be not only fallen under his maſter's diſpleaſure, but perplexed alſo with dreams and viſions of a more than ordinary quality. "Methought I ſaw (ſays he) three branches of a vine, and a bunch of grapes upon every branch, all ripe and ready to be gather'd. I preſſed them myſelf, methought, into a cup the king had in his hand; after which I preſented his majeſty with the wine, and he found it excellent." This was his dream, and he deſired Joſeph, if God had endow'd him with any ſkill that way, to give him an explication of it. Joſeph ſpake a word of comfort to him, and bad him "have a good heart, for in three days time he ſhould be ſet at liberty. The king had occaſion for him, and he ſhould have his place again. "The fruit of the vine, ſays Joſeph, is a gift of God, for the uſe and comfort of mankind. God accepts it himſelf in his ſacrifices; it creates friendſhips, compoſes differences, diſſolves cares and melancholy, and turns ſadneſs into joy. The king, you ſay, received the cup and the wine from your hand; this imports great good to you, and intimates that within as many days as you ſaw branches, you may aſſure yourſelf of your deliverance. Now, ſays Joſeph, when you find this to be true, think on me, when you yourſelf ſhall be free and in proſperity, and do not forget thoſe you have left behind you. I am not here a criminal, but only puniſhed for preferring the duty and honour of my maſter to a carnal pleaſure." This interpretation could not but pleaſe the butler, and he waited cheerfully for the event.

Pharaoh's baker's dream. Ver. 16, 17.

Joſeph's interpretation of it. Ver. 18, 19.

PHARAOH's chief baker was at that time in the ſame priſon: And finding ſo favourable an expoſition given of the butler's dream, he pleaſed himſelf in the hope of as fair an interpretation of a dream of his own too; conſulting Joſeph as the butler had done before, for the unfolding of it. "Laſt night, (ſays he) methought I had upon my head three baſkets, two of bread, and a third of fleſh, with other delicacies for a royal table. The birds of the air fell violently upon them, and devoured them, notwithſtanding all I could do to fright them away." Now the baker expected as favourable a conſtruction of his viſion as the butler had; but it proved the contrary: For Joſeph told him that he could not ſpeak ſo comfortable things to him as he wiſh'd to do. "The two baſkets, ſays he, ſignify that you have only two days to live; and that upon the third, you are to be crucify'd upon a tree, and expoſed to the fowls of the air; and there is no poſſibility of avoiding it."

Two dreams of Pharaoh's. Gen. xli.

Pharaoh conſults his wiſe men. Ver. 8.

Joſeph ſent for out of priſon. Ver. 14.

EVERY thing came to paſs as Joſeph had foretold it; for upon the preciſe day, according to his prediction, the feſtival of Pharaoh's birth-day, the king order'd the baker to be crucify'd, and the butler to be reſtor'd to his office. When Joſeph had been two years a priſoner, and as a man utterly forgotten by the ungrateful butler, providence made uſe of this means for his deliverance. Pharaoh had two dreams in one night, and the viſion was expounded to him: He remembred the dreams, but forgot the interpretation of them any further, than that in general, they boded him no good. This ſo much diſturb'd Pharaoh's thoughts, that he ſummon'd a convocation of the learned'ſt doctors of the Egyptians to attend him early next morning, and to expound his viſions. They met, and conſulted; but finding themſelves unable to reſolve them, Pharaoh grew more out of humour than before. This occaſion brought the butler to bethink himſelf once again of Joſeph, and of his ſkill in that way of interpretation. Upon this he went to the king, and told him of Joſeph, and a viſion of his own that he had expounded to him, while they were together in priſon. And for the greater authority of his predictions, he himſelf was reſtor'd to his office, and the baker hang'd, upon the very day which he foretold. Joſeph, he ſaid, was the ſervant of Petepher, and at that time a priſoner upon his account. He avers himſelf to be an Hebrew, and of no obſcure family. You may be pleaſed, ſays the butler, to ſend for him, without any exception to the meanneſs of his preſent condition; for he will certainly inform your majeſty in the ſignification of your dreams. Let him be call'd immediately, ſays the king; and ſo the ſervants went all in haſte, and brought him. Pharaoh treated the young man very reſpectfully, and taking him by the right hand, ſpake to him courteouſly after this manner: "There is a ſervant of mine, ſays he, that hath given you the character of a wiſe man: He tells me that he hath found you ſo himſelf, and very curious in one particular faculty, wherein I have at this inſtant a ſpecial occaſion to employ you. He tells me you have a ſingular talent in expounding of dreams, and that you unfolded one for him; pray do as much for me, and I ſhall take it very kindly; but be ſure you make things neither more nor leſs than they are, either for fear or favour; but ſpeak the truth freely, whether it makes for me or againſt me. I was walking, methought, along the river, and I ſaw ſeven large and well-fed cattle come out of it, and go their ways towards a paſture: After which I ſaw ſeven lean ill-favour'd beaſts coming from the paſture to the river: They met, methought, and the ſeven lean ones devoured the fat, and were never the fuller for it." After this viſion I waked; and while my thoughts were at work upon the meaning of the dream, a ſudden heavineſs came upon me, and dropping aſleep again inſenſibly, I had a more wonderful apparition than the former, which put me into a great trouble and affright. "Methought I ſaw ſeven ears of corn ſprung from one root. They were ripe and ready to cut, and ſo heavy laden, that their heads bow'd under their burden. Not far from this, I ſaw ſeven other ears, thin and blaſted; and theſe ſtarv'd ears to my aſtoniſhment devour'd the other."

Pharaoh's dream of Oxen, Ver. 17,--21.

Pharaoh's dream of ears of corn, Ver. 22. 23, 24.

Joſeph expounds Pharaoh's dreams, V. 25,--32.

JOSEPH upon this, told the king, That theſe two dreams, how differing ſoever in appearance, however denoted but one and the ſame event. "The ox, ſays he, is a creature deſign'd by providence for labour and tillage. By the ſeven fat oxen, and the ſeven lean ones; and ſo by the ſeven plump ears of corn, and the ſeven blaſted ones, is intimated ſeven years of plenty to come in Egypt; and after that ſeven more of famine; and by the lean oxen devouring the fat, and the blaſted ears of corn, the full and plump ones, is given to underſtand that the firſt ſeven years will hardly be ſufficient to ſupply the ſcarcity of ſeven others to come; which I take to be demonſtrated in this, that when the lean oxen had devoured the fat, they were not yet ſatisfied; ſo that moſt certainly the extremity will be very great. Now God doth not reveal his ſecret purpoſes to mankind, only to terrify and afflict them; but for a timely warning to them, that they may either provide againſt or prevent the worſt. So that if your majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to order the laying up of ſtores out of your abundance in the years of plenty, for a reſerve againſt a time of need, the following ſcarcity will be the leſs grievous." The king ſtood in admiration at the ſagacity and wiſdom of Joſeph, and ſo demanded of him, what courſe he would adviſe in the preſent caſe for the obviating of thoſe difficulties to come. Joſeph propoſed a Regulation of expences; for parſimony, and the retrenching of ſuperfluities, would go a great way in the work. He was of opinion alſo, for laying up magazines of corn in barns and elſewhere, to be deliver'd out by allowance, and no more to be diſtributed than what was abſolutely neceſſary for bread and ſeed.

Joſeph's advice to provide againſt a famine, V. 33,--36.

PHARAOH was as much delighted with Joſeph's notions in œconomics, as with his ſkill in dreams; and ſo with great honour to his judgment and counſel, he gave him full power and authority, as ſuperviſor of all his ſtores, to put his project in execution, in ſuch ſort and manner as he himſelf ſhould judge meet for the ſervice of his maſter, and the good of the publick. Upon the confering of this commiſſion, the king deliver'd him his ſignet, and granted him certain privileges of wearing purple, and riding in a chariot through all his dominions. Joſeph went now about his buſineſs, ſtoring up the corn wherever he came, and diſtributing among the husbandmen only ſuch a proportion, as might be barely ſufficient for their ſuſtenance, and for ſeed to ſow their grounds, without making any body acquainted with the reaſon of his proceedings.

Joſeph highly advanc'd by Pharaoh, Ver. 40, &c.

CHAP. VI.

Joſeph highly in the king's favour. The adventures of himſelf and his brethren upon their coming into Egypt.

JOSEPH was now thirty years of age, and ſo remarkably great in the king's favour for his extraordinary wiſdom, that he gave him the name of * Pſonthomphanec, which in the Egyptian tongue ſignifies, the finder out of hidden things.

Pſonthomphanec.

HE took to wife Aſaneth, the daughter of † Petephera, || high-prieſt of Heliopolis, which was a match of the king's making, and a very great honour. He had two children by her before the famine; the elder he called Manaſſes, or Oblivion, becauſe Joſeph's better fortune made him forget the worſe; the younger Ephraim, or Reſtitution, becauſe he was reinſtated in the freedom of his anceſtors.

Joſeph marries Aſaneth. Ver. 50.

Manaſſes and Ephraim, V. 51, 52.

JOSEPH's ſeven years of plenty in Egypt were now paſt, and in the eighth began the famine, according to his prediction. The calamity was a ſurprize, and brought huge multitudes of people into diſtreſs, flocking from all quarters about the king's gates. Whereupon Joſeph was preſently call'd, who took ſuch care for their relief, that with one voice they celebrated him as the ſaviour of the nation. Nor did he open the ſtores only to the people of the country, but to foreigners alſo; Joſeph reckoning upon it, that the univerſality of mankind are, in truth, all of a blood, and that it is the duty of men in proſperity to aſſiſt their brethren in diſtreſs.

A Famine in Egypt, V. 54.

Now this miſery did not fall upon Egypt alone, but ſeveral other countries ſuffer'd under the like ſcarcity, and Chanaan in particular; ſo that Jacob being informed that ſtrangers were admitted to deal for corn in Egypt, ſent all his ſons thither to buy proviſions, ſave only Benjamin, the ſon of Rachel, and own brother of Joſeph.

Jacob's ſons, all but Benjamin, ſent into Egypt for corn. Gen. xlii V. 3, 4.

So ſoon as the ten brothers were come into Egypt, they made their application to Joſeph, only for leave that they might have corn for their money. Now Joſeph was in ſo great favour with the king, that there was nothing to be done at court, but by his influence. Joſeph knew his brothers at firſt ſight, though they knew not him; for alas! he was taken away young, and age had alter'd his features, and given him the air and faſhion of quite another perſon; beſides, that no body could have expected Joſeph either in that country, or in that poſt of authority. Finding himſelf not known, and not ſo much as any ſuſpicion of him, Joſeph reſolved within himſelf to make ſome trial of his brothers, to ſee how they ſtood inclin'd; and ſo for a countenance, he not only denied them corn, but charged them as ſpies, and criminals of ſtate. “My friends, ſays he, you ſay you are brothers, whereas you appear to be no better than a cabal of conſpirators, and of ſeveral nations too. How can any body believe ſo many extraordinary perſons, as you undoubtedly are, to be only the ſons of one private man? when hardly any prince can boaſt of ſuch an iſſue.” Joſeph put this upon them to try if he could pump out any thing concerning his father, and how matters had been managed in the family ſince his time, and what was become of his brother Benjamin; for he was not a little afraid leſt that they might have ſerved him as they would have done himſelf. This way of proceeding put them all into a conſternation, they found themſelves in danger, and the end of a long journey, as they thought, wholly diſappointed. But ſomething muſt be ſaid however to clear themſelves from the imputation of ſo foul a charge, and Rubel the eldeſt brother, in the name of the reſt, undertook the defence of the common cauſe. “We are not come hither, ſays he, to pry into matters of ſtate, or attempt any thing upon the perſon of the king, or the peace of his government. It is mere want of bread that hath driven us hither for refuge, or I might ſay, that your humanity hath effectually invited us, in granting the freedom of your markets for corn to ſtrangers, as well as to your own people, as we are informed you have. That we are one man's children, may in ſome meaſure be collected from the very reſemblance of our faces, and it is true we are ſo. Our father's name is Jacob, by birth an Hebrew. There were twelve ſons of us that he had by four women, and ſo long as they all liv'd, things went well enough with us; but one of the number, whoſe name was Joſeph, being taken away, we fell into misfortunes. Our father lives ſtill a mourner for that loſs, and his inconſolable ſorrows are no leſs an affliction at this day to us, than was the untimely death of our deareſt brother. We come hither, under your favour, to buy corn, and in our abſence the care of our good father is committed to our youngeſt brother Benjamin. If it be doubted whether we ſpeak truth or not, it is but ſending a meſſenger to our father to learn the certainty.”

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* Or Pſothomphanec. Scr. Zaphnath-paaneah. † Scr. Potiphera. || Scr. The prieſt of On.

Joſeph pretends to take his brethren for ſpies, Ver. 9.

Rubel ſpeaks for himſelf and his brethren, Ver. 10,-13.

This was Rubel's ſpeech, for the ſatisfaction of Joſeph, and on the behalf of himſelf and his brothers. Now Joſeph finding that his father and brother were ſafe and well, commanded the brethren to be all taken into cuſtody, upon pretence of calling them to a ſtricter account at better leiſure. At three days end they were brought to him again; “And well, my friends, ſays Joſeph, here you affirm to me that you are come hither without any malicious deſign upon the government, and that you are all the ſons of the ſame father Jacob. Now for the truth of all you ſay, you ſhall leave one of your brethren with me as an hoſtage, that when you ſhall have deliver'd the corn you come for to your father, you ſhall return back again, and bring along with you the other brother that you ſay you have left behind. In the mean time your hoſtage ſhall be well uſed: this, and nothing elſe, will convince me that you are honeſt men.” Theſe words went to their hearts, for they fancied themſelves upon the very brink of ruin: they deplored their ill hap, and were continually crying out to one another, that all this was only a divine vengeance that purſued them for their barbarity to their poor brother. Rubel reprimanded them for the vanity and the folly of a late and unprofitable repentance; telling them frankly, that there was no remedy but patience under the judgment of a juſt God, upon a wicked brood of brothers. Theſe diſcourſes paſſed among themſelves, in confidence that no body there underſtood Hebrew. Rubel with this cutting liberty wounded them to the ſouls, lamenting one to another, why they could not think of this in time, and their conſciences ſtill ſuggeſting to them, that the wrath of God had juſtly overtaken them. Theſe reflections put the brothers into ſuch a horror of deſperation and confuſion, that Joſeph was fain to withdraw for fear of diſcovering himſelf, being no longer able to forbear weeping. After a little ſtay, he came in again, took Simeon for a pledge of their return, and gave them a licence for their corn; but a ſervant was order'd underhand to convey the money they paid for it into their baggage, which was accordingly done, and ſo they departed.

Joſeph orders his brethren to be taken into cuſtody, Ver. 16, 17.

Troubled in conſcience upon Joſeph's account, Ver. 21.

Upon the return of Jacob's ſons into Chanaan, they told their father the whole ſtory of their adventure in Egypt; how they were ſeized for ſpies, and could not be believed, either that they were all brethren, or had left another brother behind them; ſo that they were forc'd to leave Simeon for a pledge that they ſhould come back again, and bring Benjamin with them to vouch what they ſaid, begging earneſtly of their father to let him go without any further heſitation. Jacob was very much diſpleaſed, and highly diſapprov'd of what they had done, in leaving Simeon: but it cut him to the very heart, like a death-wound, to think of parting with Benjamin alſo, though Rubel offer'd to anſwer with the lives of his own children for the other's ſafety and return. They were in a dreadful perplexity what to do; and nothing ſtagger'd them more, than when they came to find their money in their ſacks. But their proviſions waſting all this while, and their wants increaſing, Jacob through compulſion, not inclination, was half in the mind ſometimes to venture his ſon Benjamin with the reſt; for there was no thought of ever returning to Egypt, without keeping their conditions. Their neceſſities preſſed harder and harder upon them, and the brothers importunities were not wanting neither; but nothing could move Jacob yet, till in the concluſion, Judas, a man of a bold and free ſpirit, took the liberty to argue

Jacob's ſons return to their father, Ver. 29.

The brothers ſent back for Benjamin, and Simeon kept for a pledge, Ver. 24.

the caſe with his father after another manner. "Methinks, ſays he to his father, you are a little too ſolicitous for Benjamin. He muſt ſubmit to the will of God, whether he be abroad or at home; and we are all to be delivered to a certain deſtruction in the loſs of Pharaoh's friendſhip, for fear of I know not what, that may poſſibly befal our little brother; but what will you ſay now, if the Egyptians ſhould deſtroy Simeon, while you are demurring and trifling away time about Benjamin. Truſt God in all events, and reſt aſſured, that I will either periſh myſelf, or bring him ſafe home again." Jacob was at length prevail'd upon, and deliver'd up the child; gave them double the price of the corn with them, and preſents of the fruits of the land of Chanaan for Joſeph, the perſon with whom they treated; as balm, myrrh, turpentine, honey, &c. and ſo with a flood of tears on both ſides, they tenderly parted; the father in a deſperate anxiety for fear he ſhould never ſee his ſons again, and the ſons under as diſmal apprehenſions for fear this very ſeparation ſhould be the death of their father. They ſpent a whole day upon this mournful ſubject, and in the end Jacob betook himſelf to his ſolitude, and the ſons proſecuted their journey, in hopes of ſomewhat to come that might balance their preſent affliction.

Jacob ſends Benjamin with preſents, Gen. xliii. 15.

The brethren addreſs to Joſeph, Ver. 20, 21, 22.

So ſoon as ever they came into Egypt, they addreſs'd themſelves to Joſeph; not a little concern'd for fear the money they found in their ſacks ſhould be charg'd upon them as a cheat. But upon laying the matter before Joſeph's ſteward, and telling him, how that finding their money in their ſacks without knowing how it came there, they had now brought it back again to reſtore it, the ſteward anſwer'd them boldly that he knew nothing of the buſineſs. Their hearts upon this were a little more at eaſe, eſpecially when they ſaw their brother Simeon at liberty. Joſeph, by this time was come from waiting upon the king, and while they were making their preſents, he fell to asking them queſtions; as how their father did, and the like; they told him well. His fears for Benjamin were now over too; for he ſaw him in the company, and asked them again, if that were the youngeſt of the brothers, and they told him yes; whereupon he ſaid no more than this, "God's providence is over all things," and ſo went out, though againſt his will, to weep in private; for the emotions of natural affection had drawn tears into his eyes in ſuch abundance, that he could not forbear venting them any longer. That evening he gave them an invitation to ſupper with him, where he ranged them in the ſame order they uſed in their father's houſe, treating them all with exceeding courteſy, but Benjamin's portion was double to any of the reſt.

Simeon ſet at liberty, Ver. 23.

Joſeph treats his brethren at ſupper, Ver. 32, 33, 34.

AFTER ſupper, when the company was retir'd, Joſeph order'd the meaſuring of their corn, and bad his ſteward put the money into their ſacks as before, and to convey into Benjamin's ſack a certain ſilver cup that he himſelf had a particular fancy for, and always uſed to drink out of. This he did to try whether they would ſtand by Benjamin, in caſe he ſhould be charged with the theft, or abandon him in diſtreſs, and ſo return to their father without him. This was all done according to order. By break of day the next morning, they ſet forward on their journey, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting any trick to be put upon them, and mightily pleaſed at the thought that they had got Simeon ſafe, and Benjamin ſo far on his way back again, according to their engagement. As they were travelling on, they found themſelves all on a ſudden ſurrounded with troops of horſe, amongſt whom was the ſervant who had put the cup into the ſack. This ſurprize tranſported them into clamours and exclamations againſt the inhumanity of ſuch a practice from the ſame people who had but juſt now treated them with ſo much hoſpitality and honour. The Egyptians, on the other ſide, tax'd them with villany and ingratitude for returning only injuries, where they had received ſo many civilities and benefits; and threatened they ſhould be ſpeedily brought to condign puniſhment, for the theft they had committed. They might, indeed, put tricks, they ſaid, upon the butler; but there was an all-ſeeing eye above that would certainly detect them. They had brought matters now to ſuch a paſs, that there was nothing to be expected but immediately to receive the juſt reward of their treachery. At this inſolent rate they inſulted them, but the ſervant above all the reſt; inſomuch, that they who were intirely ignorant of the plot, could not forbear reproaching the man with folly and indiſcretion for accuſing them of theft, who when they found the corn money in their ſacks, had the honeſty to bring it back and reſtore it, though none beſides their own conſciences knew any thing of the matter; but ſearching, they ſaid, would gain more credence, and prove or diſprove the fact better than the moſt poſitive denial of it; and ſo without any more words they offer'd up themſelves, bag and baggage, to the ſcrutiny; and if any one of them ſhould be found guilty, they were all willing to ſuffer for it; ſo ſecure did they reckon themſelves in the conſcience of their own innocence. The Egyptians took them at their words, and fell to ſearching; "but heaven forbid, they cried, if any one of them ſhould be detected, the innocent ſhould ſuffer for the guilty." They took them in order, and ſo paſſed from one to another, till they came at laſt to Benjamin; not that they were ignorant in whoſe ſack the cup was, but that they might ſeem to make a more ſtrict and methodical ſearch. All the reſt were now ſafe and clear, and the whole concern they were now in was for him only: they confided, however, that he would be found as guiltleſs and innocent as themſelves, and therefore they might, they thought, take the more liberty and freedom to retort upon the Egyptians the ill language they had given them, and ſhew their reſentment of their troubleſome and unneceſſary impertinence, who from groundleſs ſuſpicions, and ill-founded conjectures of their diſhoneſty, had ſtopp'd them on the road, and been a conſiderable hindrance to them in their journey. Being now come to Benjamin's ſack, out came the ſilver cup at once, which they that put it there could have found as well at firſt, if the method of the contrivance would have born it. Upon this diſcovery they all broke out into tears, extravagant actions, and paſſionate lamentations; tearing their garments, and crying

The brothers depart, Gen. xliv. 3.

A cup found in Benjamin's ſack, Ver. 12.

ing out like men diſtracted, their brother was undone! what would become of that poor brother of theirs! how ſhould they anſwer for him to his father! and then to miſcarry now too, when they thought all was over! “It was not for nothing, they cried, that the good man was ſo unwilling to part with him, and we muſt be preſſing of him to let him go; ſo that our father is ruin'd, and the blame of all this muſt be laid at our door.”

Benjamin ſeized, and carried to Joſeph.

The officers carried Benjamin away to Joſeph, and his companions went along with him. Benjamin being now a priſoner, and his brethren ſtanding round him in a ſorrowful condition, Joſeph looking upon them, reproach'd them in words to this purpoſe; “And is it ſo then, ſays he, ye vileſt of men, that without any regard either to the good offices of hoſpitality, or to the diſpenſations of divine providence, you ſhould put ſo ungrateful an affront upon your patron and benefactor?” The brothers interpoſing their requeſts, that their perſons might be accepted of in exchange for that of their unfortunate brother, and the puniſhment due to his offence inflicted upon them inſtead of him; and then they made mention of Joſeph's name over and over again, how happy it was for him that he was out of this miſerable life, (at leaſt if he was ſo,) or if yet living, how much it was to his honour, if that the ſevere vengeance of God ſhould be inflicted upon them for his ſake. They went on, accuſing and condemning of themſelves, as the authors and inſtruments of their father's afflictions, in reviving and increaſing his old ſorrows with the addition of this new one; Rubel at every turn reproaching them with the execrable wickedneſs they had been guilty of with regard to their brother. Joſeph, as upon conſideration, told them at length, that truly for the innocent, as he did not think it fair to make one man bear the puniſhment of another man's tranſgreſſion, ſo neither did he judge it reaſonable to diſcharge the offender at the inſtance of the guiltleſs, or to puniſh them all alike; wherefore, ſays he, you may return when you pleaſe, and it ſhall be my care to provide you a ſafe paſſage; and for your brother, I ſhall content myſelf with him alone for an example.

Judas expoſtulates on Benjamin's behalf, Gen. xliv. 16, &c.

These words ſtruck them all dumb, ſave only Judas, who was a man of wit and courage, and the only perſon who perſuaded Jacob to part with his ſon. This Judas took up a generous reſolution, upon this occaſion, of running any riſque to ſave him, as he had promiſed his father; and hereupon applied himſelf to Joſeph in theſe words: “We cannot but confeſs, moſt excellent governor, that the fact now in queſtion is a heinous tranſgreſſion, and a crime that deſerves puniſhment. The guilt, it is true, falls only upon one of us, and the youngeſt; but though we are not all in fault, we are all ready yet to ſuffer for it. As to the poor young man, we ſhould give him for loſt, if it were not for the confidence we have in your clemency and goodneſs. We muſt therefore appeal from the ſtrict conſideration of the fact, to the benignity of your own nature; and to your native tenderneſs, from the heat of your indignation, anger being a paſſion only for narrow ſouls; and therefore we make no doubt but your virtue and moderation will ſet bounds to your diſpleaſure; for with ſubmiſſion, it would not be for your honour to deſtroy a ſort of people that voluntarily deliver up themſelves to your juſtice, and deſire only to become indebted for their lives to your mercy; which in effect would be but the bounty of giving us the ſame lives over again; for when we were in diſtreſs for want of corn, what was it but the diſpatch and generoſity of your relief, that preſerved us and our whole family from periſhing by famine? now to relieve men in extream neceſſity for for want of food, and to forgive an offender that ſtands in need of a pardon, is but an effect of the ſame tenderneſs, in another way of expreſſing it; the one ſaves the life, and the other ſpares it. You are now but to ſave whom you have fed for the very end of ſaving them; which end is loſt, if you do not preſerve the lives you have given; and in ſo doing we ſhall become your debtors, not only for the neceſſaries of life, but for life itſelf. This occaſion looks as if God himſelf, for your greater glory, had furniſhed expreſs matter for your virtue to work upon; and that the world may ſee you are merciful as well as liberal, and take more delight in doing good offices to others, than in revenging injuries done to yourſelf. It is, I muſt confeſs, a generous diſpoſition to be human and charitable; but there is no ornament that becomes greatneſs like clemency, eſpecially when that clemency is exercis'd upon the forgiving of affronts offer'd to the forgiver himſelf. Now if it be praiſe-worthy to paſs over even the ſmalleſt faults, it is little leſs than divine, for a man to moderate the reſentment of a capital crime, and in his own caſe too. It is not for the ſake of our own ſafety that I am thus ſolicitous, but out of a ſenſe of the anxious tenderneſs of a father for a child, which I am the more ſenſible of, by the experience I have had of the violence of my father's paſſion upon the loſs of our dear brother Joſeph. We ſhould not think our own lives worth the ſtruggling for, were it not for the deplorable conſequences that our ruin would bring upon our aged father when we are gone; ſaving that we have ſome ſort of ambition likewiſe to become indebted to your virtue, and to declare ourſelves the monuments of your fame and goodneſs. We do not beg, nor are we ſo much concerned for ourſelves, though we be a company of young men in the prime and vigour of our youth, who have taſted as yet but little of the pleaſures and enjoyments of life, as for an antient father, a perſon waſted with age and cares. It is in his name, and for his ſake only, that we implore your compaſſion upon us his ſons, who have all rendered themſelves obnoxious to puniſhment by this day's miſdemeanour. He himſelf is undoubtedly a good man, and it is none of his fault if we are not ſo too. He has a thouſand griefs and terrors upon him at this day, for fear we return not in ſafety; and it were great pity ſo worthy a perſon ſhould ſuffer under ſo mortal a calamity. When he ſhall hear that we are dead, and upon what account, he will moſt infallibly die likewiſe. The ſingle thought of the infamy, nay, the very rumour of it will kill him. We cannot deny, after all this, the provocation to be great, and your diſpleaſure juſt; but we may yet petition, that the vengeance for it may not fall upon our innocent father, and that for his ſake you will be gracious to us. Be pleaſed but to conſider his age and his condition, and you may conclude that when we are gone, he neither can nor will live without us. Conſider but our father in your own, and then in ours the common caſe of all fathers. There is ſomething ſacred in the very name of father, as being an appellation which God himſelf vouchſafes to aſſume; and God the father of all will certainly bleſs you and your poſterity, for all the good you ſhall do under the honour of that common name, and on the behalf of a father that otherwiſe muſt be left childleſs. Our lives are in your hand, and it is at your choice whether to give or take; the one you may do with juſtice, and the other will be an act of grace; and having both indifferently in your power, you may grant the latter in imitation of God himſelf, without putting the other to the ſtreſs, and employ your prerogative for the good and preſervation of mankind. Now the more lives you ſave, the more honourable will be your fame, and in preſerving our brother, you preſerve us all; for upon his ſafety depends ours, and we are never to ſee our father again without him; ſo that whatever he ſuffers, we muſt ſuffer too. Neither have we, moſt illuſtrious governor, any thing more to crave, if we cannot obtain this, than that we all may be join'd in the puniſhment, as if we had been complices in the fact; which would be much eaſier to us, than to be forc'd by an inſupportable deſpair to lay violent hands upon ourſelves. I might offer further on his behalf, that he is young, and has not ſeen much of the world; and that under theſe circumſtances it is a very rare thing to put people to extremities. But to come to a concluſion, if we are condemn'd for want of a competent defence, it muſt lie at my door; if acquitted, we ſhall aſcribe it wholly to your generoſity and goodneſs; adding this further to your honour, that in the ſaving of us you give us a new life, and conſult better for us than we could do for ourſelves; but if it ſhall yet be found abſolutely neceſſary that ſomewhat be done for the ſatisfaction of a rigorous juſtice, I muſt affectionately beſeech you to accept of me in the place of my brother, that I may abide his puniſhment, and the young man be ſent away to his father. Or if the ſentence ſhould be ſlavery, my body may be able to do you the better ſervice of the two; and I am ready indifferently to ſubmit either to the one or to the other."

WHEN Judas had ſaid and offer'd all that was poſſible toward the pacifying of the governor, and the eaſing of his brother, he threw himſelf at Joſeph's feet, and all the reſt after him, in a joint mediation for Benjamin.

Joſeph make himſelf known to his brethren, Gen. xlv. 1.

JOSEPH by this time found himſelf ſo overcome with tenderneſs and natural affection, that he could no longer act the part of an angry judge, and therefore he order'd all that were preſent to withdraw, that he might make himſelf known to his brethren, without any witneſſes; ſo that having got them by themſelves, he made a diſcourſe to them to this effect: "I cannot, ſays he, but be exceedingly delighted to find you ſo friendly and compaſſionate to your brother; which I muſt confeſs exceeded my expectation, conſidering ſome paſt circumſtances in my own caſe that were not ſo good-natur'd. It was my end, in what I have now done, to make ſome trial of your brotherly love upon this occaſion; which I have now receiv'd ſo fair a proof of, that I cannot impute any thing you ever did againſt me to gall or malice; but the hand of God was in it, whoſe providence hath now made uſe of that action, as the means of a preſent comfort to you, in giving us the hope of greater bleſſings yet to come, by the continuance of God's favour and protection. But ſince I am now come to underſtand that my father is in ſuch a ſtate, as I could better wiſh than expect, and my brothers the tender men that they ought to be, all paſt injuries are as if they had never been; and I am rather to give you my thanks, as the inſtruments of divine providence for our common advantage, than to upbraid you now with former actions, which at that time perhaps carried a countenance of evil: and pray let theſe things be forgotten on your part too, and ſet your hearts at reſt, without diſcompoſing yourſelves for errors not to be recall'd, and for lewd purpoſes that never took effect, ſince it hath pleaſed God to bring good out of evil. Go your ways back therefore to your father, with all joy and comfort, and tell him the wonderful things that God hath done for you. Go and diſpatch, for fear of any diſaſter his very grief and apprehenſion may bring upon him elſe before you ſee him, which would utterly blaſt all the hopes I have of happineſs, both in the ſight of him, and in an enjoyment with him of all the bleſſings that I am poſſeſs'd of; wherefore be gone, and make haſte back again; and be ſure you bring my father, your wives, children, and all your kindred along with you; for I ſhould be loth to have my deareſt friends at ſuch a diſtance from me, when there are five years of famine yet more to come." With theſe words Joſeph embrac'd his brothers, who could not but burſt out into tears and lamentations, reflecting upon their wicked practices againſt him. But nothing went nearer their hearts, than to conſider how baſely they had dealt with ſo worthy a brother. After this a ſumptuous banquet being prepared, they all feaſted together.

Joſeph ſends his brothers for their father, &c. Ver. 13.

WHEN the king came to underſtand that Joſeph's brothers were come, the news was as welcome to him as if ſome great good fortune had befallen him, inſomuch that he order'd wagons with corn, gold, and ſilver to be ſent, and preſents for their father, beſide what Joſeph gave them; ſome for the father, ſome for the brothers themſelves, but the beſt of all for Benjamin, and ſo they return'd.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Jacob hearing how ſplendidly his ſon Joſeph liv'd in Egypt, repairs to him there with his family.

The hiſtory of Joſeph's adventures, Ver. 26, 27.

UPON the arrival of Jacob's ſons with their father, they told him the whole Hiſtory of Joſeph's adventures: How he was not only living, after ſo long and ſad a mourning for him, but in great power and ſplendor: Pharaoh's firſt miniſter; and, next to the king himſelf, the moſt eminent perſon in his dominions. Jacob made no difficulty of believing what was told him, but enter'd into a contemplation of God's infinite Grace and favour to him, tho' for ſome time ſeemingly diſcontinued, and ſo without any delay, he and his people haſten'd away to Joſeph.

Jacob ſacrifices at Beer-ſheba, Gen. xlvi. 1.

WHEN Jacob came to the well called the Well of Oath, he offer'd up a ſacrifice; but ſomewhat uneaſy within himſelf, for fear the plenty of Egypt ſhould debauch his ſons, and tempt them to ſettle there, and ſo divert his poſterity from returning to Chanaan, and the land which God had promis'd him. He had ſome ſcruple too, leaſt God ſhould ſtrike him and his family with ſome judicial calamity, even for undertaking the preſent journey, without imploring counſel and direction from above; or that he himſelf ſhould die before he came to Joſeph. As he lay pondering with theſe thoughts in his head, he fell faſt aſleep; and God appeared to him in a viſion, calling him twice by his name. Jacob asked who was there, and the viſion made him anſwer, "Haſt thou forgotten thy God then, Jacob? the God of thy forefathers that never failed, either them or their poſterity, in a time of need? That God who appointed you the head of your family, contrary to your father's intent; and when you went ſingle into Meſopotamia, bleſſed you with an advantageous match, and brought you back again full of wealth and children? That God who hath ſtill been the protector and guardian of your family, and advanced your ſon Joſeph, whom you gave for loſt, to a degree of honour next to the king in Egypt? I am now coming to be your conductor in your preſent Journey, and to foretel you, that you ſhall end your days in the arms of your ſon Joſeph; that your poſterity ſhall be powerful and famous for many ages, and come at laſt to the land I have promis'd them."

God appears to Jacob in a viſion, Ver. 2.

Jacob advances towards Egypt, Ver. 5, 6, 7.

JACOB, putting confidence in this viſion, marched chearfully on himſelf toward Egypt, and his people, to the number of ſeventy perſons. Their names are a little uncouth, and I ſhould have paſſed them over, but for the ſatisfaction of thoſe that will have us to be Egyptians, not Meſopotamians.

The children of Jacob, Ver. 8, &c.

JACOB had twelve ſons. Joſeph being gone away before, we ſhall only give an account now of the reſt ſeverally, and of their iſſue.

Gen. xlvi. 9. Hezron. ib. Carmi.

RUBEL had four ſons; Anoch, Phalles, Eſſaron, and Charmi.

Ver. 11. Coath.

SIMEON had ſix ſons; Jumil, Jamin, Ohad, Jachin, Zoar, and Shaul.

LEVI had three ſons; Gerſhon, Chaath, and Merari.

Ver. 12. Shelah. ib. Zerah. Ver. 12. Hamul.

JUDAS had three ſons; Salah, Phares, and Zarah.

PHARES had two ſons; Eſron, and Amyr.

Ver. 13. Tola, Phuvah, Job, Shimron. Ver. 14. Sered, Elon, Jahleel.

ISSACHAR had four ſons; Thulas, Phuas, Jaſob, and Samaron.

ZABULON had three ſons; Sarad, Elon, and Jalel.

JACOB had theſe children by Leah; who carry'd with her her daughter Dinah; and all theſe together amount to the number of thirty three perſons.

JACOB had over and above, by Rachel, Joſeph and Benjamin.

JOSEPH had two ſons; Manaſſes and Ephraim.

V. 21. Belah. ib. Becher. ib. Aſhbel. ib. Ehi, Roſh. ib. Muppim, and Huppim, and Ard.

BENJAMIN had ten ſons; Bolau, Baccharis, Aſabel, Gera, Naaman, Ies, Ros, Momphis, Opphis, and Arad: And theſe fourteen perſons added to the other thirty three, make the number of forty ſeven. Theſe were Jacob's legitimate ſons, beſide Dan and Nephthali, which he had by Bilhah.

Ver. 23. Huſhim.

DAN had but one ſon; and he called him Uſis.

Ver. 24. Jahzeel, Guni, Jezer, and Shillem.

NEPHTHALI had four ſons; Jeſel, Guni, Iſſares, and Sellim; and theſe added to thoſe above, make the number of fifty four.

JACOB had alſo by Zilpah, Gad and Aſſer.

V. 16. Ziphion, Haggai, Shuni, Esbon, Eri, Arodi, Areli. Ver. 17. Jimnah, Iſhuah, Iſua, Beriah, and Serah their Siſter: The Sons of Beriah, Hebor, and Malchiel.

GAD had ſeven ſons; Saphonias, Augis, Sunis, Azabon, Aerin, Eroed, and Ariel.

ASSER had one daughter, Sarah, and ſix ſons; Jomnes, Iſus, Iſuis, Baris, Abar, and Melchiel. Now theſe fifteen added to the other fifty four, if we include Jacob, amount, as is ſaid before, to the exact number of ſeventy.

The greeting of Jacob and Joſeph at Heropolis, Gen. xlvi. 29. Goſhen.

As they were advancing upon the way, Judas went before with the intelligence to Joſeph, that Jacob was coming, who preſently ſet out to receive him, and they met at a place call'd Heropolis. Jacob, at the greeting, had like to have expir'd in a tranſport of joy; and Joſeph's ſurprize was not much leſs: But his own danger did not hinder him from taking care of his father, being the weaker of the two. After this, he took five of his brethren along with him, and poſted away to the king with the tidings of their arrival, ordering the reſt to advance by eaſy journeys. The king was very glad of the news, and enquir'd of Joſeph what buſineſs or profeſſion they chiefly apply'd themſelves to. Joſeph anſwer'd, that their employment was wholly paſtoral, and that they minded nothing elſe. He gave this anſwer for two reaſons: Firſt, to keep them together that they might be within diſtance of ſerving their father: Secondly, to prevent ſtrife and emulation with the Egyptians, by interfering with any of their commiſſions; for theſe people were not allow'd to concern themſelves in flocks and paſtures. Jacob, upon his arrival, was brought before the king, who asking him his age, he told him, an hundred and thirty: Pharaoh ſeeming mightily ſurpriz'd at his great age, Jacob added further, that his anceſtors commonly liv'd a great while longer; ſo the king appointed Jacob, and his ſons to go and live in Heliopolis, where the king had his flocks and ſhepherds.

Jacob conducted to Pharaoh. Gen. xlvii. 7, 8, 9. Heliopolis aſſign'd Jacob for his Habitation. Gen. xlvii. 11. Rameſes.

The famine increaſes in Egypt, V. 13.

THE famine at this time increaſed grievouſly in Egypt, and no redreſs. The overflowing of the Nile that was wont to water the country, and make it fruitful, was ſuſpended, no rain at all, and the generality of the people, for want of foreſight, utterly without ſtores, and no grain to be had but for ready money; and when that fail'd, they gave their land, cattle, and ſlaves, in exchange for corn. By this means all came into the king's hands, while the miſerable multitude went, ſome one way, and ſome another, ſubmitting to any miſery rather than ſtarving; only the prieſts preſerv'd their freedom, and their eſtates. This neceſſity in the concluſion made the people's minds as ſervile as their bodies; for they accounted nothing mean or ſcandalous that would procure them bread in their mouths, which way ſoever they came at it.

The famine abates.

UPON the return of the Nile to its uſual ſtate, and courſe of watering and refreſhing the earth, the famine began by degrees to abate, and every thing to return to the condition it was in before. Joſeph hereupon viſited all the great towns and cities, call'd the people together, and put them into poſſeſſion of their lands again, which they had parted with to the king, reſerving a fifth part of the profits of them as a duty to the royal prerogative; charging them to be as good huſbands for the king as they would for themſelves, if the grounds were entirely their own. The men were ſo ſurpriz'd with joy at this unlook'd for reſtitution, that they fell preſently to work upon tillage and improvement. This moſt generous piece of juſtice did mightily advance Joſeph's intereſt and authority, and engage the affection of the people to the king. And after this conceſſion, the aforeſaid fifth part was ſettled by an act of ſtate upon the crown for ever.

CHAP. VIII.

The death of Jacob, and of Joſeph.

Jacob dies in the arms of his children, Gen. xlviii. xlix.

WHEN Jacob had been ſeventeen years in Egypt, he departed this life in the arms of his children, wiſhing them plenty and proſperity, and foretelling them that their iſſue ſhould in time to come poſſeſs part of the land of Chanaan, which came afterwards to paſs. He mightily recommended to them the generoſity of Joſeph, for his goodneſs, in returning only kindneſſes and benefits for the moſt provoking of injuries; and expreſſing more tenderneſs for his mortal enemies, than was uſual with others to the beſt of friends; wherefore he laid his commands upon them to receive Ephraim and Manaſſes, Joſeph's children, into their number, when they ſhould come to ſhare the land of Chanaan, (but of this hereafter;) deſiring them at laſt, that his body might be buried in Hebron. He died at a hundred and forty ſeven years of age, not inferior for piety and virtue to any of his predeceſſors, and by the goodneſs of God he was crown'd with all ſorts of bleſſings. Joſeph, with the king's leave, cauſed his body to be tranſported to Hebron, where it was magnificently buried. The ſolemnity being over, the brothers made a great difficulty of going back again, for fear leaſt Joſeph ſhould execute revenge on them, now the father was dead, and no body left that could interpoſe to hinder miſchief; but Joſeph ſoon diſpoſſeſſed them of their fears, and prevail'd with them to return with him back again; beſtowing upon them large poſſeſſions, and upon all occaſions treating them with the moſt generous reſpect imaginable. After this Joſeph alſo died, at the age of a hundred and ten years, a man of the ſtricteſt and moſt exact virtue; of profound wiſdom and prudence, and one who made ſo modeſt a uſe of his power, that no calumny, no not ſo much as that of Petepher's wife, nor the conſideration of his being a foreigner was of any diſſervice to him. In fine, he maſter'd all difficulties, and was advanced to the higheſt ſtation in the government, which he enjoy'd without either the envy or cenſure of any perſon whatſoever. The reſt of the brethren liv'd and died happily in Egypt too, and their bodies afterward, by their poſterity, were tranſported to Hebron, and there interr'd. The bones of Joſeph were laſt of all carried out of Egypt, when the Hebrews relinquiſh'd the country, according to his own appointment, and the oath which he made his ſons ſwear to him before he died. As to the hiſtory and adventures of theſe people, and how they made their way into the land of Chanaan, we ſhall treat of it in another place. But it ſhould be firſt ſeen how they came to quit the land of Egypt.

Jacob recommends Ephraim and Manaſſes to his ſons, Gen. xlviii.

The death and character of Joſeph.

CHAP. IX.

The miſerable ſlavery of the Hebrews in Egypt, for four hundred years. The birth of Moſes, and the providence of his preſervation, by the means of Pharaoh's daughter.

The Egyptians a luxurious, envious people.

THE Egyptians are naturally a peeviſh, lazy ſort of people, abandon'd to their pleaſures, and their very ſouls ſet upon worldly riches, let them come which way they will. So that it was no wonder they ſhould caſt an envious eye upon the Hebrews, whom they found (juſt in a contradiction to their humour) a laborious, induſtrious people, abounding in men and treaſure; a people, in ſhort, whoſe happineſs they were not able to bear; beſide a jealouſy they had that their increaſe in wealth and number might make them dangerous. Joſeph's old ſervices being now forgotten, and the government of Egypt tranſlated into another family, the Iſraelites were no longer treated as friends, but as ſlaves; for all ſervile and coarſe offices of drudgery were impoſed upon them, even to the degree of putting their wits to work, to find out new ways of vexation and oppreſſion. They put them to the draining of rivers into chanels, walling of towns, caſting up of dikes and banks, to keep off inundations; nay, the erecting of phantaſtical pyramids, forcing them upon the learning of ſeveral painful trades, and tying them up to a perpetual reſtleſſneſs of labour: this was their life for a matter of four hundred years. The Egyptians, on the one hand, ſtriving to kill as many of them as they could by hard labour, while the Iſraelites on the other, patiently made the beſt of their miſfortunes in all difficulties.

The Egyptian ſlavery, Exod. i. 13, 14.

WHILE the Egyptians were thus intent upon the deſtroying of them, there went a diſcourſe about, that made their malice againſt them yet more implacable, even to the degree of reſolving to root them out from off the face of the earth. There was a certain ſcribe, as they call'd him, a man highly eſteem'd for his predictions, who told the king that there was a Hebrew child to be born about that time, who would be a ſcourge to the Egyptians, and

A prophecy of a Hebrew child that ſhould curb the Egyptians.

advance the glory of his own nation; and, if he liv'd to grow up, would be a man eminent for virtue and courage, and make his name famous to poſterity. The king was ſo affrighted at this prediction, that by the counſel of the ſcribe, he order'd the Egyptian midwives carefully and ſtrictly to attend the labours of all the Hebrew women; preſerving the females, and caſting the males into the river. He committed this truſt to the Egyptians, as the leaſt likely to be partial; and upon pain of death to them and their family, who ſhould preſume to conceal any child, or act contrary to this command.

An order to drown all the Hebrew males, Ver. 16.

THE barbarity of this bloody decree look'd ſeveral ways; firſt, as it depriv'd ſo many parents of their children; ſecondly, as it made thoſe parents themſelves acceſſary to the murder of their own iſſue; and then again, as they had in proſpect an utter extinction of the whole race, for want of males to continue it, they were now brought to the laſt extremity. But there is no oppoſing of craft and violence to God's will and providence; for this child, of whom the ſcribe had foretold, was born and brought up privately and ſafe, in deſpite of all precautions, and liv'd to make good the ſcribe's predictions. The matter was carried thus:

Amaram's prayer for the Hebrews.

God anſwers Amaram in a viſion.

THERE was one * Amaram, a Hebrew, a man of eminent quality and credit, who found himſelf in a great ſtreight upon this decree, both in a publick and a private ſenſe; one way, out of a reſpect to the whole nation that was to be extirpated by it; the other, in regard to his own particular, for his wife was then with child. In this diſtreſs of ſorrow he offer'd up a prayer to Almighty God, "That he would look down in pity upon a people that had never departed from his worſhip; that he would guide and protect them, and in his good time put an end to a calamity that ſtruck at no leſs than the rooting out of the whole ſtock." His prayer was heard, and God appear'd to him in a dream, telling him, "That as he had not forgotten the piety of his predeceſſors, ſo neither would he fail to reward them as he had done their anceſtors;" encouraging Amaram to hope for better things. "It was I, ſaid the viſion, who made you ſo mighty a nation from ſo ſmall a beginning; that brought Abraham in his own ſingle perſon out of Meſopotamia into Chanaan, and beſide, other bleſſings, gave him children by a woman, who according to the courſe of nature, was paſt child-bearing, and left vaſt poſſeſſions to thoſe who came after him; to Iſhmael the country of Arabia; Troglodytis to the children of Cheturah, and to Iſaac the land of Chanaan. You cannot (without extreme wickedneſs and ingratitude) forget the glory and ſucceſſes of all your exploits when I fought your battles. My bleſſings upon Jacob and his poſterity, who of † ſeventy perſons only that came into Egypt, are at preſent multiplied to ſix hundred thouſand. The viſion alſo aſſur'd him, that he would provide for the common good of them all, and for himſelf in particular; for the child that the Egyptians ſtood in ſuch dread of, and for whoſe ſake all the Hebrew males were to be put to death; that child, the viſion ſaid, ſhould be born to him, come happily into the world, eſcape all ſpies, have an education provided for him, beyond what could be expected, and in good time deliver the Iſraelites from the Egyptian bondage, and make his name glorious to eternity, through all nations. This, and more, ſays the viſion, will I do for you and yours; and he ſhall have a brother whom I will honour with the high-prieſthood, and it ſhall deſcend from him to his heirs for ever."

Amaram tells his wife his dream.

Moſes is born, Exod. ii. 2.

The child kept cloſe for three months.

AMARAM, upon waking, gave his wife Jochabel the hiſtory of this viſion, and the diſcourſe put them both in great perplexity what to think of it; for they were now not only ſolicitous for the child, but to the higheſt degree incredulous alſo of the wonderful good things that were to come to paſs; but after a while, Jochabel fell in labour, and her pains ſo ſhort and eaſy, that all was over before the Egyptian midwives could take notice of it; by which providence they were brought to have more faith in the viſion. After the child had been kept cloſe three months, Amaram at laſt, for fear of a diſcovery that would deſtroy father, mother, child, and all at once, and likewiſe diſappoint the prediction, determin'd to leave all to providence, reaſoning upon it after this manner: If the child could be concealed, (as it was very difficult to do it, and very hazardous to attempt it,) they muſt live in danger every moment; but as to the power and veracity of God, they made no doubt of it, or of his ability to ſave them; ſo that whatever he had promiſed, he would certainly bring to paſs. Upon this diſcourſe they came to a reſolution, and made a ſmall cradle of bulruſhes, ‡ fit for their purpoſe; twiſted them together, pitched the joints, and when they had made it tight, and dreſſed it to hold water, they put in the child, and ſo committed them to the river, and to God's merciful protection. In this manner it was ſet a-float, and the ſtream carried it along. || Mariam the child's ſiſter was ſent by her mother's order to watch it on the other ſide of the river, and ſee what became on't. This may ſerve now to convince mankind, that it is in vain for human wiſdom to think of defeating the will and pleaſure of the Almighty; and to inſtruct us, that they, who for their own intereſt or ſecurity, meditate miſchief to other men, though with never ſo much art and addreſs, ſhall probably meet with many diſappointments in the end; as they on the contrary, that chearfully reſign up themſelves to the good pleaſure of God, ſhall find relief, even by miracle, where ordinary means fail; as in the caſe of this innocent child.

Moſes ſet a-drift upon the river in a cradle, Ver. 3.

Mariam the child's ſiſter ſent out to watch it, Ver. 4.

Thermuthis, the king's daughter, gets the child a-ſhore, Ver. 5.

THERMUTHIS, the king's daughter, was at this time taking the air upon the bank of the Nile, and happening to ſee ſomewhat paſs floating along the current, ſhe preſently ſent out ſome ſwimmers to bring it a-ſhore; which

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* Vid. Amram. † See above Chap. VII.

‡ This by ſome called a ruſh, by others a reed, was a flaggy ſhrub of great uſe among the antients, which grew to the height of ten feet, chiefly in the marſhes of Egypt, and the ſtagnated places of the river Nile, of which they made cloaths, mats, ropes, ſails, ſailing-veſſels, &c. as Pliny informs us, B. XIII. c. 11. Of this alſo was made the paper of the antients.

|| Scr. Miriam.

when it came to be examin'd, proved a fair goodly child, expos'd in a kind of cradle or basket, as aforeſaid, which the princeſs was exceedingly delighted withal. Such was the grace and favour of God to Moſes, that he was preſerv'd, brought up, and provided for, by thoſe very perſons that were in the deſign of cutting off the whole race of the Hebrews for his ſake. So that Thermuthis order'd ſome women to be call'd to give it ſuck: But ſeveral being brought, and try'd, one after another, the child turn'd away with ſuch an averſion, that they could not make it take the breaſt. Mariam being there preſent, and ſeemingly more out of curioſity or by chance, than any thing of concern or buſineſs, ſhe told the princeſs that this would never do; "For, (ſays ſhe) if this child be of one country, and the nurſe of another, it is poſſible the milk of a ſtranger will not agree with it: But if there was ever a Hebrew woman, the child would perhaps allow that to ſuckle it." That which Mariam ſaid ſeem'd ſo reaſonable, that the princeſs order'd her to try if ſhe could get ſuch a nurſe herſelf.

Jochabel the mother nurſes it, Ver. 8.

Why call'd Moſes, V. 10.

She went away preſently to look after one, and in a ſhort time brought the real mother herſelf (whom no body there knew) to make the experiment. She had no ſooner offer'd it the breaſt, but the child immediately fell to drawing and ſucking it with all the eagerneſs that could be. And the princeſs obſerving it, deſir'd Jochabel to take charge of the infant; which ſhe very readily accepted of. The child had a name given him according to the event of the providence, and it was called Mo-Yſes: * Mo, in the Egyptian language ſignifying water, and Yſes, as much as preſerv'd: So that putting them together, Moyſes ſignifies preſerv'd out of water. This Moſes, beyond all controverſy, proved in time the wiſeſt man in the whole nation of the Hebrews, which was but according to what God had foretold of him. He was the ſixth generation from Abraham: Amaram his father being the ſon of Caath; the ſon of Levi; the ſon of Jacob; the ſon of Iſaac; who was the ſon of Abraham.

Moſes the ſixth from Abraham.

Moſes a miracle of a child.

As he grew up, he ſhew'd a pregnancy of underſtanding much above thoſe of his years. Nay, the very gaiety of his little plays and ſports was not without ſomewhat of ſerious and inſtructive in it: Doing every thing with ſuch a grace, that in his very childhood he gave the world to underſtand what might be expected from him in time to come. After three years of age, he came to be ſuch a miracle of a child, for beauty and comelineſs of ſtature, that people would ſtop and ſtand gazing at him with delight and admiration whenever they ſaw him; and there appeared ſuch a charming ſweetneſs and winning gracefulneſs in his mien, that it wrought upon the moſt unſociable and moroſe of men: Nor did he ſo much as move any where, but all eyes were upon him; and let people be upon never ſuch urgent buſineſs, or ſo much in haſte, it was with difficulty and unwillingneſs that they departed from him.

Thermuthis adopts him, and preſents him to her father.

Moſes preſerv'd by a ſpecial providence.

So it was, in fine, that Thermuthis, out of a pure affection to the child, and wanting iſſue of her own, took a reſolution to adopt him for her ſon; carry'd him to her father, and told him that ſhe came to preſent him with a ſucceſſor, in caſe he ſhould die without male iſſue. "This (ſays ſhe) is the ſweeteſt towardly child that ever was born. I have brought it up my ſelf, and it was the bounty of the river Nile that deliver'd it into my arms. This child do I intend to adopt, and make yourſelf a preſent of it for your ſucceſſor." With theſe words ſhe gave the child into the hands of her father. The king receiv'd him, and with an affectionate tenderneſs, preſſing him towards his heart, took off his crown to gratify his daughter, and placed it upon the child's head; who wantonly turning it up and down, let it drop to the ground; the child, after that, trampling upon it with his feet. This paſſage was look'd upon as an ill omen to the king and his government: Inſomuch that the ſcribe (being then at hand) vehemently cry'd out aloud to have the boy kill'd; for that is the child, (ſays he to the king) that I foretold you would be the deſtruction of Egypt, and he has now confirm'd the prophecy by the affront he has put upon your government, in trampling your crown under his feet. This is he, in fine, by whoſe death alone you can promiſe yourſelf to be ſecure; and take him but away once, the Hebrews have nothing more to hope for, nor the Egyptians to fear. Thermuthis, upon this outcry, took him inſtantly away without any oppoſition from the king, it being God's will, for the good of Moſes, that he ſhould give no heed to what he ſaid. The princeſs gave him all the advantages of a generous and polite education, which put the Hebrews in hope of ſome great good that was ſhortly to accrue to them. The Egyptians on the other ſide, were as jealous of miſchief; but having no proſpect of any ſucceſſor to the crown whom they could hope to be much the better for, the bloody deſign of putting him to death dropt.

CHAP. X.

The war of Moſes with the Ethiopians.

THUS was Moſes born, and brought up; and ſtill, as he advanc'd farther into the world, he gave every day more and more proofs of his character and courage, and of what conſequence his valour and conduct might be, either to his friends or his enemies. As for example:

The Ethiopians break in upon the Egyptians.

They put them to the rout, and over-run their country.

The Ethiopians made an inroad upon the borders of Egypt, rifling and ſpoiling that part of the country. The Egyptians highly reſented the affront, and march'd out againſt them with an army to revenge both the diſhonour and the injury they had ſuffer'd. It came to a battle, and the Egyptians were routed; ſome kill'd in the action, and others ſhamefully beaten home again. The Ethiopians were ſufficiently puffed up with this ſucceſs, and follow'd the blow ſo cloſe, that they were not without ſome hope of over-running even their whole country. They burnt and ravaged without controul, took booty in abundance, and carried all before them without reſiſtance; inſomuch that they march'd to Memphis itſelf, and ſo to the ſea, and all without oppoſition. The Egyptians were hard preſs'd, and in this extremity had recourſe to their divines and oracles, what they had beſt to do. The anſwer was, that they ſhould call in a certain Hebrew to their aſſiſtance. The king forthwith upon this, tells his daughter that he was reſolv'd to levy an army againſt the Ethiopians upon this occaſion, and that he ſhould be glad to have Moſes undertake the command of it. The princeſs promis'd to do her part toward the engaging of him, as a thing of great importance to her father's ſervice; but firſt of all bound him under the obligation of a ſolemn oath, that no miſchievous practice ſhould be attempted upon his perſon; caſting it in the teeth of the prieſts, how wretched a ſhame it was, firſt to contrive and adviſe the death of him, and then moſt pitifully to implore his friendſhip.

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* Scaliger in his notes upon the fragment of Beroſus, p. 48. confutes this etymology of Moſes, which the ſcripture ſeems to countenance.

Moſes marches againſt the Ethiopians at the head of an army.

Moses at the interceſſion of Thermuthis and the king, was eaſily prevail'd upon to undertake this commiſſion, which was highly pleaſing to the holy men of both ſides. The Egyptians flatter'd themſelves, firſt with the hope of victory under his conduct, and then with the likelihood of an opportunity, when their own work was done, to deſtroy Moſes. The Hebrews, on the other ſide, delighted themſelves with the thought, that under the command of ſo great a general, they might one day find themſelves in a condition to ſhake off this Egyptian yoke. Moſes bethought himſelf upon this expedition how he might come to attack the enemy unawares. The paſſage over land was horribly infeſted with ſerpents; many of them fierce and venomous, terrible to the very ſight, and ſeveral ſorts among them that are not to be found any where elſe; ſome with wings, that ſeize men by ſurprize, and are as mortal in the air, as upon the ground. This way was ſo deadly hazardous, that all people were againſt the venturing of an army through it; ſo that for that very reaſon he rather choſe the inland paſſage than that by the Nile; and this he did upon a true judgment of the reaſon of the thing. Moſes was only in the firſt place to provide againſt the perils of this deſperate paſſage, which he did by this wonderful ſtratagem. The bird Ibis is a mortal enemy to all ſorts of ſerpents; they fly from the purſuit of it as from deer, till they are overtaken and devour'd. This bird is only fierce to thoſe poiſonous creatures, and gentle to all others. I ſhall need ſay no more of it at preſent; for the Greeks are very well informed in this hiſtory. Now Moſes's invention to ſecure his army againſt the aſſaults of ſerpents, was to carry with him ſo many of theſe birds in cages of bulruſhes to clear the way for him.

The paſſages infeſted with ſerpents.

Moſes deſtroys the ſerpents with his Ibis.

Moses was no ſooner advanc'd to this dangerous quarter, but he let looſe his birds upon the ſerpents, as againſt ſo many enemies, and under their protection went forward without any harm or interruption; ſo that puſhing hard to overtake the Ethiopians, he came up with them before they were aware, fought and defeated them; and having bauk'd their hopes of conquering Egypt, he drove them back again in confuſion to their own country, deſtroying a great many of their towns and cities, and committing terrible ſlaughter upon their people.

Surprizes the Ethiopians, and ravages their country.

This victory of Moſes infus'd new life and vigour into the Egyptians, while the Ethiopians, on the other hand, had nothing but death, deſtruction, and ſlavery before their eyes. They were at laſt driven into Saba, the metropolis of Ethiopia, which Cambyſes afterward called by the name of Meroe, having a ſiſter of that name. Moſes ſat down before this place, though in all appearance impregnable, being ſurrounded by the Nile, and two other rivers, Aſtapus and Aſtabora, falling in to ſtrengthen it; which made the paſſage ſo much the more difficult; beſide, that ſtanding in an iſland, and being encompaſs'd with a ſtrong wall, it is likewiſe fortified with ramparts, and other works of defence, to ſecure it from any attacks or inundations from the river.

Moſes lays ſiege to Saba.

Moses was not at all pleaſed with this ſiege, for the army lay idle, and there was no forcing the enemy to come to an engagement. But while this paſs'd, there happen'd a very extraordinary accident; the king of Ethiopia had a daughter he called Tharbis, who had the fortune once to ſee and to obſerve Moſes with his ſword in his hand, drawing up his arms and behaving with great honour and bravery under the walls of the town. She was ſo infinitely taken with the courage and gallant behaviour of the man, looking upon him alſo as the balance of the two kingdoms, and having recover'd the affairs of the Egyptians when reduced to the laſt extremities, and at the ſame time humbled the Ethiopians in the very height of their victories, that upon all this together the princeſs fell violently in love with him; and her affection growing upon her ſtill more and more, ſhe broke her mind at laſt to ſome particular confidents ſhe had, and ſent them over to Moſes to offer herſelf in marriage to him. Moſes agreed to it, but upon this condition, (which was ratified with an oath too,) that upon delivering up the city, the marriage ſhould be conſummated, which was accordingly perform'd very ſoon after. Moſes gave God thanks for his conqueſt over the Ethiopians, and at the ſame time ſolemniz'd the nuptials; which being done, the army of the Egyptians return'd home victorious.

Tharbis, the king's daughter, falls in love with Moſes.

The place render'd up on condition of marriage.

CHAP. XI.

The ungrateful Egyptians conſpire againſt the life of Moſes, who flies from Egypt to Madian.

BUT ſo far were theſe ungrateful wretches from acknowledging the benefits they had received from their deliverer and preſerver, that they returned him only a mortal ill-will and hatred in requital; proceeding even to foul practices upon his perſon. They were afraid the reputation and intereſt he had acquir'd by his mighty atchievements, might, perhaps, put him in a condition to ſet up for himſelf; and ſo to give a check to his career, they exhibited an information of * murder againſt him, which the king himſelf was

A conſpiracy againſt Moſes.

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* The ſcriptures ſay, that Moſes fled to Midian for fear leſt Pharaoh ſhould put him to death for killing an Egyptian, who had ſtruck an Hebrew, one of his brethren. But Joſephus ſeems to palliate this, and excuſe Moſes

well enough content to entertain; partly out of envy to the fame of his valour and wiſdom, and partly for fear of that deſtruction which the prieſts and ſcribes were continually ringing in his ears; for they never left ſpurring him on to miſchief, till in concluſion they brought the king himſelf over into the plot. Moſes, in fine, was certainly deſign'd for death, and he eſcaped it ſo narrowly too, that if by providence he had not got ſome intelligence of the deſign juſt when he did, and in that inſtant ſtole privately away, he had undoubtedly periſhed. He was inform'd that the ways were laid, and therefore he was forc'd to take his flight through a deſart, where he might reaſonably preſume no body would look after him. He travelled without finding any thing to eat upon his journey; ſo that there was no remedy for hunger but patience. In this condition he paſs'd travelling forward, till he came about noon, within a little of * Madian, a city upon the coaſt of the Red Sea, that took its name from one of the ſons of Abraham by Chetura. He was now come within ſight of the town, where he ſat down by a fountain, to refreſh and reſt himſelf. In this place there happened an accident that took its riſe from ſomewhat of the cuſtom of the country; and it gave Moſes an occaſion not only of ſhewing his reſolution and juſtice, but, as the conſequence prov'd, of making his fortune alſo. Water is ſo ſcarce in that country, that the ſhepherds ſtrive who can get firſt in the morning to the fountain, leaſt it be drawn dry, and not enough left for their cattle. At this time there ſtood by the fountain ſeven maiden ſiſters, the daughters of † Raguel, a prieſt, and a perſon of great reputation in that quarter. Theſe maids had their father's flocks under their care, which is commonly the women's buſineſs among the Troglodytes; and when they had taken what they thought ſufficient, they emptied it into troughs, the better to divide it among their ſheep; but ſome ſhepherds coming up at the ſame time, they rudely forced the virgins away from their ſtation, in order to take the water to themſelves. This was ſo brutal, and ſo unmanly an indignity to be put upon women, that Moſes thought it a duty incumbent upon him to vindicate their cauſe; ſo he drove the ſhepherds away, and help'd the virgins, as it well became him to do. The daughters had ſo generous a ſenſe of this civility and obligation, that upon returning to their father, they gave him the whole ſtory at length, both of the ſhepherds rudeneſs and violence, and of the ſtranger's courteſy and reſpect; joining in a requeſt to their father, that he would be pleaſed to make him ſome handſome requital for the favour they had received. The good-nature and gratitude of the daughters towards their benefactor, was ſo highly approv'd by the father, that he commanded them to bring the ſtranger to his houſe, that he might make him ſome acknowledgment ſuitable to his deſert. Moſes being accordingly introduced, the father told him what a character his daughters had given of him, and how much they were all indebted to him for his aſſiſtance and protection. He had a great admiration for his virtue, he ſaid, and would give him very ſpeedily to underſtand, that his kind offices ſhould not paſs either unregarded or unrewarded; for he ſhould quickly make him an ample recompence for his civilities. Hereupon he took him for his adopted ſon, gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and made him head and maſter of all his cattle, which at that time was all one with the entire poſſeſſions of thoſe people.

Moſes makes his eſcape to Madian, Exod. ii. 15.

The daughters of Raguel affronted, Ver. 17.

Moſes reſcues them, ib.

The gratitude of Raguel and his daughters, Ver. 20.

Raguel adopts Moſes, and gives him one of his daughters, Ver. 21.

CHAP. XII.

Of God's appearing in the fiery buſh, and of Moſes's rod.

UPON this advance of Moſes in his fortune, under the favour of ‡ Jethegleth, otherwiſe Raguel, he liv'd with his father-in-law, and had the charge of his flocks, which he drove ſome time afterwards up to mount ‖ Sinai, where there was excellent graſs, and feeding, and the higheſt mountain in the whole country. The people had an old tradition, that God dwelt there; ſo that in ancient time, out of pure reverence to this tradition, people forbore either feeding or walking there. Upon this mountain there appeared to him a wonderful prodigy: A fire ſeen in a buſh, the buſh burning, the flame fierce and violent, and yet neither leaves, flowers, nor branches blaſted or conſumed. The very ſpectacle itſelf, and the ſurprize of it, ſtruck Moſes with aſtoniſhment; but he was much more amazed when he heard a voice out of the fire calling him by his name, and ſpeaking to him; "How "durſt you preſume, ſays the voice, to ſet "foot upon this ground, where never any "man living trod before you, out of a vene-"ration to the very holineſs of the place?" Commanding Moſes to withdraw himſelf from the fire, and to reſt content with what he had ſeen, and what he was thought worthy of, as the righteous offspring of ſo many glorious anceſtors; charging him over again to carry his curioſity no farther. The voice foretold him, that through God's aſſiſtance his name ſhould be great and honourable among men; bidding him fear nothing, but go to Egypt, where he ſhould have the abſolute command of all the Hebrews, and deliver his countrymen from their preſent tyranny and oppreſſion; "For, "ſays the voice, they ſhall come to inhabit "the lands, and to enjoy all the good "things that their firſt father Abraham was "poſſeſs'd of, and by your wiſdom be put in-"to the full enjoyments of all thoſe bleſ-"ſings; but be ſure to remember, that ſo ſoon "as ever you ſhall have brought the Hebrews "out of Egypt, you offer up a ſacrifice of "thankſgiving in this very place." Thus ſaid

Jethegleth, or Raguel, Exod. iii. 1.

Moſes drives his flock to mount Sinai.

A tradition that God inhabits there.

God ſpeaks to Moſes out of the fiery buſh, Ver. 4.

A voice bids Moſes go to Egypt, V. 10.

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of the murder, by giving it a different turn, and connecting it with the preceding chapter, which gives us an hiſtory of actions in that interval of time, betwixt Moſes's childhood and manhood; the credit of which depends intirely upon his own authority, the holy ſcriptures not making the leaſt mention of any of the particulars therein contain'd.

* Scrip. Midian. † Scrip. Reuel.

‡ According to the ancient Latin verſion. In the original 'tis Ιεθεγλαῖος, perhaps for Ιεθραῖος, which in the Scripture is Jethro.

‖ Scrip. Horeb.

the voice that ſpake to Moſes out of the fiery buſh.

Moſes reaſons the matter with the Almighty, V. 11.

God promiſes to ſupport Moſes both with miracles and arguments, Exod. iv. 2–9.

Moſes's rod turn'd into a ſerpent, Ver. 3.

A leprous hand, Ver. 6.

Water turn'd into blood, Ver. 9.

The prodigy of the viſion gave Moſes a frightful amazement, but the voice much greater. “Lord, ſays he, I know, and I adore “thy power, and ſo have all my predeceſſors “done before me; ſo that I muſt be worſe “than mad, to make any doubt of obeying “it; but how ſhall I yet, a weak private “man, find either words or credit to prevail “with ſuch a number of people; firſt to forſake a place where they are at preſent ſettled, and then to follow me upon uncertainties, whitherſoever I ſhall think fit to lead “them? Or otherwiſe, ſuppoſing that I had “intereſt enough to draw them after me, who “ſhall compel Pharaoh to let them go yet, “when ſo great a part of the Egyptians happineſs and revenue depends upon their labour?” The voice commanded him again to reſt ſatisfied upon the whole matter, promiſing to be with him upon all occaſions; and that if there were need of words, the faculty of perſuaſion ſhould be put into his mouth; or if of works or actions, he ſhould be ſtrengthened and ſupported. But for the fuller confirmation and conviction of Moſes, the voice commanded him to throw a rod down upon the ground that he had in his hand. He did ſo, and it was preſently turn'd into a ſerpent, rolling itſelf into folds, and menacing with the head, as if it threatened an aſſault; and then this ſerpent in a little time became a rod again. The voice, after this, bad Moſes put his hand into his boſom, which he did, and it came out again as white as chalk, returning in a very little time to its native colour. Moſes was again commanded to take fair water, and throw it upon the ground, where it ſeem'd to be turn'd into blood. Moſes ſtanding aghaſt at the miraculous operations, God commanded him to caſt himſelf wholly upon him, and to depend upon the aſſiſtance of an Almighty power, which ſhould enable him alſo to work the ſame miracles, and give him the credit of a perſon acting by a divine commiſſion, and in obedience to the will of God.

God haſtens Moſes into Egypt, Ver. 19.

The gift of working miracles.

Upon this deliberation God commanded Moſes away immediately for Egypt, and to purſue his journey night and day without intermiſſion; for the longer he ſtaid, the longer would the Hebrews remain in affliction and ſlavery. It was not for Moſes, after what he had ſeen and heard, to doubt of God's power or juſtice; for nothing could be clearer than the certainty of the grounds he went upon. He made it his petition yet, that he might have the ſame power of working miracles continued to him in Egypt, which he had exercis'd here, with this further ſupplication, that God would vouchſafe to reveal unto him the name of that infinite power which he had ſeen and heard, to the end that in his ſacrifices and invocations he might know more explicitly under what appellation to offer up his addreſs. God was pleaſed to grant him his requeſt, but it is a name that was never known, nor heard of before by any of the children of men, and I dare not ſo much as mention it. Moſes had the gift of working miracles confer'd upon him, not only for this particular time, but ſo often as there ſhould be occaſion for it; ſo that without the leaſt doubt or diſtruſt of the certainty of the revelations and predictions from the buſh, or of the aſſurances of a divine aſſiſtance to go along with him wherever he went, he ſettled his thoughts in a firm confidence of living to ſee the happy deliverance of the Hebrews, and the utter confuſion of their Egyptian enemies.

CHAP. XIII.

Upon the news of Pharaoh's death, Moſes and Aaron go into Egypt to the new king.

The death of Pharaoh.

Moſes goes into Egypt.

Aaron meets him upon the way, Exod. iv. 27.

Moſes has recourſe to his gift of miracles, Ver. 30.

Moses had news by this time of the death of that Pharaoh who ſought his life, and for fear of whom he had abandoned the country; ſo he ask'd Raguel's leave to return to his friends and relations in Egypt, for their common good. His deſire being granted, he took his wife * Sepphorah, the daughter of Raguel, and his children by her, Gerſhom and Eleazar, and with all ſpeed poſted away with them into Egypt. Now Gerſhom in the Hebrew language ſignifies a foreigner, and Eleazar the help of God; becauſe it was by the aid of divine providence that Moſes eſcaped the ſnare the Egyptians had laid for him. By the time that he was gotten near the borders, his brother Aaron, by God's direction, came to him. Upon their meeting, Moſes gave him an account at large of the wonders upon the mount, and of all the commands, inſtructions, and revelations that he had received from God. He was met upon the way a little farther by great numbers of the principal men among the Hebrews, who upon notice of his approach came out to bid him welcome. To them Moſes communicated his commiſſion from God; and, that there might be no room left for their diffidence and incredulity, in confirmation of the truth of what he ſaid, he gave them ocular demonſtration of his gift of miracles, as a certain and undoubted proof of his authority and power. This evidence did ſo abſolutely confirm, as well as amaze them, that they made no longer any doubt but it was a token of aſſurance from Heaven, that God would provide for the relief and ſecurity of his people by ſome extraordinary means.

Moſes moves the new king on behalf of the Hebrews, Exod. vii. 10.

The Hebrews being thus inſpired with the love and hopes of gaining their liberty, very readily came into Moſes's meaſures, promiſing him for the future all reſpect and obedience; upon which he went directly to the new king; minded him of the ſervices he had done the Egyptians againſt the Ethiopians, when they inſolently and contemptuouſly made an irruption into his country, and ravaged it; the toils and hazaads he had undergone, and the care he had taken to manage the war for the advantage of the Egyptians, as if they had been his own countrymen; not forgetting at the ſame time to recount to him the baſe and ungenerous returns they had made him for theſe good offices. He told him likewiſe of the viſion upon mount Sinai, and very particularly what God had ſaid to him, and what ſigns he had given him by miracles and revelations, to fix him in a firm belief of all his promiſes;

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* Scrip. Zipporah.

beſeeching Pharaoh not to oppoſe God's will by a fruitleſs infidelity.

Pharaoh ridicules him. Moſes does his former miracles over again.

PHARAOH turn'd all theſe things to ridicule. Moſes, for his better ſatisfaction, did all thoſe miracles before his face which he had wrought upon mount Sinai; upon which Pharaoh broke out into a violent outrage of paſſion and ill language. "You, ſays Pharaoh, a ſcandalous runagate! Firſt you ignominiouſly fled out of Egypt to ſave yourſelf, and you are now come back again, inſtructed in the arts of magick and inchantments, to ſeduce the people from their allegiance and duty. You take upon you, ſays Pharaoh, as if you were the only man ſkill'd in this divine myſtery, and value your reputation upon that idle pretence at ſuch a rate, as if the multitude were to fall down and worſhip you. But after all this vanity and oſtentation, my prieſts, ſays Pharaoh, I would have you to know, can do all your feats as well as you." So the prieſts were call'd, and bid to throw down their rods, which was done, and they were immediately turned into ſerpents. "This does not move me at all, ſays Moſes, for I am neither a ſtranger to the learning of the Egyptians, nor a deſpiſer thereof; but I may well affirm, that the operations I perform are as much more excellent than theirs, as the power of God is above that of their magick, or things divine more illuſtrious than human; and I ſhall make it inſtantly appear, that what I do is not a fancy of impoſing illuſions upon a credulous multitude, under the reſemblance of truth, but the very power of an omnipotent God, which will riſe in judgment againſt thoſe unbelievers, who ſhall ſhut their eyes againſt ſo clear an evidence." With theſe words he threw his rod upon the ground, and commanded it to become a ſerpent; it did ſo, and while the magician's ſerpents were winding themſelves upon the earth, Moſes's ſerpent devour'd their ſerpents one after another; and then when it was return'd to its former ſhape, Moſes took it up again.

Pharaoh ſets up his prieſts and inchanters againſt Moſes, Exod. vii. 11.

Moſes's rod devours the inchanters rods, Ver. 12.

THIS miracle was ſo far from having any good effect upon the king, that inſtead of admiring the power by which it was wrought, he burſt out into indignation at the fact, proteſting that he would do nothing in his favour, nor believe otherwiſe than that the wiſdom and power of the Egyptians was equal to his; ordering at the ſame time the overſeers not only to keep the Hebrews to their work, but to increaſe their taſk; which was forthwith done, by withdrawing their former allowance of ſtraw toward the making of brick; ſo that they were obliged to work all day, and in the night fetch ſtraw, which doubled their labour.

Pharaoh doubles the Hebrews taſk, Exod. v. 9.

MOSES was not in the leaſt diſcouraged at theſe hard words and menaces, but ſtood firm, both againſt the king's diſpleaſure, and the murmurings of his own people, who would needs have diſſuaded him from his enterprize, ſince his interfering did but, they ſaid, make their oppreſſion more grievous, and increaſe their miſery. But the heart of Moſes was ſet upon the liberty of his countrymen; wherefore he went again to the king, to beg leave for the Hebrews to go to mount Sinai, and offer ſacrifice to God, as he had commanded them; telling Pharaoh alſo, "That there was no oppoſing of God's will; wherefore he ſhould do well not to ſeem to deſpiſe his favour, but rather let the people go, for fear of drawing thoſe judgments upon his own head another day, which do certainly one time or other fall upon the unbelievers and the diſobedient. In ſuch a caſe, the very earth and the air, he ſaid, would fight againſt him; his women would be barren, and all the elements would conſpire to avenge God's cauſe upon him; all things would go croſs with him, and no avoiding it, even though the Hebrews ſhould leave his country, unleſs it were with Pharaoh's licence and free conſent; and rather than fail, God himſelf would bring it about at laſt, if Pharaoh would not."

Moſes ſolicits Pharaoh for the Iſraelites again; and precautions him for fear of the conſequences.

CHAP. XIV.

The ten plagues of Egypt.

Pharaoh is harden'd, Exod vii. 22. The plagues of Egypt.

THE king gave no heed at all to what Moſes ſaid, and upon this hardneſs and contempt, the Egyptians ſuffer'd moſt dreadful calamities; wherein I ſhall be very particular, both for the novelty ſake, and to ſhew alſo that the predictions of our prophet were not idle. Beſide, that finally it is for the good of mankind to know theſe things, both for their caution and inſtruction, that people may keep clear of crying and provoking ſins, which bring down dreadful judgments upon mankind.

1. The river turn'd into blood, V. 20.

IN the firſt place, the water of the river Nile was turn'd to blood, which was the only water they had to drink; and it was not ſo in colour only, but it immediately affected the Egyptians who drunk of it with the moſt pungent pains and wracking tortures, and the Egyptians only; for to the Hebrews it was ſweet and potable as at other times. This miracle put the king to his wits end; ſo that for fear of a total deſtruction, he gave the Hebrews leave to depart. So ſoon as the preſent evil was remov'd, he repented of what he had promiſed, and recall'd his word. God was ſo incenſed againſt him for his falſeneſs and ingratitude, after the plague was removed from him, that he preſently viſited Egypt with another judgment; which was ſuch ſwarms or ſhoals of frogs amongſt them, that they cover'd the earth, and choak'd up the river, in which great numbers of them dying and rotting, they ſo corrupted the water that it was almoſt death to drink it; beſides the dead frogs turn'd to mud, and produced others out of that putrefaction; ſo that they crawl'd into their bed-chambers, cups, diſhes, meat, and drink; nothing eſcap'd them, and wherever they came, a poiſonous ſtink went along with them. This fell ſo heavy upon the Egyptians, that Pharaoh ſent for Moſes a ſecond time, and told him that he might now go and take the Hebrews along with him whither he pleaſed. The word was no ſooner paſs'd, but both land and water were all clear'd of the frogs, and every thing in its former ſtate. This viſitation was no ſooner taken off, than forgotten; for Pharaoh detain'd the people ſtill, pretending that what he promiſed was out of fear, and conſequently not binding; for his will never conſented to it, which looked as if he had done

Pharaoh diſcharges the Iſraelites, but remands them.

2. The plague of frogs, Exod. viii. 6.

Pharaoh promiſes again, and breaks his words, Ver. 8.–15.

3. The plague of lice. Exod. viii. 17.

Pharaoh promiſes, and fails again as before.

done it on purpoſe to make a further experiment. This baſe and treacherous breach of faith was follow'd with a judgment of lice: the bodies of the people bred them, and they were all cover'd with them, gnawing and tearing intolerably, and no remedy; for baths and ointments were of no ſervice. Pharaoh was ſo confounded at this new plague, what with the danger, the ſcandal, and the naſtineſs of it, that as wicked as he was, he was half ſorry for what he had done; for he gave the Hebrews permiſſion to go their way; but ſo ſoon as the rod was off again, he demanded their wives and children as hoſtages for their return.

4. The plague of flies.

Pharaoh falſifies again. Ex. viii. 32.

This was a practice that exaſperated God more than the reſt; for it look'd as if he thought to have over-reach'd providence, and as if Moſes, not God, had puniſh'd the Egyptians for oppreſſing the Hebrews. Wherefore God ſent numberleſs ſwarms of flies and inſects, and ſuch varieties of them as had never been ſeen before. They fill'd the whole country, deſtroy'd the people, and cover'd the ground ſo that there was no tilling of it; and they who eſcap'd preſent deſtruction, being infected with the contagion that was bred from the corruption of them, were ſeized by dangerous diſeaſes: But all this was not yet enough to bring him to a ſenſe of his ſin, and a compliance with the will of God: But he was now only for letting ſome of the women and their huſbands go, but keeping back their children.

5, 6. The plague of murrain, and of Ulcers. Ex. ix. 6.—11.

The wiſdom of God did not want variety of plagues in abundance, and worſe than the former, to inflict upon the whole nation for the wickedneſs of an incorrigible obſtinate prince. So he viſited the Egyptians with a plague of inward ulcers, which carry'd the people off in great numbers.

7. The plague of hail. Ver. 23, 24, 25.

8. The plague of locuſts. Ex. x. 13. 14, 15.

Pharaoh ſhuffles ſtill. Ver. 20.

When God ſaw that Pharaoh ſtill perſiſted in the defiance of a divine power, he ſent upon the Egyptians a judgment of hail, in the prime of the ſpring, which utterly deſtroy'd all their fruits and plants that were in the bud. This was not only a prodigy in Egypt, where they had never ſeen hail before, but beyond any other that ever had been heard of in the coldeſt and moſt northerly climates: And what the hail left was devour'd by a following plague of locuſts; ſo that the whole product of the earth was loſt for that year. Now, one would have thought, if this king had not been beſotted as well as abandoned, theſe judgments would have convinc'd him of the vanity of contending with Almighty God, and have brought him to bethink himſelf of ſome way in time to prevent his final ruin: But Pharaoh was not ſo fooliſh all this while, as to be ignorant of the true cauſe of all his afflictions; but he ſeemed to take a vanity in the haughtineſs of a contumacious malice, to try maſteries with God Almighty, who ſhould get the better of it; and in this height of ſtomach he reſolv'd to ſacrifice himſelf and his people to his preſumption. He came at length by degrees to yield, that the Hebrews ſhould have licence to depart with their wives and children, only leaving their goods behind them, for the Egyptians, in conſideration for what they had loſt. Moſes did not think that condition reaſonable; becauſe, if ſo, they ſhould not have any thing left for a ſacrifice.

9. The plague of darkneſs. Ver. 22, 23.

Pharaoh continues obſtinate. Ver. 27, 28.

This diſpute held ſo long, that before it was over, the Egyptians were all invironed with a profound thick darkneſs: Several of them periſh'd by ſeveral ways; ſome were afraid of one thing, ſome of another; and not a few, of being all ſwallow'd up in the ſame abyſs together. After three days and nights, Pharaoh ſtill remaining obſtinate in his reſolution not to part with the Hebrews, Moſes went and ſpoke to him in theſe words: “How long, ſays he, “will you ſet up your own will againſt the “will of God! It is his pleaſure and command “that you diſmiſs the Hebrews, and there is “nothing elſe in nature to ſave you from the “evils wherewith you are afflicted but that.” The king was ſo enraged at this freedom, that he declared it ſhould coſt Moſes his head, if ever he ſpoke one word to him more upon that ſubject. Moſes made anſwer, that he had now ſaid all he had to ſay; but that he was well aſſur'd it would not be long before the king himſelf, and the chief of his nobility ſhould of their own accord ſpeak to the Hebrews themſelves to make haſte to be gone: And with theſe words Moſes went his way.

The inſtitution of the Paſſover. Ex. xii. 3.—27.

10. The plague of the firſt-born. v. 29.

Pharaoh orders the Iſraelites to depart. Ver. 31.

The impenitent obſtinacy of Pharaoh was ſo provoking, that God kept yet one plague more in ſtore for him, which would be ſure to humble his proud heart, and make him diſcharge the Hebrews. He commanded Moſes to give notice to the people to prepare their ſacrifice on the * thirteenth day of the month Xanticus, to be offer'd up on the fourteenth. (That which the Macedonians call Xanticus, the Hebrews call Niſan, and the Egyptians Pharmuthi.) Moſes was appointed to bring the Hebrews along with him, and all that belong'd to them: which he did accordingly, gathering them together, and then dividing them into tribes and companies, but all in the ſame place. Early in the morning on the 14th, (the day aſſign'd) being all in readineſs to depart, they ſacrific'd, purifying their houſes by ſprinkling blood upon them with a bunch of hyſſop. After ſupper they burnt the remainder of the fleſh, as juſt entring upon a journey. And this is our way of ſacrificing unto this day upon the feſtival of our paſcha, which ſignifies paſſing over, becauſe God paſſed over the Hebrews without hurting them, when the Egyptians were ſtruck with a diſeaſe; for the plague made ſuch havock that night with the Egyptians firſt-born, that people of all conditions came thronging in troops to the palace with clamours to have the Hebrews forthwith ſent away. Whereupon the King call'd for Moſes, and gave immediate order for them to depart, upon an opinion that Egypt could never be happy ſo long as they ſtaid in the country; and that the liberty of one would be the deliverance of the other. Several of the Egyptians preſented them upon their going away, ſome for diſpatch, others for acquaintance ſake; and not without tears at parting: many of them repenting at the barbarous cruelty they had formerly exercis'd over them.

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* See Bochart's Hierozoicon, part. I. b. ii. c. 50. p. 582. Ed. Lond.

CHAP. XV.

The march of the Hebrews out of Egypt, under the command of Moſes.

They march out of Egypt. Ex. xii. 37.

The eight-days-feſtival. Ex. xiii. 6. 7.

THE Iſraelites took their way by Letopolis, a city at that time deſerted: and Babylon was afterwards built in the place of it by Cambyſes, when he laid Egypt waſte. They made long marches, and on the third day got to Beelzephon, by the red Sea. There were no proviſions to be had upon the way in the wilderneſs; ſo that their food was only meal and water, kneaded and bak'd into cakes, and this was their entertainment for thirty days. They had now ſpent all they brought out of Egypt, having manag'd it as ſparingly too as was poſſible, providing barely for their neceſſities, without filling their bellies. It is in memory of that ſcarcity that we celebrate the eight-days-feſtival, which we call that of unleaven'd bread. But the multitude of the travellers, with their wives and children, was almoſt innumerable; for there were full ſix hundred thouſand men that were able to bear arms.

They carry Joſeph's bones along with them. Ver. 19.

THE Hebrews went out of Egypt on the 15th day of the month of Xanthicus, Moſes being now eighty years of age, and his brother Aaron eighty three. It was two hundred and fifteen years from Jacob's coming into Egypt, and four hundred and fifteen from the coming of our father Abraham into Chanaan. They carry'd Joſeph's bones along with them, being a truſt that he had committed to the charge of his ſons.

Pharaoh purſues them. Ver. 6, 7, 8, 9.

Moſes leads them away by the wilderneſs. Ex. xiii. 18.

THEY had not been long gone before the Egyptians repented that they had let them go; the King eſpecially, who imputed all the Calamities that had befallen Egypt to the inchantments of Moſes, and look'd upon them to be no more than the works of his practice and contrivance. This opinion brought them quickly to a reſolution to follow them and fall upon them; in order to which having furniſhed themſelves with arms and the other neceſſaries of war, they purſued them with a full deſign to bring them back, if they cou'd but overtake them; concluding there was no reaſon to fear God would be offended with them for this action, ſince they had once conſented to their departure: and as to their maſtering of them, that they made no queſtion would be effected with eaſe, ſince they were unarmed and weary with the fatigue of a march; whereupon enquiring of every body they met which way they journey'd, they purſued haſtily; notwithſtanding the difficulties of the paſſages were troubleſome, even to a ſingle traveller, and much more ſo to a marching army. But Moſes had ſeveral inducements to make choice of this way: firſt, in caſe the Egyptians ſhould change their minds, and ſend after them, the very fatigue of the expedition would make them repent both the perfidy and the undertaking: and then Moſes held it imprudent and impolitick to lead them by paleſtine; for the philiſtines, who were enemies to the Hebrews upon the ſcore of an old grudge, and borderers upon Egypt, would perhaps have fallen upon them, if they could have had any intelligence of their march. He led them, in fine, by the way of the wilderneſs, tho' a great way about, and through many inconveniences, with an intent to ſacrifice upon mount Sinai, as God had commanded him, and from thence to Chanaan.

The Egyptians overtake them. Ex. xiv. 10.

The People ready to ſtone Moſes.

By that time they were come to the Red Sea, they found themſelves overtaken, and encompaſs'd by the Egyptians with an army of 600 chariots, 50000 horſe, and 200000 foot; the main body being drawn up in order of battle. They had ſet guards upon all paſſes, ſecur'd all avenues, and ſhut the Hebrews up into ſo narrow a compaſs, betwixt impaſſable mountains and the ſea, that it was utterly impoſſible for them to make an eſcape. In this ſtreight, there was no thought of flying; and, if they had never ſo much a mind to't, there was no means of fighting neither; for they had no arms: and then, if they continu'd where they were, they muſt inevitably ſtarve: ſo that there appear'd to them no viſible means of ſaving their lives, but by baſely yielding themſelves ſlaves, and ſubmitting to the will of their enemies. In this dangerous and deſperate extremity the whole blame was laid upon Moſes: They had forgotten the wonderful things that God had done for their deliverance, and the miracles he had wrought for the ſtrengthening of their faith. They were ſo exaſperated, in ſhort, with the outcries of women and children that gave themſelves for loſt, that they were upon the very point of * ſtoning their falſe prophet, as they accounted him, and proſtituting themſelves once more yet to their former ſlavery; for they had nothing in ſight but rocks, ſeas, and armed troops to encounter.

Moſes refers them to God's power and providence. Ver. 13, 14.

THE outrages and madneſs of this headſtrong multitude had no effect at all upon the providence and courage of Moſes; his whole truſt was in God, who, he knew, after ſo many preſages of liberty, would never fail him, or ſuffer his people to fall into the power of their enemies, to ſerve and periſh; whereupon ſtanding in the midſt of the people, he addreſs'd himſelf to them in the following manner: “ Pray put the caſe, ſays he, that “ you had depoſited ſome great truſt in the “ hand of a perſon who had hitherto manag'd “ it well and wiſely for you, might not you “ reaſonably depend upon that man for the “ ſame care and kindneſs, and in the ſame “ caſe too over again? What a madneſs is “ it for you to deſpond then, where God him- “ ſelf hath taken you into his protection, and “ of his own free bounty made all good by “ me that might contribute to your freedom “ and ſecurity! Nay, the very danger and “ difficulty of the caſe is an argument to en- “ flame your hope, rather than to diſcourage “ it. He hath brought you into this diſtreſs, “ on purpoſe to ſhew his power and kindneſs, “ in bringing you out again, even to the ſur-

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* The ſcriptures make no mention of the people offering to ſtone Moſes, but only of ſome ſevere expoſtulations, Exod. xiv. 11, 12. when they ſaw the Egyptians at their heels, and ready to fall upon them.

“ prize and admiration of yourſelves, and
“ your very enemies. It is not God's time
“ to interpoſe with his Almighty power in
“ ſmall matters, but in caſes of judicial and
“ unaccountable calamities, when all hope of
“ human help fails us, that is the ſeaſon for
“ God to work out the deliverance of thoſe
“ who caſt themſelves upon him; wherefore
“ fear nothing ſo long as you have him for
“ your protector and defender, that is able to
“ raiſe the lowly and oppreſſed, and to lay
“ the honour of their perſecutors in the duſt.
“ Be not afraid of the Egyptians armed troops,
“ neither deſpond of your lives and ſafeties,
“ becauſe you are at preſent lock'd up betwixt
“ the ſea and the mountains, and no viſible
“ way in nature to come off; for the God
“ whom you ſerve is able to level all theſe
“ mountains, and lay that ocean dry. His
“ will, in fine, be done.”

CHAP. XVI.

The Iſraelites paſs through the Red Sea. The Egyptians purſue them, and are drown'd.

Moſes leads the Iſraelites toward the ſea.

WITH theſe laſt words in his mouth, Moſes led the Hebrews toward the ſea, the Egyptians looking on; who having them in view, and being extremely harraſs'd out with the purſuit, thought it adviſeable to refreſh themſelves, and put off fighting till the day following. So ſoon as Moſes was come to the ſea ſide, he took out his rod, and called upon God, imploring his divine aid and aſſiſtance in a prayer to this effect: “ Lord,
“ ſays he, thou ſeeſt thy ſervants here reduced
“ to ſo miſerable an extremity, that it is not
“ in the power of any natural means, whether
“ of arms, or human policy, to deliver us;
“ but it is the God alone whom we ſerve and
“ truſt in who is able to do it. Lord, be
“ merciful to theſe thy people who are now
“ come out of Egypt, in a pure ſimplicity of
“ obedience to thy holy will and command-
“ ment, and repoſing themſelves entirely upon
“ thy gracious promiſes. It is to thee, Lord,
“ that we fly for help, who alone canſt reſcue
“ us out of the hands of our unmerciful ene-
“ mies. Speak comfort to thy ſervants, and
“ exert thy power; let thy relief be ſpeedy,
“ and inſpire them with a new life and confi-
“ dence, now in the depth of their deſpair.
“ Lord, we are under great difficulties, hem-
“ med in with the ſea and mountains; but
“ that ſea and thoſe mountains are thine, and
“ if thou doſt but ſay the word, the one ſhall
“ be levell'd, and the other turn'd into dry
“ land; or otherwiſe, thy providence may
“ carry us off among the very birds of the
“ air, if it ſhall be thy will to employ thy
“ power that way to ſave us.” Immediately upon this prayer, Moſes ſtruck the ſea with his rod, whereupon the waters parted and recoil'd; by that means leaving a way open for the Hebrews paſſage and eſcape. The ſea being now divided, and a way opened. Moſes perceived the thing proceeded from God; ſo putting himſelf at the head of the people, who with great alacrity follow'd him, he bad them give God thanks for the bleſſing of ſo unexpected and unaccountable a deliverance, and in the name of God to follow him chearfully through the way which Almighty God had provided for them. The Hebrews, without delay, marched forward, and the Egyptians look'd upon them as ſo many ſots and madmen, to throw themſelves headlong into ſo certain a deſtruction. But when they ſaw them a great way in the ſea, and preſſing further ſtill, without any inconvenience and impediment, they poſted away after them, not making any doubt but the ſame road would ſerve them both. They therefore placing their cavalry in the van, made their deſcent from the ſhore into the ſea, the infantry following after. But the Egyptians having ſpent ſome time in making ready, and being alſo heavy armed, the Hebrews got out of their reach, and arriv'd ſafely on the oppoſite ſhore, leaving their enemies behind them. This happy ſucceſs of the Hebrews made the Egyptians yet more eager to purſue, and more ſecure too; for they did not underſtand that this miracle was not wrought for the opening of a common way to them both; and that divine juſtice had made uſe of it at the ſame time for the preſervation of the people of God, and the confuſion of their oppreſſors. They followed the purſuit however, and when the whole army was advanc'd within compaſs, the ſea return'd upon it, and drowned them all. The judgment of this reflux was accompanied with high and fierce winds and tempeſts, ſtorms of hail and rain, terrible thunderings and lightenings, and nothing, in ſhort, wanting to make the calamity more dreadful, or to ſet forth the horrors of their condition that fall under the diſpleaſure of an angry God. They were alſo overtaken with a dark pitchy night; ſo that the whole army was deſtroy'd, and not ſo much as one ſoul left alive to carry the tidings.

Moſes calls upon God.

Moſes ſtrikes the ſea with his rod, and the waters part, Exod. xiv. 21.

Moſes advances, and his people follow him, Ver. 22.

The Egyptians purſue them, and are all drown'd, Ver. 23--28.

IT is not in the power of words to expreſs the tranſports of the Hebrews upon this deliverance; a bleſſing ſo unlook'd for, and God himſelf the immediate and the profeſs'd author of it; beſide the deſtruction of their enemies before their faces, to ſecure them in the poſſeſſion of their liberty, and their oppreſſors all drown'd to a man too. God's hand was ſo eminently viſible in the whole proceſs of this affair, that never had creatures ſuch cauſe of rejoicing. And ſo they ſpent that whole night in hymns and thankſgivings; Moſes in particular compoſing a ſong in hexameter verſe, to the honour of God upon this occaſion.

Moſes's ſong of thankſgiving, Exod. xv.

I HAVE been the more particular in theſe relations, becauſe I find them in holy writ, and let no man think this ſtory incredible of the ſea's dividing to ſave theſe people; for we find it in ancient records, that this hath been ſeen before, whether by God's extraordinary will, or by the courſe of nature, it is indifferent. The ſame thing happen'd one time to the * Macedonians, under the command of

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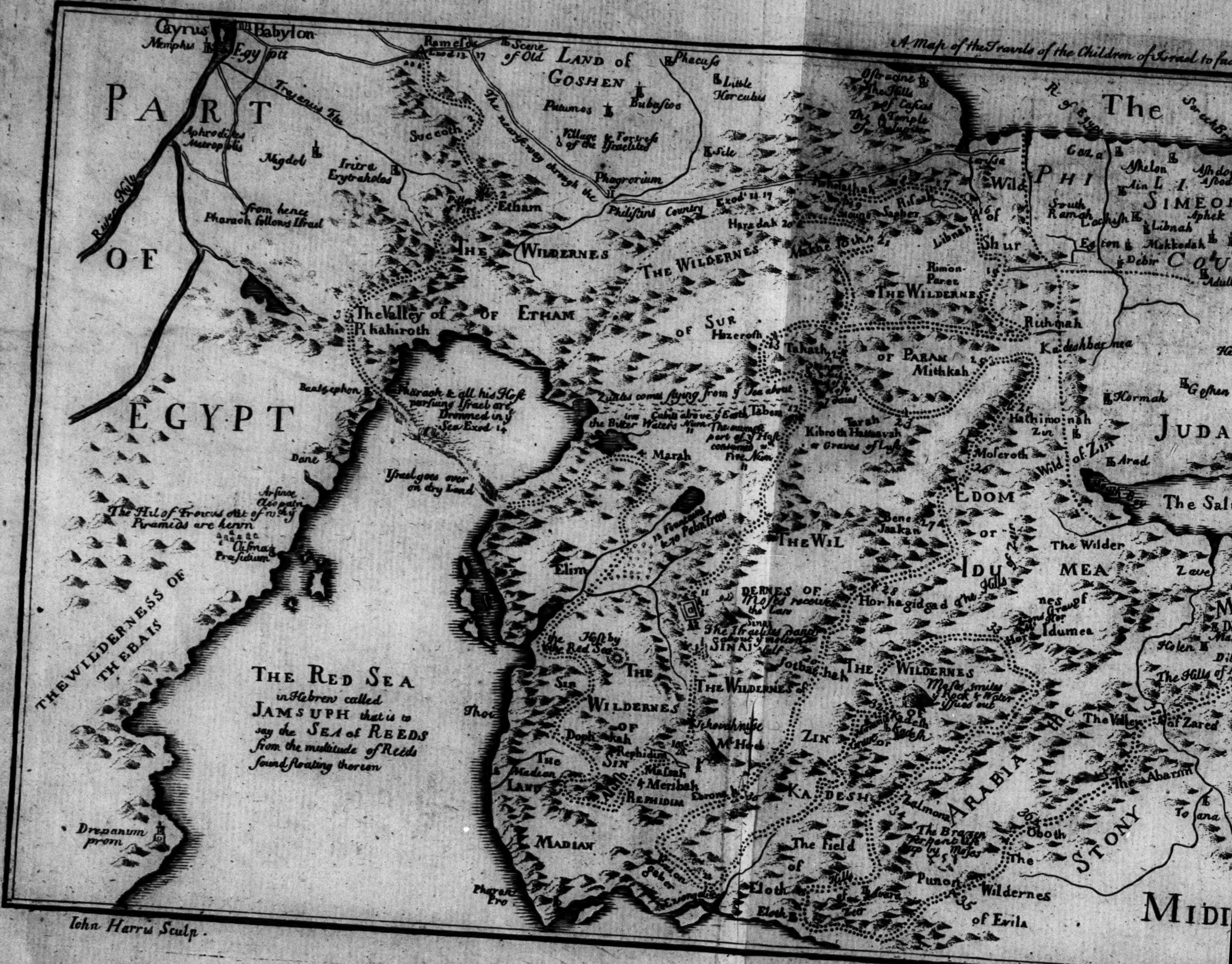
* As it is related by Caliſthenes in Euſtathius upon Homer's third iliad. See Huetius's Alnetan. Quæſt. lib. ii. p. 206.

Alexander, when for want of another paſſage, the Pamphylian ſea divided to make them way; God's providence making uſe of Alexander at that time as his inſtrument for deſtroying the Perſian empire. This is atteſted by all the hiſtorians who have pretended to write the life of that prince. But people are at liberty to think what they pleaſe.

The next day after this memorable judgment upon the Egyptians, the winds and the waves forc'd their arms a-ſhore juſt at the place where the Hebrews had pitched their tents; which Moſes underſtood to be another providence, in furniſhing the people with arms that they ſo much wanted; ſo they were gather'd together, and diſtributed among the Hebrews, man by man. After this, and the arming of the people, he led them to mount Sinai, there to offer ſacrifice, and preſent oblations for the deliverance of the people, in obedience to the command of God, as aforeſaid.

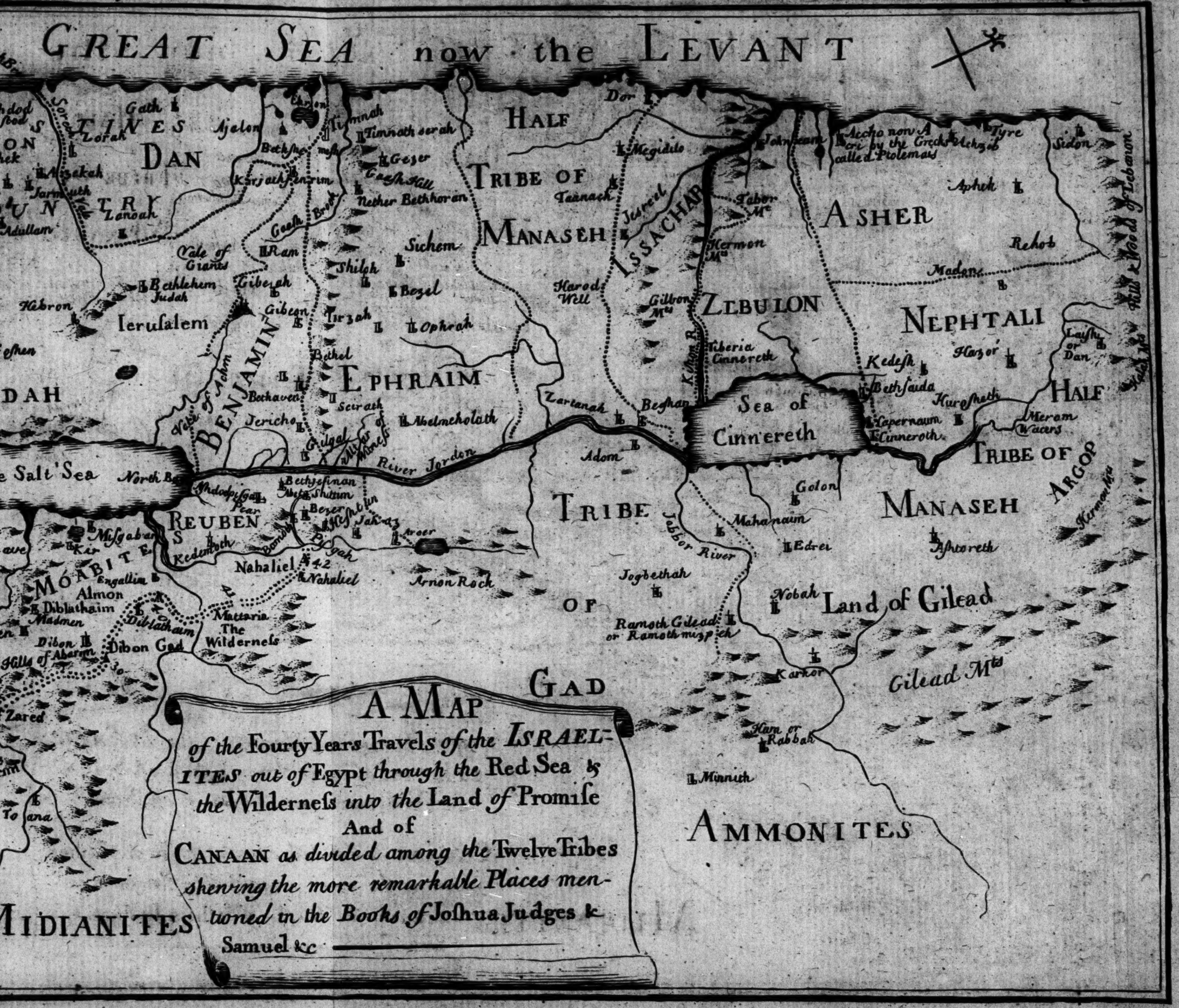
Moſes goes to mount Sinai, and ſacrifices.

Book III.


A Map of the Travels of the Children of Israel to fac
Cayrus
Babylon
Memphis
Egypt
PART OF EGYPT
Trajanus Flu.
Aphrodites Metropolis
Migdol
Irrtra Erytraholos
Ramesses Exod 12. 37
Scene of Old
LAND of GOSHEN
Phacusa
Little Hercules
Bubastos
Pitumos
Village & Fortress of the Israelites
Succoth
Etham
The neare way through the Philistins Country Exod 13. 17
Phagrorium
Sile
From hence Pharaoh follows Israel
River Nile
THE WILDERNES OF ETHAM
The Valley of Pi hahiroth
Baalzephon
Pharaoh & all his Host pursuing Israel are Drowned in the Sea Exod 14
Israel goes over on dry Land
The Bitter Waters
Marah
Elim
12 Fountains & 70 Palmtrees
Dane
Arsinoe Cleopatris
The Hil of Frowns out of which Pyramids are hewn
Clisma Presidium
THE WILDERNESS OF THEBAIS
THE RED SEA in Hebrew called JAMSUPH that is to say the SEA of REEDS from the multitude of Reeds found floating thereon
Drepanum prom
Thor
Host by the Red Sea
THE WILDERNES OF SIN
Dophkah
Rephidim
Massah & Meribah
Alush
The Madian Land
MADIAN
Pharan Pro
THE WILDERNES OF SUR
Hazeroth
Tahath
OF PARAN
Mithkah
Kibroth Hattaavah or Graves of Lust
Quails come flying from the Sea
The uttermost part of the Host consumed
Taberah
SINAI
Moses received the Law
The Israelites dance about the molten Calf
Horeb
Jotbathah
THE WILDERNES OF ZIN
Kadesh
Moses smites the Rock & Water issues out
Ezion gaber
Eloth
Ebronah
The Field of Eloth
Zalmonah
The Brazen Serpent set up by Moses
Punon
Oboth
The Wildernes of Evila
ARABIA the STONY
EDOM or IDUMEA
Bene Jaakan
Hor hagidgad
The Hills of Zin
Mount Hor
Moseroth
Hashmonah
Wild of Zin
Kadeshbarnea
Rithmah
Rimon-Parez
Libnah
Rissah
Makheloth
Haradah
Shepher
Wild of Shur
Ostracine
The Hills of Casius
The Temple of Jupiter
Rhinocorura
R. of Egypt
The
PHILISTINES
Gaza
Askelon
Ashdod
SIMEON
Lachish
Libnah
Makkedah
Debir
Adullam
Eglon
Aphek
South Ramah
Hormah
Goshen
Arad
JUDAH
The Salt Sea
Zared
The Valley of Zared
The Hills of Abarim
Abarim
Dibon
Midian
MIDI

Iohn Harris Sculp.

face the beginning



A Map of the Fourty Years Travels of the Israelites out of Egypt through the Red Sea & the Wilderneſs into the Land of Promiſe And of Canaan as divided among the Twelve Tribes ſhewing the more remarkable Places mentioned in the Books of Joſhua Judges & Samuel &c

Great Sea now the Levant
Gath
Zorah
Dan
Ajelon
Ekron
Timnah
Timnath serah
Geser
Gaash Hill
Kirjath jearim
Nether Bethhoron
Lenoah
Adullam
Half
Tribe of
Manaseh
Dor
Megiddo
Taanach
Jesreel
Issachar
Tabor Mt
Hermon Mt
Asher
Accho now Acre by the Greeks called Ptolemais
Achzib
Tyre
Sidon
Aphek
Rehob
Madon
Hills & Woods of Lebanon
Vale of Giants
Ram
Gibeah
Gibeon
Shiloh
Sichem
Bezel
Tirzah
Ophrah
Bethlehem Judah
Hebron
Ierusalem
Harod Well
Gilbon Mt
Zebulon
Nephtali
Tiberia Cinnereth
Kishon R
Kedesh
Hazor
Laish or Dan
Bethsaida
Kuresheth
Half
Bethel
Ephraim
Benjamin
Bethaven
Seirath
Jericho
Gilgal
Abelmeholath
Zartanah
Bethshan
Sea of Cinnereth
Capernaum
Cinneroth
Meram Waters
Tribe of
Argop
Dah
Salt Sea
North Bay
River Jordon
Adom
Philosophy Pear
Bethjesimon
Abel Shittim
Bezer
Reuben
Kedemoth
Nahaliel
Jahaz
Aroer
Arnon Rock
Tribe
Jabbok River
Mahanaim
Golon
Edrei
Manaseh
Ashtoreth
Moabites
Misgab
Kir
Engallim
Almon
Diblathaim
Madmen
Mattaria
The Wilderneſs
Dibon Gad
Hills of Abarim
Zared
Jogbethah
Of
Ramoth Gilead or Ramoth mizpeh
Nobah
Land of Gilead
Gad
Karkor
Gilead Mts
Ham or Rabbah
Minnith
Ammonites
Midianites

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK III.

From the Year of the World 2454 to 2455.

CHAP. I.

The paſſage of the Iſraelites from Egypt to Mount Sinai. Their hardſhips by the way. Their murmurings againſt Moſes. The miſeries they endur'd by hunger and thirſt, till they were reliev'd by miracle.

The Hebrews hardſhips in the wilderneſs.

THE joy of the Hebrews, for ſo wonderful and unthought-of a deliverance, was not a little damp'd by the extreme hardſhips they were put to in their way through the wilderneſs to Mount Sinai. There was no food to be got; the water foul, very ſcarce and bad, and no nouriſhment in it; inſomuch that the very cattle could not drink it, much leſs the men; but this was the way they were obliged to take for want of another. By the advice of their conductor, they brought a proviſion of water with them into the deſart; and when that was ſpent, they digg'd pits, but with very great difficulty; for the ground was hard, and the water very bad and bitter when they came at it, and not enough of that neither.

The waters of Marah bitter, Exod. xv. 23.

In travelling forward, they came about the evening to a place called Marah, from the taſte of the water; for Marah in Hebrew is bitterneſs; they were quite tired with the journey; beſide that their proviſions falling ſhort, they began to be pinch'd with hunger. But however they agreed to make ſome little ſtay there; and the rather, because of a pit they had the fortune to find there; which though it could not anſwer the neceſſities of their vaſt numbers, there was yet ſome ſort of conſolation in it, the country conſidered, and that there was no more water to be expected from that place forward. This was as bitter as the other, and a drink that agreed neither with man nor beaſt.

Moses found the people's hearts beginning to ſink, and not one word of comfort that he could give them; for the enemies they had now to deal withal were not to be encounter'd with wiſdom and valour; but men, women, and children were equally in danger, and it was a hard matter for him to adviſe others, who had the whole burden of the common calamity upon himſelf; for in their diſtreſs they all came thronging to him, women begging for their children, husbands for their wives, men for themſelves, and all imploring relief, when there was none to be had. Moſes betook himſelf to his prayers again, beſeeching God that he would be pleaſed to correct the bitterneſs of thoſe waters, and make them ſweet. This was granted him at the firſt requeſt, and ſo he took a piece of wood that lay there by chance, cleft it lengthways in the middle, and caſt it into the water; telling the Hebrews, that God had heard their prayers, and promiſed them a ſupply of water to their liking, upon condition that they ſhould readily and chearfully do whatever he commanded them. They aſk'd him what he would have them do to get better

ter water. Why then, ſays Moſes, let the well be drained, and the luſtieſt young fellows among you ſet their hands to the work; you ſhall find upon emptying out the better half of it, that the remainder will be potable, and for your turn. They did as they were directed, and the water was ſo purg'd by the continual agitation of it, that it went down with the multitude for no contemptible drink.

Bitter waters made ſweet, Exod. xv. 25.

The Iſraelites encamp at Helim, Ver. 27.

Upon decamping from hence, they went to a place call'd Helim. The proſpect of it was pleaſant enough at a diſtance, for there appear'd a plantation of palm-trees; but upon a nearer approach, they found themſelves much deceiv'd in their expectation; for there were but ſeventy of them in all, and thoſe but dwarfs neither; for the droughtineſs of the place ſtarv'd whatſoever grew upon it; nay, though there were twelve ſprings there, the plants were not one jot the better for them; for they never mounted ſo high as to diſtribute their waters into rivulets for the refreſhment of the earth. The ſoil was ſandy; no veins of water in it; or if now and then a ſmall quantity appear'd, it was ſo foul and dirty there was no drinking of it: this ſcarcity of water ſpoil'd the fruit-trees too. The multitude, upon theſe melancholly thoughts, were ſo impatient under the ſenſe of this miſerable calamity, that they fell into direct mutiny againſt their leader, and charg'd the whole blame of it upon him. Their thirty days ſtore was ſpent; their wants increas'd, and no ſupplies to be got in the wilderneſs. Theſe thoughts all together put the people into a downright deſperation; and the ſenſe of their preſent neceſſities made them forget all former providences and bleſſings, whether immediately from God himſelf, or inſtrumentally by the hand of his ſervant Moſes; proceeding in their ingratitude to ſuch a degree of outrage, that they were within a very little of ſtoning their commander to death, as the man, they ſaid, who had cauſed the ruin of them all. While the people were as yet in the heat of their malice and rage, with ſtones in their hands, and clamours and menaces in their mouths, and nothing leſs than the life of the commander to pacify this fury, Moſes, in the fear of God, and with a good conſcience, ſtood forth among them, and, with a grace of language and addreſs, peculiar to himſelf, oppoſed argument to violence in words to the following purpoſe: "You muſt not think, ſays he, to cancel paſt obligations with a pretence of preſent ſufferings; but the difficulties you now labour under ſhould rather move you to a thankful contemplation of God's bounties and mercies to you in times paſt, even beyond all hope and expectation. And why may not the ſame providence attend you now again? why may not this affliction be laid upon you for a trial, to ſee if you have courage, patience, and ſenſe enough of gratitude to ſtand the teſt, and if you can diſtinguiſh betwixt the force and reaſon of paſt benefits and preſent troubles, as you ought to do? Have a care that you do not make yourſelves unworthy of God's favour, by impatience under croſſes, and by unthankfulneſs for favours, and by oppoſing your preſent paſſions to the divine will and power; for it was God that brought you out of the land of Egypt, and it is with his order and good pleaſure that you now contend. And ſo for your quarrel with me now, his miniſter, my fault, ſays Moſes, is only the obeying of my maſter's order. I have done nothing without a commiſſion, and you cannot ſay I have ever deceiv'd you." When Moſes had laid before them the reaſon of the matter, he had then recourſe to inſtances, and particularly what judgments befel the Egyptians for keeping the Hebrews in ſlavery, and detaining them contrary to the declar'd will of God; how the river was turn'd into blood; and how the ſame water, that became poiſonous to the Egyptians, was yet preſerv'd ſalutary to the Hebrews; how the ſea opened to make a lane for the Hebrews in their flight, and how the waters cloſed again to drown the Egyptians in the purſuit; the former at the ſame time being ſpectators of the overthrow of their enemies; and receiving a large ſupply of arms by that providence too, which they were wholly unprovided of before; and then how many miraculous deliverances out of the very jaws of deſtruction God had wrought for them, even beyond the force of human imagination to conceive. "Now God's omnipotency, ſays Moſes, is everlaſting, and his providence as gracious, and as extenſive at this day as ever it was; wherefore you are not to deſpair of the goodneſs of heaven, but to bear all chances and turns with moderation, and to conſider that the aſſiſtance that is defer'd may come yet time enough, and in ſeaſon; for ſo long as there is life there is hope. You are not, ſays Moſes, to look upon yourſelves in this caſe as neglected or abandoned, but it is God's pleaſure to put your greatneſs of mind and love of liberty to the trial, and to ſee whether you had rather ſubmit to a pinching neceſſity, for want of meat and drink, or lead the life of brutes in ſlavery, that are only fed and fatten'd up for the benefit of their maſter. It is not for myſelf, continues he, that I fear any thing; for what am I the worſe for an unjuſt violence upon my perſon; but for the ſake of your ſafety, I reckon myſelf bound to take ſome care of my own; for every ſtone you caſt at me in this cauſe, imports a condemnation of the counſels and the doings even of God himſelf."

Their wants increaſe upon them.

The people threaten to ſtone Moſes.

Moſes reaſons the caſe with them.

Moſes minds them of former mercies.

The people pacified.

Moſes calls upon God.

Moſes's prayer is heard.

These words brought the maddeſt of the company, in ſome meaſure, to their wits again, and made them caſt away the ſtones they had prepar'd for his execution. Moſes having convinc'd them of the lewdneſs of their intention, and modeſtly imputing that to their neceſſities which could not be juſtified in reaſon, though the temptation they lay under might ſeem in ſome ſort to extenuate the offence. Upon this Moſes had recourſe to ſupplications and prayers, and withdrawing up to a rock, he beſought God in mercy to grant theſe miſerable people ſome relief; for it was in his power only to ſave them; beſeeching him likewiſe to forgive them their intemperate paſſions, and to caſt all the things that they had ſaid and done amiſs, upon the account of human frailty. God gave him this anſwer, that he would take care of the people, and ſend them a ſpeedy ſuccour.

Upon this promiſe and conceſſion, Moſes went down again to the multitude with joy in his countenance; which the people preſently took notice of, and in the ſtrength of that good omen, after all their ſadneſs, put on an air of chearfulneſs themſelves too. Moſes told them what had paſs'd, and that God would relieve their preſent neceſſities very ſuddenly; and ſo it prov'd, for ſoon after this came a wonderful flight of quails. There are vaſt numbers of them by the Arabian Gulf, and theſe birds were ſo tir'd with croſſing it, that they dropp'd quite weary into the camp of the Hebrews. They look'd upon this as a relief immediately ſent from Heaven; all people ſtriving with earneſtneſs to have their ſhare of the bounty. Moſes went now to his prayers again, returning God thanks, both for what he had promiſed, and what he had done.

A flight of quails drops into the camp, Exod. xvi. 13.

After this firſt repaſt, God preſently ſent them another; for as Moſes was at his prayers, holding up his hands, there dropt from Heaven a kind of dew upon them, and as it fell it ſtuck to them, and thicken'd. Moſes preſently fancied it to be a ſecond ſupply, and upon taſting it was overjoy'd to find it ſo. It was now winter, and the common ſort of people would needs have this dew to be ſnow. Moſes told them they were miſtaken, and that this was no common dew, but ſuch a nouriſhment as they would find to be a competent remedy againſt famine; and ſo he firſt taſted of it himſelf, and then gave it them to try; who after his example lik'd it exceedingly well; for it had the taſte of honey, and ſome reſemblance alſo of Bdellium, and was about the bigneſs of a coriander-ſeed. There was great ſtriving for it in the gathering, till the matter was order'd by an edict, appointing that all people ſhould gather every day alike, and the meaſure of an omer to be the proportion; being aſſured at the ſame time, that there ſhould be no want of that food. This was order'd in favour of the weak, that they might not be run down, and to keep the ſtronger from taking more than came to their ſhare. Whoever ſhould exceed his meaſure, in contempt of this edict, did only take ſo much the more pains to no manner of purpoſe; for whatever they kept till the next day was good for nothing; for it bred worms, and turn'd bitter. There was one divine and incredible quality in this food, that whoever taſted it deſired nothing elſe. They have in that country to this very day certain dews and rains, which ſeem to have ſomewhat of reſemblance to this that fell upon the interceſſion of Moſes. The Hebrews call it Manna, and * Man in our tongue ſignifies an interrogation, as if we ſhould ſay, What is this? They celebrated this bleſſing with great joy, as coming from Heaven; and this was their food for the forty years they continued in the wilderneſs.

A fall of manna, Ver. 14, 15.

Manna their food for forty years, Ver. 35.

After their removal from hence to Rephidim, they found themſelves parch'd up with an intolerable thirſt, having met with very little water for ſome days before. Being now come into a country where there was no water at all, they began to murmur againſt Moſes again; but he left them for a while by themſelves, and ſtept aſide once more to his prayers, “Beſeeching him, who gave them “meat when they were ready to ſtarve, now to “ſupply them with drink to it when they were “ready to choak; for the one without the other “would not ſatisfy their appetites.” God without any delay promis'd Moſes a fountain and a flood of water, where he leaſt expected it; commanding him to ſtrike a rock near at hand there with his rod, and that rock ſhould ſupply them abundantly with what they deſir'd, beſide that it ſhould come without labour too. Moſes having receiv'd this anſwer went back to the people, who were now waiting with great impatience for his return; for they ſaw him coming down from the mountain, looking intently upon him, to ſee what tidings they could read in his countenance. Upon his returning back to the people, he told them, that God would deliver them alſo from this affliction of thirſt, by a way that they leaſt ſuſpected; that is to ſay, by a river which ſhould iſſue out of that rock. They fancied that they themſelves were to penetrate the rock to make way for the paſſage; which would have been a hard piece of work, they thought, for people to undertake, who were ſpent and half dead with thirſt and toil already. Moſes quickly undeceived them herein, by ſtriking the rock with his rod; which in that very inſtant threw out a large ſtream of water as clear as chryſtal. It was hard to ſay, whether the ſpectators were more amaz'd at the operation, or delighted in the drinking of it; for they found it ſweet and agreeable, and ſuch as became the dignity of the preſenter and the preſent. They extoll'd Moſes to the ſkies, when they ſaw how much he was in God's favour, and offer'd ſacrifices and thankſgivings for the benefits received. We find it written in the holy ſcripture, which is depoſited in the temple, that God had foretold to Moſes this miracle of the water out of the rock, in ſuch manner as we have heard.

They want water at Rephidim, Ex. xvii.

They murmur again, Exod. xvii. 2.

Water guſhes out of a rock, Ver. 6.

CHAP. II.

The kings of the Amalekites join in a confederacy againſt the Hebrews, and are routed by Joſhua. The arrival of the Hebrews at Mount Sinai.

The fame of the Hebrews was by this time in every body's mouth, and their reputation ſo great, far and near, that the provinces were all alarm'd at it, and entered into a conſultation together how they might keep them at a diſtance, or elſe utterly exterminate and deſtroy them; and to this purpoſe they ſent their ambaſſadors up and down from one to another to manage the counſel of the league. The chief inſtigators of this deſign were the inhabitants of the country of Gobol, and the city of Petra, who commonly went under the appellation of Amalekites, and were the moſt martial people of that quarter. The kings of theſe places not only concerted meaſures among themſelves for carrying on a war againſt the Hebrews, but drew in as many as they could of their neighbours to join with them. “Theſe people, they ſaid, were only “a vagabond army of fugitives, who ran “away out of Egypt, becauſe they would be “no longer ſlaves there, to make war upon “others. Now the beſt way to deal with “them, they ſaid, without either neglecting “or making too ſlight of them, would be to

The Amalekite kings in a confederacy againſt the Hebrews.

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* Druſius in his Quæſt. Hebr. lib. i. q. 62. and in his Difficil. loc. Exod. xxvi. rejects and confutes this interpretation.

fall upon them, and ſubdue them in time, while their men were raw and undiſciplin'd, and as yet never a plentiful province in their poſſeſſion to ſupply them with refreſhment to recover their ſtrength, but their army weak and feeble, and in want of all neceſſaries. In ſhort, the ſafeſt policy would be to begin firſt, and not ſtand looking on, till they ſhould have the confidence to be the aggreſſors. It would be but attacking them in the wilderneſs, before they could make themſelves maſters of any places of ſtrength and importance, and the buſineſs would be effectually done. They laid it down as a piece of neceſſary prudence, to nip the growing power of an enemy in the bud, and not ſtand waiting till by ſucceſs upon ſucceſs he makes himſelf ſtronger, both in power and reputation; and that it was better to prevent the danger than to run the riſque of overcoming it.” Upon the debating of the whole matter in the confederate council, it was reſolv'd at laſt by common conſent to carry on an invaſive war againſt the Hebrews, and ſo to force them from their borders.

An invaſion reſolv'd upon.

Moſes and the people ſtartled at it.

MOSES at that time not in the leaſt ſuſpecting any oppoſition from the inhabitants, was not a little ſurpriz'd at this reſolution, and his people were alſo in the greateſt confuſion imaginable, at the neceſſity of ſo unexpected a war with an enemy who wanted nothing, and themſelves at all points ſo unprovided. He minded them of God's multiply'd declarations in their favour, his bringing them out of the land of Egypt, what he had done for them already, and what he would do further; and ſo encourag'd them, in confidence of his power and goodneſs, to think of nothing but victory.

Moſes keeps up their hearts.

“Never reckon upon the advantages, ſays Moſes, of arms, money, and proviſions, but conſider that, to counterbalance all this, you have God on your ſide to fight your battles, and then no matter for the odds of number and ſtratagem. You have all that and more in him who is your helper, who by his Almighty power hath brought you out of greater difficulties already. Have you not found that God a friend ſtill to you, and an enemy to your enemies? Witneſs his miraculous preſervation of you in your extremities of hunger and thirſt, and in making that a ſafe retreat to you thorough the ſea, which at the ſame time ſwallow'd up your adverſaries. For a concluſion, ſays he, the gaining of this victory will put you in poſſeſſion of all the good things of this world; wherefore behave yourſelves like men.”

THIS diſcourſe put new life into the people, ſo that Moſes calling the heads and principals of the tribes together, addreſs'd himſelf to them all, both in general and in particular; admoniſhing the young men to hearken to their elders, and inculcating to all the reſt obedience to their commander. They were by this time ſo perfectly cured of their former apprehenſions, that they look'd upon any thing of danger with a contempt, and under a kind of impatience to come to action, in the ſtrong hope and expectation of ſuch a victory, as would put a final end to their miſery; inſomuch, that they preſs'd Moſes, with great earneſtneſs, to bring them immediately to the enemy, and not to loſe ſo critical an opportunity of fighting by an unſeaſonable delay, when the ſoldiers were in ſo good a humour for it. Moſes upon this drew out a detachment of the choiceſt men he could find for ſervice in the whole multitude, and ſet Joſhuah the ſon of Nun, and of the tribe of Ephraim over them; a man equally qualified both for arms and counſel; eminent for piety, a diſciple of Moſes, and one who did not ſhame his maſter. He ſent out ſeveral troops of guards; ſome to ſecure their water, others their tents; and ſome again to take care of the women and children. All things were now in readineſs for an engagement; the ſoldiery in arms all night, waiting only for the word of command from Moſes, who was himſelf alſo the whole night in counſel with Joſhuah, and giving order about the battle. When it began to draw toward day, Moſes recommended it to Joſhuah to make good by his actions what the world expected from him upon that occaſion, and by the glory of that day to perpetuate his name to poſterity. He did the like to all the chief of the Hebrews apart, and ſo in courſe to the whole body of the army.

Joſhuah is made general, Exod. xvii. 9.

They prepare for a battle.

HAVING thus inflam'd their reſolutions into a generous ſenſe of piety and honour, Moſes commended them to God, and to their general Joſhuah, himſelf going up to the mountain. The two armies join'd immediately, with all ſorts of encouragement from their leaders, and the battle was fought with great fury on both ſides. So long as Moſes held up his hands, Ver. 11. the Hebrews prevail'd; but when he could hold them up no longer for wearineſs, the Amalekites had the better of it. But Moſes obſerving this, Ver. 12. ſpake to his brother Aaron, and to Hur, the husband of his ſiſter Mariam, to ſtand by him and ſupport his hands for him, and to take care not to let them fall again. The Amalekites after this were totally defeated, and had been all entirely cut off, if the darkneſs of the night had not cover'd the miſerable remainder of them in their flight.

The Amalekites utterly defeated, Ver. 13.

THIS was a victory ſo glorious and ſeaſonable, that the whole hiſtory of our anceſtors cannot pretend to any thing beyond it; * for it was a total and an abſolute overthrow, gain'd upon an invading enemy, and an action of ſo great a reputation, that it ſtruck a terror into all the neighbouring provinces, beſide a prodigious booty over and above; the pillage of the Amalekites camp being of an ineſtimable value in gold and ſilver plate, curious braſs veſſels of all ſorts, minted money, fine imbroidered cloaths, rich arms, and ſoldiers equipage, horſes, baggage, cattle, &c. both to ſmall and great, and to thoſe who themſelves were but in a ſtarving condition the day before. This ſucceſs, in fine, made the Hebrews more daring, induſtrious, and forward for any virtuous exploit; and it was of a mighty advantage, even at preſent, but not comparable to what it was in the iſſue, and in the conſequences of it; for this battle broke the very hearts, as well as the bodies of the enemy, and from that time forward, all the adjoining provinces ſtood in awe of the Hebrews. This was the event of the battle; and

A vaſt booty.

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* Here a little liberty is taken in the tranſlation, yet ſo as not to injure the ſenſe of the author.

Not one Hebrew ſlain.

An altar inſcrib'd to God the conqueror, V. 15.

on the day following, Moſes cauſed all the dead bodies to be ſtripp'd, and the ſcatter'd arms of them who fled, to be gather'd up and employ'd for ſervice; rewards alſo to be diſtributed to thoſe who had made themſelves eminently remarkable in the battle. He did right alſo to the general, in form, and with the ſolemnity of a publick declaration to the honour of his bravery and conduct; the whole army ſeconding that illuſtrious character with praiſes and acclamations. The ſlaughter of the Amalekites was ſo great, that they could make no eſtimate of the number, and not ſo much as one Hebrew ſlain in the action. Moſes erected an altar after this victory, inſcrib'd to God the conqueror, where he worſhipped with ſacrifices and thankſgivings, foretelling at the ſame time the utter extirpation of the Amalekites, for the baſeneſs of their attempt upon the Hebrews, when they were in diſtreſs, and ready to periſh in the wilderneſs. Moſes concluded the ſolemnity with feaſtings and rejoicings, treating the general, the officers, and the whole camp with ſoldierly entertainments ſuitable to the occaſion.

Moſes advanc'd to mount Sinai, Exod. xiv. 1.

THIS was the firſt battle the Hebrews fought after their coming out of Egypt, to the utter ruin and confuſion of their enemies. When they had ſpent ſome few days in jollity and refreſhment, they march'd forward with a better order'd army than before, and a much greater too; for the enemies arms that were taken upon the rout had much increas'd their number. Advancing at this rate by eaſy marches, they reach'd Mount Sinai, the place where Moſes ſaw the viſion of the burning buſh, which we have ſpoken of already. This was the third month after they left Egypt.

CHAP. III.

Raguel repairs to his ſon-in-law Moſes, to give him joy of his ſucceſs.

Raguel gives Moſes joy of his ſucceſſes, Exod. xviii. 9.

They ſacrifice and feaſt together, Ver. 12.

RAGUEL had no ſooner heard of the wonderful ſucceſs of Moſes, but he preſently took a journey to congratulate his ſon-in-law, and to ſee how it fared with his daughter Sepphora, and their children. Moſes was overjoy'd to ſee him, and ſo offer'd a ſacrifice, and feaſted the whole multitude, in the order of their tribes and families, at a ſmall diſtance from the burning buſh that the fire could not conſume. Aaron, in the mean while, with Raguel and the reſt, chanted forth hymns of praiſe and honour to the author of their ſafety, freedom, and deliverance; not forgetting their admirable leader, and how all things proſper'd that he took in hand. Neither was Raguel behind hand in doing right to the army, and to the dignity of their preſerver, by whoſe authority and direction ſo many wiſe and brave men were conducted and govern'd.

CHAP. IV.

Raguel gives Moſes advice about religion and government; and for the ordering of his army.

Raguel's advice to Moſes, Ver. 14.

RAGUEL took notice one day, as his ſon-in-law was hearing of cauſes, how intolerably he was oppreſs'd with the importunity of attending ſo much buſineſs; but he could not well ſay any thing of it at preſent, without giving an interruption to the courſe of publick juſtice; beſide that the people had ſo great a reverence for the authority of Moſes, that he became their ſole arbiter of cauſes, they thinking no other perſon ſo well qualified to aſcertain juſtice among them as he; ſo that even they, againſt whom he gave judgment, would contentedly abide by his ſentence, and acquieſce in his determination, being fully convinced that he was actuated by a principle of honour and impartiality, and not of avarice and corruption. So ſoon therefore as ever the hurry of the day was well over, Raguel took Moſes apart, and gave him his opinion upon the matter. "You have, ſays he, more work upon your hand than 'tis poſſible for one man to diſpatch. As for the matter of private perſonal cauſes, they are ſo numerous you can never go through with them; wherefore you ſhould do well to imploy other people, as you have choice enough, for the diſcharge of that function. But, ſays Raguel further, as to what concerns religion and government, that muſt be your particular province; for there's no man ſo fit to be truſted with the care of ſo many thouſand ſouls as yourſelf. You cannot but be ſenſible of the excellent faculties wherewith God hath endowed you; how inſtrumental you have been to the ſaving of the people under your charge, and how neceſſary your counſel and aſſiſtance will yet be to them for the future; wherefore do you attend the worſhip of God, wherein you ſhall highly contribute to the common welfare of yourſelf, and of thoſe under you; and for the trial of cauſes betwixt man and man, you may leave it to ſuch miniſters as you think proper. Now with reſpect to your other affairs, the thing I would adviſe you is this. Take a muſter of all your troops, and divide them into ſo many bodies, of ten thouſand men a-piece, placing officers over every one of theſe bodies; you ſhall afterwards ſubdivide them into thouſands, five hundreds, hundreds, and fifties, with officers over them too; and ſo divide them again into thirties, twenties, and tens, with diſtinct officers alſo belonging to them, to take their names from the number of men they command, and all theſe to have their proper judges to determine controverſies; thoſe judges to have the approbation of the people for men of probity and virtue; yet in caſes of great difficulty and importance, let them repair to you. By this means the people ſhall have right done them, and you yourſelf be at liberty to attend God's worſhip for the good of the army, without any interruption." Moſes was ſo well pleaſed with this ſcheme of Raguel's, that he order'd the project to be put in execution, not as any contrivance of his own, but as the advice of his father-in-law, to whom he aſcrib'd the ſole honour of it before the people. Moſes has declar'd as much in his writings alſo, ever accounting it more laudable to give worthy men their due, than for one man to uſurp to himſelf the reputation of another man's merit. But this will be fitter for another place.

The juſtice and modeſty of Moſes, Ver. 24.

CHAP. V.

Moſes goes up to the mount, where he receives the two tables of the decalogue from God, which he communicates to the people.

WHILE they continued in this place, Moſes call'd the people together, and told them that he was going to the top of Mount Sinai to converſe with God, and not without hope of bringing them comfortable news at his return; commanding them in the mean time however to pitch their tents at the foot of the mountain, where they might be near at hand; and ſo Moſes went up.

Moſes goes up to Mount Sinai, Exod. xix. 20.

MOUNT Sinai is by much the higheſt eminence in all thoſe countries, and betwixt the extreme height and the cragginеſs of the rocks, it ſeems not only inacceſſible, but wearіſome to the very eye to look up at it. The place is accounted ſacred, upon the credit of an ancient tradition of God's having his habitation there. The Hebrews removed their tents, and poſted themſelves at the foot of the mountain, as Moſes had commanded them; lifting up their hands to God, and muſing within themſelves what thoſe good tidings might be, which Moſes, when he went up, promis'd to bring them at his return. In his abſence they kept their feſtivals, purifying themſelves, and living in continence for three days, even from their own wives, as they were order'd; ſoliciting Almighty God with hourly prayers to be gracious to Moſes, and grant them ſomewhat by him that might conduce to the peace and happineſs of their lives. They feaſted upon this occaſion with great magnificence, and had their wives and children dreſs'd up with more pomp and ornament than uſual. This laſted two days; but upon the third, before ſun-riſe, in as clear a ſky as ever was ſeen, there appear'd a cloud which cover'd and encompaſs'd the whole camp of the Hebrews; the firſt prodigy of that kind ſince the creation. This was afterwards follow'd with a terrible tempeſt of thunder and lightening, wind and rain; intimating that God had met Moſes there in a propitious manner. The reader may take this as he pleaſes; but it will not become me to depart from the leaſt tittle of what I find written in holy ſcriptures. The Hebrews were ſo terrified at what they had ſeen and heard, as well for the novelty and ſtrangeneſs of the thing, as for the common rumour of God's dwelling upon this mount, that they durſt not ſo much as put their heads out of their tents, but fell into a conſternation, giving it for granted, that God in his wrath had taken away Moſes, and that they themſelves were to expect the ſame fate. As they lay ready to ſink under this dreadful apprehenſion, Moſes appear'd; but with ſo much joy and majeſty in his countenance, that all their fears vaniſh'd, and this change made way for hopes of better things; the air alſo recovering its former ſerenity.

A terrible tempeſt of thunder and lightening, Exod. xix. 18.

The people thought Moſes had been loſt.

WHILE this paſs'd, Moſes ſummon'd the people to attend, and hear what God had given him in charge to deliver: whereupon they drew together, and Moſes betaking himſelf to a riſing ground, where he might be beſt ſeen and heard, addreſs'd himſelf to the people in manner following:

"You men and brethern, Hebrews: as our moſt gracious God hath been always hitherto propitious to your prayers, ſo I am now to tell you, upon this preſent Occaſion, that he hath received your meſſenger with infinite grace and goodneſs: and you are likewiſe to reſt aſſured, that he will take your army into his protection, and preſcribe to you ſuch ways of living that you yourſelves cannot ſo much as wiſh to be more happy, than a careful obſervance of thoſe Rules will make you. Wherefore as you have any reverence for that God, and for all the mighty things that he hath done in your ſavour, do not make ſlight, I beſeech you, of what I am about to ſay. Do not think the worſe of the matter for the meanneſs of the bearer of it; but know, that at this inſtant it is God who ſpeaks to you, tho' by the tongue of a man. You are only to conſider the goodneſs, and the advantage of the commands I bring you; and to adore the Majeſty of that God, who for the promoting of your happineſs, hath condeſcended to make uſe of me for the reporter of his gracious will and pleaſure towards you. Do not any longer look upon me as Moſes the ſon Amaram and Jochabel, but but as the inſtrument who for your ſake cauſed the water of the Nile to be turned into blood, and with variety of plagues broke the hearts of the Egyptians: He who pav'd you a way thro' the Sea, and fetch'd Food for you from Heaven, and Water out of the rock, for you to drink: He who made Adam Lord of the world; ſav'd Noah from the Deluge; put Abraham, our progenitor, in poſſeſſion of the Land of Chanaan: he who made Sarah bring forth Iſaac in the old age of his parents, bleſs'd Jacob with twelve very godly ſons, and made Joſeph governor of Egypt; it is he, in fine, who by my hand, honours you with theſe precepts and commands; and you are to value me only as the interpreter of his holy will. Keep theſe commands ſacred and inviolate, and let them be dearer to you than your wives and children: your obedience ſhall make your lives happy, the ſea calm, your wives fruitful, your lands ſhall bring forth encreaſe, and you ſhall be a terror to your enemies: for, ſays Moſes, I have ſpoken with God face to face; I have heard his divine voice, and I am likewiſe to aſſure you, that he hath a fatherly tenderneſs for you, and will take care of your poſterity."

Moſes ſets forth God's mercies to the Iſraelites.

AT the end of this diſcourſe he conducted the people with their wives and children to a place where they might hear the voice of God ſpeaking to them, and teaching them what they were to do. This he did for the authority of the promulgation; for it would not have made ſo deep an impreſſion upon the minds of the hearers from the lips of any mortal: ſo they all heard a voice deſending from above; and it was ſo diſtinct too, that they all underſtood it. But for the commandments that Moſes left in writing in the two tables, we are not to publiſh the very words; but the minutes of them are as follow. We are taught,

The voice of God ſpeaking to the people.

I. THAT that there is but one God, and that he alone is to be worſhipped.

II. THAT no image of any living creature is to be ador'd.

The ten commandments, Exod. xx. 2–17.

III. That no man is to ſwear raſhly.

IV. That the ſeventh day is to be kept holy, and not to be profaned by any common work.

V. That parents are to be honour'd.

VI. That we are not to commit murder.

VII. That we are not to commit adultery.

VIII. That we are not to commit theft.

IX. That we are not to bear falſe witneſs.

X. That we are not to covet any thing that is our neighbour's.

The people ſolicit Moſes to provide them laws for the civil government.

When the people had heard the ſame things over again from the voice of God, which Moſes had told them of beforehand, they were abundantly ſatisfied, and ſo the aſſembly broke up. But before many days were over, they came frequently to Moſes's tent, ſoliciting him earneſtly to procure them a body of laws for the ordering of civil matters; who gratified them with a proviſion alſo of ſuch laws, preſcribing what to do, and what not, and how to govern themſelves one with another. But I ſhall refer the greater part of thoſe laws to a tract by itſelf.

Moſes goes up again to the mount, where he continues forty days, Exod. xxiv. 13--18.

It was about this time that Moſes went up again to the mount, having firſt told the people of his intent, that he might not want witneſſes of his aſcenſion. His ſtay being longer than they expected, (for he was forty days abſent,) the people began to be in pain, for fear ſome miſchief might have befallen him; and in all their troubles nothing gave them ſo ſenſible an affliction as the apprehenſions of his being deſtroyed; but ſeveral perſons were of ſeveral opinions: they who had the leaſt kindneſs for him, would have it that he was devour'd by wild beaſts; others had the charity to fancy that God had taken him to himſelf; but the wiſer ſort divided their opinions betwixt theſe two. "If it ſhould prove, they ſaid, that he "was indeed torn to pieces by wild beaſts, "what was there more in it than a miſhap in "one of the common accidents of life?" And then for the ſuppoſition of his being taken up to God, it was in truth but a conjecture ſuitable to the reverence they had for his virtue. Betwixt theſe two ſurmizes, they were not caſt down ſo much for his ſake, as for their own, in the loſs of ſuch a governor and patron, as was never to be repair'd. their grief and deſperation left them no place to hope for any thing; and in theſe hopeleſs circumſtances they could not yet forbear lamenting: Nay, they durſt not ſo much as move their camp, becauſe of the order they had to wait his coming back.

Moſes faſts forty days and forty nights.

At the end of forty days and forty nights, and without either meat or drink in that interval, Moſes returns and ſhews himſelf, to the unſpeakable joy of the whole army. He told them how much they were the care of divine providence; for in theſe days of his abſence he had been inſtructed in the meaſures and conduct of a good and happy life. He told them that it was God's command they ſhould build him a tabernacle for himſelf at any time, to come down to, when he pleaſed, and be among them; but rather as to a viſit, than to a place of abode. After this, there would be no further need, he ſaid, of travelling up into Mount Sinai; for he would come down to them. This tabernacle was ſtill to go along with the army, where God would be always at hand to receive their prayers.

He orders the building of a tabernacle, Exod. xxvi. 1. &c.

The model and meaſures of it, ibid.

As to the meaſures and model of it, Moſes told them that he had his inſtructions, and that there was nothing more for them to do, than preſently to enter upon the undertaking. With this he produced the two tables of the ten commandments, five in each column, and of God's own writing.

CHAP. VI.

Moſes builds a tabernacle according to God's appointment for his holy worſhip.

The people's affections were ſo elevated with the diſcourſe and preſence of Moſes, that they made collections in ſtrife who ſhould do moſt toward the advancing of this ſtructure. They preſented gold, ſilver, copper, curious wood that would not take the worm, goats hair, purple and ſcarlet-colour'd ſheep-ſkins, and ſome white, ſome blue; wool of the ſame tincture; fine linnen, precious ſtones for ornament ſet in gold; perfumes of all ſorts; and all this toward the uſe and ſervice of the tabernacle, which was, in effect, but a kind of an ambulatory portable temple. So ſoon as the contribution was made, ſome giving to the uttermoſt of their abilities, others even beyond them, Moſes ſets his architects at work upon it without delay, as God had commanded; and they were ſo great maſters in their way too, that the people would have pitch'd upon the ſame perſons, even if it had been left to their own choice. Their names we have upon record in the holy ſcriptures; as Bezaleel of the tribe of Judah, the ſon of Uri, and Mariam the ſiſter of Moſes; Aholiab, the ſon of Aheſamach, of the tribe of Dan. Nay, the people were ſo free of their money, goods, and pains, that Moſes was forc'd to reſtrain them by a proclamation, and bid them hold their hands, there being more than enough brought in already. And the maſter-builders were of that opinion, ſo that they were now to begin the building of the fabrick; Moſes directing the magnitude and the proportion of it, according to what God had appointed in the mount. He gave particular orders alſo for the ſacrificing veſſels, with the ſize and number of thoſe who were to be employ'd in the divine worſhip. The zeal and bounty of the women too was very remarkable, in the ſparkling magnificence and curioſity of the ſacerdotal veſtments, and whatever elſe might ſerve to illuſtrate either the place or the duty.

Large contributions toward it, Exod. xxxv. 21--29.

The names of the chief maſter-workmen, Exod. xxxv. 30--34.

Things being thus prepar'd, and the gold, ſilver, braſs, loom-work, and other materials all in readineſs, Moſes proclaim'd a feſtival, where every man was to attend, and ſacrifice according to his ability: and ſo ſoon as that ſolemnity was over, he went immediately in hand with the erecting of a tabernacle according to this following Model.

Moſes erects a tabernacle, Exod. xxxviii. 9, &c.

The model of it.

The outward court was to be fifty cubits in breadth, a hundred in length; twenty brazen pillars on each ſide long ways, ten a-croſs, and every pillar five cubits in height, with rings and borders to it of ſilver: the baſes of braſs curiouſly wrought and gilded, and faſten'd into the ground with pins of a cubit in length, pointed at the end like the foot of a pike: which with the help cords that paſs'd through the rings bound the whole frame together, from top to bottom, and kept it firm and ſteady againſt the ſtrongeſt blaſts. It was alſo encompaſs'd with a veil of curious fine linnen, that hung from the corniſhes down to the very baſes, which ſerv'd for a wall to the encloſure.

These were the dimenſions of three ſides of the work, and it was alſo fifty cubits in front: twenty of them left open for a door or entrance, with two planks or quarters, like gate-poſts on each ſide of the paſſage. They were cover'd all over with ſilver work, only the baſes were braſs. There were likewiſe ſix other planks, three on each hand, that for ſtrength's ſake were jointed one into another, and a curious curtain drawn over them. The gate ſpace being twenty cubits wide, was five alſo in depth, and cover'd with a delicate imbroidery of flowers and figures (living creatures only excepted) in violet colours, ſcarlet and purple, upon a veil of fine linnen.

Within the court-gate ſtood a laver for water, being a large veſſel of braſs, with a foot of the ſame, for the prieſts to waſh their hands and their feet in.

The poſition of the tabernacle.

In the middle of this court ſtood the tabernacle, fronting to the eaſt for the advantage of receiving the beams of the riſing Sun. It was thirty cubits in length, and twelve in breadth, and juſt as high as it was broad. One ſide of it look'd towards the ſouth another to the north; and the back part of it to the weſt. The two ſides were made up of forty wooden planks, twenty of a ſide, and the form of them quadrangular, a cubit and a half in breadth, and four Fingers thick, plated all over with gold; two tenons to every plank, and two ſilver baſes, with mortiſſes to receive thoſe tenons. On the weſt ſide there ſtood ſix other boards, which were likewiſe over-laid with gold, and ſo nicely put together, that they ſeem'd to be all of a-piece. Now theſe twenty boards, being each of them a cubit and a half over, make up the juſt length of thirty cubits; the ſix boards on the weſtern ſide only nine cubits; but then there were two other planks to join them, one at each corner in the ſame poſition, and of the ſame length and breadth with the other, but much thicker, to bind the ends and that ſide of the tabernacle the faſter together. Every plank had golden rings or ſtaples driven into it, and all ſo orderly diſpos'd, that they anſwer'd one another in a direct line. Through theſe rings there went ſeveral bars, of five cubits in length, and plated all over with gold; which reaching from end to end, kept the whole quarter tight, by framing one piece into another. On the back part, or the lower end of this ſtructure, the boards were all rang'd and order'd after the ſame manner, by paſſing a gilt bar through as many rings as there were plates, and accommodating one bar to another. There were moreover bolts and ſtaples at the corners to keep the ends and ſides together; which, by the help of mortiſſes to bind one piece to the other, ſecur'd the tabernacle againſt wind and weather.

The diviſion of the tabernacle, and the myſtery of it.

The inſide of this tabernacle was divided into thrice ten cubits in length. At ten cubits from the bottom there ſtood four pillars acroſs, of the ſame workmanſhip, and the ſame matter, and upon baſes of the ſame make and metal already ſpoken of, ſtanding at equal diſtances one from the other. Within theſe pillars was the moſt holy place, which was inacceſſible even to the prieſts themſelves; to whom the reſt of the tabernacle was all open. This diviſion of it into three parts ſeems to hold ſome analogy with the conſideration of the univerſe. The firſt part, where the very prieſts were not permitted to enter, may be allow'd to have ſome reſemblance to Heaven itſelf, as the throne of the divine Majeſty; and for the other twenty cubits, where only the prieſts had admittance, it bore a reſemblance, in ſome ſort, to the earth and the ſea. At the entrance into this tabernacle, there were five gilded columns planted upon baſes of braſs, and all cover'd with curtains of fine yarn, dy'd into blue, purple, and ſcarlet, and woven together. The firſt of theſe curtains was ten cubits ſquare, and ſerv'd for a covering to the partition betwixt the moſt holy place and the holy, to keep the former out of ſight. The temple itſelf was call'd holy; but the ſpace within the four pillars bears the name of Holy of Holies. This curtain or veil was beautified with all ſorts of flowers and curious figures, living creatures only excepted. There was yet another veil, that for ſize, colours, and imbroidery, was not inferior to the former; and this overſpread the five pillars at the coming in. It was faſten'd at the top with hooks and eyes, and ſo down to the middle of the five columns, leaving the reſt open for the prieſts to enter by. This veil had another over it, of the ſame largeneſs, and almoſt contiguous to it, but the web flaxen; and it had rings tack'd to it, with a ſtring run through them, to draw at pleaſure, upon feſtival days, to give the people the ſight of the under curtain, with all the ornaments of its imbroidery and figures. At other times, and chiefly in foul weather, the upper curtain ſerv'd for a cover to preſerve the former, being of a ſtuff that was proof againſt rain. This kind of curtain has been made uſe of at the door of the temple from the very building of it to this day.

The curtains, Exod. xxxvi. 37.

The Holy, and the Holy of Holies.

There were likewiſe ten pieces of hanging, of eight and twenty cubits compaſs each, and four cubits deep, and ſo exactly coupled together with golden loops, as if they had been all but one intire piece. Theſe hangings cover'd the whole tabernacle, top and ſides, within one foot of the ground. There were likewiſe eleven pieces more of the ſame depth, but ſomewhat longer; that is to ſay, they were thirty cubits each, and made of hair, as the other were of wool, and the workmanſhip every jot as artificial. Theſe curtains were a covering to the other ten; and as they hung down looſe and flowing upon the ground, they carried ſome ſort of reſemblance to the canopy of a bed. The eleventh curtain was put over the door of the tabernacle, the odd number being ſpecially deſign'd for that ſervice. This covering of goat's hair had yet another of ſkins over that, for a ſhelter againſt heats and rains. The ſpectacle, in fine, was ſo great a ſurprize to people at a diſtance, by the ſky-colour appearance of it, that it ſeem'd to the eye a perfect repreſentation of the Heavens. Now theſe curtains of hair-cloth and ſkins were, as that over the gate, for a fence againſt the injuries of the ſeaſon.

The frame and figure of the ark, Exod. xxxvii. 1—6.

After the finiſhing of the tabernacle as above, they went in hand with the ark of

God, which was made of a wood that the Hebrews call Heoron, the ſtrongeſt and firmeſt of all plants, and the moſt ſecure againſt rotting or taking the worm. The figure of the ark was this; it was two cubits and a half in length; one and a half broad, and as much in depth; cover'd all over with the pureſt gold, and ſo order'd both within and without, that there was no wood to be ſeen; the cover was cramp'd together with golden hooks, curious and firm to admiration, and every where ſo ſmooth, that there was no danger of one part galling another. At the two ends were riveted into the frame four golden rings, one at every corner; and through thoſe rings two gilded bars laid acroſs, on each ſide one, to remove the ark at any time from place to place upon occaſion; for they uſed no other way of tranſporting it, than as the prieſts and Levites carried it upon their ſhoulders. Upon this cover were two figures, which the Hebrews call Cherubs; a kind of wing'd creature, anſwering the deſcription of what Moſes ſaw about the throne of God, and the like to which no mortal had ever ſeen before. In this ark were depoſited the two tables of the decalogue; five of the commandments in each table, and two and a half in a column. This ark, in fine, was laid up in the ſanctuary.

The cherubims, Ver. 7.

The two tables depoſited in the ark.

The table of ſhew-bread, V. 10—16. and Exod. xl. 22.

In this tabernacle Moſes plac'd a table, not unlike that at Delphi *; two cubits in length, one in breadth, and the height a cubit and a half. The feet of it from the middle downward were exactly like thoſe the Dorians make uſe of for their beds, and made round; but from thence upwards ſquare, with a border of four fingers thickneſs, jutting out, and a crown of gold over and under it on every ſide. Under this border there were four rings of gold, faſten'd into the upper part of the four feet; one at each corner, and gilt bars of the firmeſt wood that paſs'd through them, and ſerv'd for handles upon the removal of it from one place to another. This table ſtood in the temple toward the north, not far from the ſanctuary itſelf. There were ſet upon it twelve loaves of unleavened bread, ſix on each ſide of the table, and piled in order, one over another. They were made of the fineſt flower; two Aſſars in quantity, or ſeven Attick Cotyla's †, after the Hebrew meaſure. Over theſe loaves were two golden diſhes of incenſe. At the end of ſeven days theſe loaves were taken away, and others put in their places. Now the ſeventh day is that which we call our ſabbath; but we ſhall ſpeak further of this in another place.

The unleaven'd bread, Exod. xl. 23.

The golden candleſtick, Exod. xxxvii. 17—22. and Exod. xl. 24.

Just over againſt this table, on the ſouth ſide, ſtood a golden candleſtick, the work of the founder, and caſt hollow; the weight of it an hundred mines ‡, which the Hebrews call Cinchares, and the Greeks a Talent. This candleſtick was ſet out with bowls, lilies, pomegranates, and little cups and diſhes of all pure gold, to the number of ſeventy pieces, that ſhot up out of the ſhank into ſeven branches, anſwering the number of the planets, and they were ranged in an order of uniformity one to another. On the top of theſe ſeven branches were as many lamps; which, as the candleſtick ſtood ſloping, faced toward the eaſt and the ſouth.

The altar of incenſe.

Betwixt the candleſtick and the table, as aforeſaid, there was a little altar for incenſe, of the ſame ſtrong and incorruptible wood with the ark; one cubit ſquare for length and breadth, and the height of double; a golden fire-hearth, and a crown of the pureſt gold round about it from corner to corner, with rings and ſtaves through them, for the eaſe of carriage.

Exod. xxxviii.

There was alſo another altar erected before the tabernacle, the frame of the ſame wood with the former; five cubits ſquare, and three in height, finiſh'd after the ſame deſign with the former, ſave that it was plated all over with braſs; and in the middle of it, betwixt top and bottom, a brazen grate of a kind of net-work, for the aſhes to fall through. There were alſo funnels, vials, cenſers, cups and pans, and other neceſſaries for the ſervice of the altar, all of the fineſt gold. This may ſerve for an account of the tabernacle, and of the veſſels thereunto belonging.

CHAP. VII.

Of the prieſts and high-prieſt's veſtments; purifications and feſtivals.

The prieſts veſtments.

To proceed now to the veſtments appointed both for the ordinary prieſts, and the high-prieſt; as well thoſe that they call Chanæans of the one, as for the ‖ Anarabaches himſelf, which ſignifies the prince of the prieſts, of the other. We ſhall begin with the former. No prieſt was to officiate without being firſt purified, according to the order and direction of the law: his under garment was of fine twiſted linnen, and made up much after the faſhion of our trowſſes or drawers: the Hebrews call it a Manachaſe, or a binder. The feet were to be put through it, and ſo drawn up over the thighs; open downward from the top, and faſt girt about the loins.

Manachaſe, or Machanaſe, or Michnaſe, Exod. xxxix. 28.

Chethemene, or Chethone, Ver. 27.

Over this was a coat of very fine linnen, which the Hebrews call Chethemene, that is to ſay, a linnen cloth; as Chethon is taken for the flax it is made of. It ſat cloſe to the whole body, with ſtraight ſleeves, and reaching down to the heels. This coat was faſten'd with a girdle about the middle, of four fingers broad, and ſo artificially ſet out with needlework, in divers colours, that it had ſome reſemblance to the skin of a ſnake. There were wrought into this girdle ſeveral flowers and figures in blue, purple, and ſcarlet, but the ground was linnen. It went twice about the body of the prieſt, and for the better grace, hung down from his breaſt to his feet, ſaving only when he was in the exerciſe of his function, and in that caſe he caſt it over his left ſhoulder, to avoid being incommoded with it when in the diſcharge of his office. Moſes calls this girdle Abaneth, and we at this day call it Emian, a word that we have borrowed from the Babylonians. This garment was made without either plaits or folds, wide in the neck, and buckled together before and behind; the Hebrew name for it is Maſſabazanes.

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* Not that this was made after the faſhion of the Delphic table, but that the Delphic table was made after the model of this.

† An Attick Cotyla being about our half pint, ſeven of them muſt make three pints and an half; and two Aſſars being equivalent to ſeven Cotyla's, an Aſſar muſt be one pint and three fourths Engliſh meaſure. Admitting therefore a pint of flower to weigh a pound, each loaf muſt be about four pounds in weight; that is, about half a pound leſs than one of our quartern loaves.

‡ The Mines here meant we apprehend to be the common Attick Mina, which reduced to Engliſh troy weight, conſiſted of eleven ounces, ſeven penny weights, ſixteen grains, and two ſevenths, an hundred of which muſt amount to ninety four pound, ten ounces.

‖ Or Chanarabbes. See Braunius concerning the veſtments of the Hebrew prieſts, lib. i. c. 2. and 16. and lib. ii. c. 1. & 2.

Abaneth, Ex. xxxix. 29.

Maſſabazanes Ver. 27.

The prieſt had alſo a kind of mitre or bonnet, like a ſmall helmet, that cover'd little more than one half of his head; the name of it is [*] Maſnaemphthes. It was made of linnen, and bound together with filleting over and over to keep it ſteddy. There was yet another cap of curious fine linnen, that ſerv'd for a covering to the former, and came ſo low, that there was not ſo much as a ſtitch or a ſeam of the other to be ſeen; and every part of it was ſo ſecur'd one to another, that there was no danger of any thing looſening or falling, to diſturb the prieſt in his office. This is enough ſaid of the prieſts veſtments in common one with another.

Maſnaemphthes, Ver. 28.

As to the high-prieſt, over and above all the ornaments already exhibited, he had others peculiar to his office; as a purple robe that came down to his ankles, which we call Methir; with ſuch a girdle for colours and figures, as that which we have formerly mention'd, ſaving only that this has alſo an intermixture of gold. The ſkirt of this veſt was trimm'd with a fringe, and hung round with pomegranates and golden bells of curious workmanſhip, which were interchangeably plac'd, and at equal diſtances one from another. This garment was all of a-piece, and without ſeam, and had no opening to it, but only lengthways, a little below the ſhoulders behind, and ſo to the middle of the breaſt before, with a border to it for decency's ſake, to keep the gaping out of ſight, with another border likewiſe to that part of it that was left open for the arms to paſs through the ſleeves.

The high-prieſt's Methir, or Meeir, V. 22.

Over this veſtment there was yet a third, which was call'd the Ephod, and much the ſame with the Epomis of the Greeks, according to the deſcription. It was a cubit in length, embroider'd all over with gold, and a glorious variety of colours covering the whole breaſt; and it had likewiſe ſleeves to it, ſo that it was no other in effect than a ſhort coat.

The Ephod, Ver. 2, &c.

Upon the fore part of this robe, and in the middle of the breaſt, there was left a void place of a ſpan ſquare for the [†] Eſſen, which the Greeks call Logion, as much as to ſay in Latin, the [‖] Rationale, or the Oracle. This ſquare piece did juſt fill up that vacancy, which was in truth left on purpoſe for it. There were golden rings at every corner, and purple ribbons run through them, to faſten the Ephod and the Rationale one to the other. And then to fill up all ſpaces, and cover the ſeams, the intervals were wrought over with ſtrings of the ſame colour. The high-prieſt had upon each ſhoulder a ſardonyx ſet in gold, which two ſtones ſerv'd for buckles to claſp one part of the Ephod to the other, with golden ringles to bind them and the Rationale together. Upon theſe ſtones were engraven in Hebrew characters the names of Jacob's twelve ſons; the ſix elder upon that on the right ſhoulder, and the other ſix on the left. There were ſet alſo in the Eſſen, or Rationale, twelve ſtones of ſuch a ſize and luſtre, that both for the ornament and the value they were ineſtimable. Theſe ſtones were diſpos'd of into four rows, at three in a row; and divided one from another by little partitions of gold, to ſecure them from falling out. In the firſt row there was a ſardonyx, a topaz, and an emerald; in the ſecond a ruby, a jaſper, and a ſapphire; in the third a ligyrius, an amethiſt, and an agate; and in the fourth a chryſolite, an onyx, and a beril. In theſe twelve precious ſtones were ſet down ſeverally the names of Jacob's twelve ſons, which we look upon as the heads of our tribes; and ſo their names were there inſerted in the order of ſeniority and birth. Now whereas theſe hooks or faſtenings were not ſufficient of themſelves to ſupport the weight of ſo many precious ſtones, there were two larger and ſtronger pieces tack'd to the upper part of the Rationale, toward the neck that ſtood out above the work of the garment; and to theſe were faſten'd two wreath'd golden chains that were convey'd by ſecret paſſages up to the ſhoulder-piece. The upper end of theſe chains was carried about to the back, and ſo hook'd with a ring behind, upon the border of the Ephod; and this was the principal holdfaſt that kept all firm together. There was alſo ſtitch'd to the Rationale, a girdle of the colour before ſpoken of, but interwoven with gold. It went twice round the body, and being tied by a knot before, the two ends were let looſe to hang dangling down, and a curious gold fringe to each of them.

The Eſſen, or Logion.

Ver. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

The high-prieſt's Tiara, or mitre, was like that of other prieſts, ſaving only that it had another of purple or violet colour over it, and a triple crown of gold about it; over which crown was the reſemblance in gold of a kind of cup, in form like the bud of the plant which the Hebrews call Saccharus, and the Greeks Hyoſcyamos. But for the ſake of thoſe who have neither ſeen this plant, nor know any thing of it, or of others that perhaps may have heard of the name, and yet be ſtrangers to the nature of it, it will not be amiſs to give a ſhort deſcription of it. This plant riſes commonly to ſomewhat above three ſpans in height; the root of it is extremely like that of a turnip, and its leaf like mint; it branches out into a round knob, with a coat over it, which ſheds as the fruit ripens. The cup, as I told you, which was placed over

The high-prieſt's mitre, Ver. 28.

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[*] Anſel. Solerius, in his book de Pileo, ſhews it ſhould be read Maſnephthes, or Miſnephthes.

[†] Braunius for Eſſen reads Choſchen, lib. ii. c. 20. p. 766.

[‖] This was the breaſt-plate in which was put the Urim and Thummim, Lev. viii. 8. By this, upon emergent occaſions, and in difficult matters, God, when conſulted, ſometimes revealed himſelf by the high-prieſt; for which reaſon Joſephus calls it the λόγιον, or Oracle.

the golden crown, was about the bigneſs of the joint of one's little finger, round and hollow, like the inſide of a goblet; but I ſhall yet explain myſelf a little further for the benefit of the reader. The figure of it was a kind of hemiſphere, narrowing a little upwards, and then enlarging itſelf toward the brims into the form of a baſon, reſembling a pomegranate cut in two; upon which there grew a round cover, ſo curious by nature, as if it had been turn'd on purpoſe for it; and it had ſharp points riſing out of it like the prickles of a pomegranate. Within this cup and cover the fruit was nouriſh'd and preſerv'd. The ſeed of it is like that of the plant ironwort, or wall-ſage *, and a flower like poppy. This was the ornament of the mitre from the neck round to the temples, but the forehead had a golden plate laid over it, with an inſcription upon it of the holy name of God; and this I think is ſufficient to be ſaid of the dreſs and veſtments of the high-prieſt.

The tabernacle and the prieſts veſtments, a figure of the univerſe.

I CANNOT but wonder in this place, at the hard meaſure we meet with in the world from people who hate and traduce us as blaſphemers and deriders of the divinity they adore. Let but any man conſider the ſtructure of the tabernacle, the ſacerdotal veſtments, and the holy veſſels which are dedicated to the ſervice of the altar, and he muſt of neceſſity be convinc'd that our law-giver was a pious man, and that all the cenſures paſs'd upon us and our profeſſion, as impious, are nothing but calumny and ſcandal; for what is all this but the image of the whole world? as will appear to any man who will but be at the pains ſoberly and impartially to examine the matter. The tabernacle of thirty cubits is divided into three parts; that is to ſay, two for the prieſts in general, as a place in common to them all, and as free of acceſs as the earth and the ſea. The third place, where no mortal muſt be admitted to enter, is as the Heaven reſerv'd only for God himſelf. The twelve loaves of ſhew-bread upon the table, ſignify the twelve months of the year. The candleſtick is made up of ſeventy pieces, and refers to the twelve ſigns of the Zodiack, through which the ſeven planets take their courſe; and the ſeven lamps on the top of the ſeven branches bear an analogy to the planets themſelves. The curtains, with the four colours that are wrought into them, repreſent the four elements. The fine linnen ſignifies the earth, as the flax takes its growth out of it. By the purple is to be underſtood the ſea, from the blood of that ſhell-fiſh † which gives it the tincture. The violet colour is the ſymbol of the air; and the ſcarlet of the fire. By the linnen garment of the high-prieſt is deſign'd the whole body of the earth; by the blue the Heavens. The pomegranates anſwer the lightening; the noiſe of the bells the thunder. The four colour'd Ephod (ſince it pleaſed God to order it ſo to be) bears a reſemblance to the very nature of the univerſe, and the interweaving of it with gold ſeems to me to have a regard to the rays which give us light. The Rationale, or Oracle, in the middle of it, intimates the poſition of the earth in the centre of the world; the girdle about the body of the prieſt, is as the ſea about the globe of the earth; the two ſardonyx ſtones are a kind of figure of the ſun and moon; and the twelve other ſtones may be underſtood either of the twelve months, or the twelve ſigns in the circle, which the Greeks call the Zodiack. The violet-colour'd mitre ſpeaks a reſemblance of Heaven, and it would have been an irreverence to have written the ſacred name of God upon any other colour. The triple crown and plate of gold give us to underſtand the glory and the majeſty of Almighty God. This is as plain an illuſtration of theſe matters as I thought needful; and I would not loſe any opportunity, either upon this, or upon any other occaſion, of doing all poſſible right to the honour and wiſdom of our incomparable law-giver.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the prieſthood of Aaron.

Exod. xxviii. & xxix.

WHEN the work of the tabernacle was thus far advanc'd, the next thing in order was to be the dedication of it; before which God appear'd to Moſes, and gave him in charge to ſettle his brother Aaron in the prieſthood, as a perſon of all men living who beſt deſerv'd the dignity. So Moſes call'd the people together, and treated them with a moving diſcourſe upon the virtues of Aaron; ſetting forth the zeal and paſſion he had for the good of the publick, even to the degree of hazarding his life upon ſeveral occaſions for their ſake. Moſes found the whole congregation ſo well ſatisfied with the reaſon of what he ſaid, and the choice of the perſon, that he proceeded to his buſineſs in theſe words:

Aaron declar'd high-prieſt by Moſes.

“GOOD people of Iſrael, ſays he, we have now gone through the great work which God requir'd at our hands, to the uttermoſt of our power. But in regard that God himſelf will vouchſafe to honour this tabernacle with his preſence, and that it is now to be conſecrated, it will become us in the firſt place to make choice of a high-prieſt who is every way qualified for the exerciſe of the holy function, and to offer up prayers and ſacrifices for us. I muſt confeſs, indeed, if the election were left to me, I ſhould make no difficulty of aſſuming the honour to myſelf, not only upon the ſcore of human frailty, as all men are naturally lovers of themſelves, but I ſhould reckon myſelf to have ſome ſort of title to it as a requital for the dangers and hardſhips I have undergone for the common good: but ſo it is in the preſent caſe, that God, to whom belongs the power of conferring the office of high-prieſt, has already ſingled out and decreed Aaron to the dignity, as the moſt worthy of the ſacerdotal robe; ſo that Aaron is deſign'd from this time forward to officiate at the altar, and to offer up vows and ſupplications to the Almighty on your behalf; which coming from an interceſſor of God's own appointment, will be the more graciouſly receiv'd.” The people were all highly pleaſed with what Moſes had deliver'd, giving their aſſent unanimouſly and chearfully to the choice; for no man had ſo fair a pretence to the ſacred character as Aaron had, either in reſpect of his family, the gift of prophecy, which he had received, or the excellent qualities of his brother Moſes. Now Aaron had at that time four ſons; * Nabad, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

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* Gr. σιδηρίτις.

† Viz. the Murex, the blood of which was the chief ingredient uſed by the antients in the dying of purple.

Aaron's four ſons.

Exod. xxxvii.

A tax laid, and ſix hundred five thouſand and five hundred and fifty contributors.

As to the remainder of what had been given toward the building of the tabernacle, Moſes order'd the overplus to be laid out in veils and coverings for the tabernacle itſelf, the golden candleſtick, the altar of incenſe, and other holy veſſels, to ſecure them upon any occaſion of removal from either wet or duſt. After this Moſes gave the people a ſummons, and laid an impoſition upon them, of half a ſhekel a head, toward the charge of the work in hand, reckoning a Hebrew ſhekel at four Attick drachma's †. They ſubmitted to the tax, in fine, with all the chearfulneſs in the world. The number of the contributors was ſix hundred five thouſand, five hundred and fifty, freemen all, and from twenty years of age to fifty; which money was all employ'd in the ſervice of the tabernacle.

The purifying oil.

Bezaleel and Aholiab, Exod. xxxviii. 22, 23.

Moses applied himſelf in the next place to the purifying of the tabernacle and the prieſts; and the manner was this: he took of the choiceſt myrrh five hundred ſhekels worth ‡; and of iris the ſame quantity; cinnamon and calamus ‖ (which are wonderfully fragrant) the one half. Theſe ingredients he order'd to be beaten together, and macerated in a hin ** of the beſt olive-oil, (which hin is a veſſel that holds as much as two Attick choa's.) This compoſition being then ſet over the fire, and prepar'd by the apothecaries according to art, produced an ointment of the moſt grateful odour imaginable; with which ointment Moſes anointed the prieſts and the tabernacle, and this was the ceremony of purification, offering up ſeveral ſorts of ſacrifices alſo in the tabernacle. As to the golden altar, and the precious perfumes that were dedicated upon it, I ſhall rather paſs over the particulars, than tire out the reader with many words. But in general, there was incenſe offer'd twice a day; that is to ſay, before ſun-riſing, and about ſun-ſetting, and purifying oil preſerv'd for the lamps of the holy candleſtick; three to burn all day, and the reſt to be lighted up in the evening. The fabrick was now finiſh'd, and the two maſter-workmen concern'd in it were Bezaleel and Aholiab, whoſe office it was to ſuperintend the reſt, improving other mens inventions, and ſupplying new ones of their own; but of the two, Bezaleel had the preference. All this was done in ſeven months time, and within the compaſs of a year from their coming out of Egypt.

The tabernacle conſecrated, Exod. xl. 17--38.

In the year following, and on the new moon of the month Xanthicus, according to the Macedonians; or Niſan, according to the Hebrews, the tabernacle was conſecrated, and ſo were all the veſſels belonging to it. Upon this occaſion God Almighty gave the Hebrews to underſtand by a remarkable providence, how graciouſly he accepted of their zeal for his ſervice, and that their labour was not loſt in the erecting of that glorious ſtructure; and this he manifeſted by deſcending to take up his habitation there, and vouchſafing them the bleſſing of his preſence. As for inſtance, it was ſo clear a ſky, that there was not one cloud to be ſeen, but juſt over and about the tabernacle. And this cloud was not either ſo thick as to threaten foul weather, nor ſo thin as to be tranſparent; but there iſſued from it ſo gentle a dew, that all who ſaw it, believ'd an Almighty power, and took it for a divine influence, and as an evident token that their prayers were heard, and that God himſelf honour'd them with his preſence.

Levit. viii.

Levit. ix.

When Moſes had gratified the artificers who erected and beautified this ſtructure, with encouragements and rewards anſwerable to their deſerts, he ſacrificed in the door of the tabernacle, as God had commanded him, a bullock, a ram, and a kid for the ſins of the people. As to the ceremonies properly belonging to the ſacrifices, I ſhall handle that point more particularly when I come to ſpeak of the ſacrifices themſelves; and I ſhall likewiſe ſhew what thoſe burnt-offerings are, which the law has appointed to be totally conſum'd, and thoſe again which the law permits to be eaten. When the beaſts, as aforeſaid, were now kill'd, Moſes took of the blood, and ſprinkled it upon Aaron and his ſons, purifying them with water of the fountain, and anointing oil, and ſo hallowing them for prieſts of the Lord. This form of conſecration was repeated in all the parts of it for ſeven days one after another ſucceſſively, with the oblation of the ſame ſacrifices, one of a ſort every day. On the eighth day Moſes appointed a feſtival, and order'd the people to come in and ſacrifice according to their abilities; who were ſo ready and chearful in their compliance, that they did not only contend in a pious emulation one with another who ſhould go fartheſt, but made it a point of honour and conſcience even to outdo themſelves. The ſacrifices were no ſooner laid upon the altar, but there broke out a flame from them of its own accord, like a flaſh of lightening, which conſum'd them all.

Nabad and Abihu conſum'd by a judicial fire, Levit. x. 1, 2.

There was a dreadful calamity ſoon after this befel Aaron, and would have gone to the heart of him, both as a man and as a father, if he had not been endued with fortitude, and a perſon abſolutely reſign'd to God's holy will and pleaſure. Nabad and Abihu, the two eldeſt of Aaron's four ſons already ſpoken of, as they were about to ſacrifice upon the altar, not according to the preſcription of Moſes, but after a manner formerly in practice, were all on a ſudden blaſted and conſum'd with a judicial fire, their bodies and their faces ſhrivel'd up, and themſelves ſcorch'd to death with a flame not to be quench'd. Moſes, upon this, order'd their father and their brothers to take up the bodies and carry them out of the camp, and ſo to give them a decent burial. The unexpected death of theſe brothers was ſo terrible a ſurprize to the multitude, that their grief was in effect inconſolable: but Moſes earneſtly exhorted the father and the brethren not to lay this tribulation to heart, and rather to conſider that it did not ſtand with the dignity of the prieſthood to prefer an impotent paſſion to the honour and glory of God, Aaron being at this time inveſted with the ſacerdotal ſtole.

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* Scrip. Nadab.

† A tetradrachm, or four Attick drachma's, was two ſhillings and ſeven pence in our money, the half of which being one ſhilling and three pence half-penny, was the ſum paid by every contributor, and there being ſix hundred five thouſand, five hundred and fifty contributors, the whole ſum amounted to thirty nine thouſand one hundred and eight pounds, eight ſhillings, and nine pence.

‡ A ſhekel being equivalent to the Attick tetradrachm, which was worth two ſhillings and ſeven pence in our money, five hundred ſhekels amounted to ſeventy ſeven pounds, one ſhilling, and eight pence.

‖ The Calamus was a ſweet aromatick cane growing in Arabia, Syria, and the Eaſt-Indies.

** An hin, according to Dr. Arbuthnot's tables of Grecian, Roman, and Jewiſh meaſures, &c. is one gallon and two pints.

Moses, in fine, deliver'd himſelf up ſo entirely to the ſervice of God, that he never minded the addreſſes and acclamations of the people. He went no longer now to Mount Sinai for counſel, but into the tabernacle for divine inſtructions in matters of conſequence, and whenever the neceſſity of affairs requir'd it; and in all reſpects liv'd like a private man, ſave only in the exerciſe of his charge and function, for the good and well-being of the publick. He gave them alſo the laws and precepts in writing, for the leading of their lives acceptable in the ſight of God, and for the preſerving of themſelves in peace and unity, which laws and precepts were no other than the dictates of God himſelf. Of theſe laws I ſhall ſay ſomewhat farther in another place.

But before I proceed, I muſt here ſupply one remark about the veſtments of the high-prieſt, which I have hitherto omitted. And it is this, that to prevent all poſſibility of putting any impoſture upon the world, under the countenance of the holy robe, or a pretext of the gift of prophecy, it is to be obſerv'd that whenever God vouchſaf'd to honour theſe prieſts with his ſpecial preſence, he never fail'd of accompanying that gracious deſcenſion with ſome ſignal viſible circumſtance or other, to convince, not only his own people, but ſtrangers alſo, of the reality of that divine appearance. To inſtance, in the two ſardonyx's on the high-prieſt's ſhoulders (which we have formerly ſpoken of, and which every body knows the nature of:) what a wonderful light does the ſtone on the right ſhoulder of the high-prieſt's caſt at a great diſtance beyond the natural luſtre, upon the occaſion of God's ſhewing himſelf well pleas'd with the ſacrifices, and not otherwiſe! and this to the admiration and ſatisfaction of all men living, ſave only ſuch as ſet up to gain the reputation of wiſe men by a profeſs'd contempt of our religion. But there is another thing yet that is ſtill more amazing: I ſpeak of the twelve precious ſtones that the high-prieſt wore upon his Eſſen, or Rationale, when God preſag'd a victory: for there came out of them ſo ſparkling a glory that all the people look'd upon it as a divine influence, and as an earneſt of God's aſſiſtance. And hence it is that the Greeks who have any ſort of eſteem for our rites and ſolemnities, and are convinc'd of the miracle by their very eyes, call this Eſſen Logion, which ſignifies an Oracle [as well as Rationale.] But it is now two hundred years and upward that this ſardonyx and Eſſen have left ſhining, or at leaſt diſcontinu'd the manifeſtations of their miraculous light and ſplendor; for God hath been offended with us for the tranſgreſſion of his laws, as I ſhall ſhew elſewhere, and ſo return to my Narration.

The miraculous luſtre of the ſardonyx upon the high-prieſt's right ſhoulder.

The ſparkling of the high-prieſt's jewels a preſage of victory.

The tabernacle being now conſecrated, and all things diſpatch'd that related to the ſervice of the Almighty, the people were ſo tranſported with joy, to conſider that God was come down to dwell among them, that they gave up themſelves wholly to hymns and ſacrifices, and to the thought of living at eaſe, without ſo much as dreaming of any more difficulties to come: ſome of the tribes, in general, and others in particular, preſenting their reſpective oblations. The heads and princes of the twelve tribes brought ſix waggons, and a pair of oxen to each of them, for the ſervice of the tabernacle, upon any occaſion of removing, over and about a ſilver charger of a hundred and thirty ſhekels weight, and a ſilver bowl of ſeventy ſhekels, both full of fine flour mingled with oil, to be uſed in the ſacrifices; with an incenſe-cup alſo full of perfumes, and valu'd at ten daricks. They offer'd likewiſe a young bullock, a ram, and a lamb of a year old for a burnt-offering; with a he-goat for a ſin-offering. They had likewiſe their peace-offerings; that is to ſay, two bullocks a day, five rams, with as many lambs and he-goats of a year old. Theſe ſacrifices continu'd at one a day for twelve days ſucceſſively.

The oblations of the tribes, Num. vii.

Moſes, as I have ſaid already, went no longer up to Mount Sinai, but into the tabernacle to receive God's directions about the laws and rules that were to be eſtabliſh'd: which being wholly of divine appointment and inſtitution, and above the reach of human underſtanding, it was but reaſon that the ſacred authority and obligation of them ſhould be perpetual. I have ſaid enough elſewhere to prove theſe laws the gift of God, and indiſpenſibly binding to the Hebrews, as well in the liberties of peace as in the neceſſities of war. But I ſhall have occaſion to handle this point more at large in a tract by itſelf.

Moſes conſults God in the tabernacle, Ver. 89.

CHAP. IX.

Of ſacrifices.

Being now to handle the point of ſacrifices and purifications, I ſhall only mind the reader of ſome few laws upon that ſubject. There are two ſorts of ſacrifices; the one particular and private, the other popular and publick: And theſe two differ in the manner of the celebration. One of them is call'd a burnt-offering, or an holocauſt; as who ſhall ſay, the whole ſacrifice is to be burnt: the other is an offering of thankſgiving, and to be eaten by the preſenters of it. To begin now with the former: When a private man makes an oblation of a burnt-offering, he brings a bullock, a lamb, and a goat, the two latter not above a year old, but the firſt may be allow'd to be ſomewhat older: they muſt all be males, and entirely conſum'd by the fire. When they are kill'd, the prieſt ſprinkles the blood of them round about the altar, and after they are well waſh'd, cuts them in pieces, ſtrows them with ſalt, and lays them all together upon it; where

Sacrifices, particular and publick.

A burnt-offering, Lev. i. 5 and 10.

the wood lies ready kindled beforehand. He waſhes the feet and the entrails, and then caſts them into the fire with the reſt. The skin belongs to the prieſt. And this is the ceremony of a burnt-offering.

A peace-offering, Levit. iii. 1--16.

If the oblation be a peace-offering, or an offering of thankſgiving, the ſacrifices are of the ſame ſort of creatures, only they muſt be upward of yearlings, without blemiſh, and male and female that have had copulation. The prieſt, after the killing of them, ſprinkles the blood upon the altar, upon which he lays alſo the kidneys, the caul and the fillets of the liver, with all the fat upon them, and the rump of the lamb. The breaſt and the right ſhoulder is the prieſt's due; and for the overplus, they who offer the ſacrifice may eat of it during two days, and the remainder afterwards to be burnt.

A ſin-offering, Lev. v. 7.

The ſame method is obſerv'd in the ſin-offering, only thoſe who are unable to furniſh theſe ſacrifices, ſhall offer two young pigeons, or two turtles; the one for a burnt-offering, and the other for the prieſts to eat. But I ſhall explain myſelf more at large when I come to treat further of ſacrifices.

Sins of ignorance, Ver. 15. &c.

If any man falls into the ſin of ignorance, his ſacrifice ſhall be a lamb, or a ſhe-goat of the ſame age as before, for a ſin-offering; and the prieſt, inſtead of ſmearing the altar all over with the blood, ſhall only ſprinkle it upon the horns, or corners of it; the kidney, with the caul and the fibres of the liver to be laid upon the altar; the fleſh and the skins are to be reſerv'd for the prieſts, and the fleſh to be eat up that day in the temple; it being againſt the law to leave any part of it till the next day.

Wilful ſins.

If any man commits a wilful ſin, though ſo cloſe that it is impoſſible to produce any legal proof againſt him, the law appoints a ram for his offering, and the prieſts to eat the fleſh of it in the tabernacle the ſame day. The ſin-offering of the heads of the tribes is the very ſame with that of private men, ſaving only that the ſacrifices are to be a bull and a male-goat.

Laws for feaſts and ſacrifices, Lev. ii. 4--16.

According to the law, in all ſacrifices, as well private as publick, there was to be a certain proportian of fine flour; the quantity of one aſſar to a lamb, two to a ram, and three to a bullock; and this was to be conſecrated upon the altar, with a mixture of oil. It was part alſo of the oblation; half a hin of oil to a bullock, (an antient Hebrew meaſure of about two Attick choa's,) a third part of it to a ram, and a fourth to a lamb: they were oblig'd likewiſe to provide juſt as much wine as oil, and to pour the wine about the altar. If any one ſhall make an offering of fine flour for the performance of a vow, without ſacrificing, let him lay a handful of it upon the altar, and the prieſt to eat the reſt, either boil'd, (for it is kneaded with oil,) or made into cakes; the ſacrificer taking out of it what he finds neceſſary for burnt-offerings. The law forbids the ſacrificing of the dam and the young one at the ſame time, if the young one be not at leaſt eight days old. There are likewiſe other ſacrifices for the recovery of health, and divers ſuch like occaſions, where cakes are eaten with the fleſh of the ſacrifice, and the prieſts to take their part; but nothing of it muſt be left till the next morning.

CHAP. X.

Laws and ordinances for the regulation of prieſt's ſacrifices, feſtivals, and other matters political and civil.

Numb. xvxiii. 3, 4.

The law hath alſo order'd and appointed a lamb of a year old to be ſacrificed every day, morning and evening, at the public charge; and two upon the ſeventh day, or ſabbath, after the ſame manner; and ſo likewiſe at the beginning of the month, over and above the ordinary ſacrifices, two ſeven lambs of a year old, a ram and a he-goat for a ſin-offering in caſe of any thing forgotten.

Numb. xxix. 2, 3.

On the ſeventh month, which the Macedonians call Hyperberetæus, the offering was a bullock, a ram, and ſeven lambs, beſide thoſe already mention'd, and a he-goat for a ſin-offering.

On the tenth day of the ſame month was a faſt till night, and the ſacrifices were a young bullock, two rams, ſeven lambs, and a he-goat for ſin, with two other goats over and above. One of theſe goats was preſented alive before the Lord, and ſo let go into the wilderneſs as a ſcape-goat to expiate for the people; the other was carried out into ſome ſweet clean place near the camp, and there burnt to aſhes, skin and all, without reſerving any part of it; and the bullock was likewiſe burnt at the ſame time. Now this bullock was not provided by the people, but by the high-prieſt; who, after the killing of him, and the bringing of his blood with that of the goat into the temple, dipped his finger into the blood, and ſprinkled the cover of the tabernacle ſeven times, and ſo in like manner the floor, the whole temple, the golden altar, and the great altar before the door of the tabernacle. After this, the extreme parts of theſe creatures, the kidneys and the fat, with part of the liver, were laid upon the altar, the high-prieſt furniſhing a ram alſo upon his own account, and all preſented to the Lord for a burnt-offering.

The ſcape-goat, Levit. xvi. 10.

Levit. xxiii. 30--43.

Upon the fifteenth day of the ſame month, winter drawing on, the people were commanded, with their reſpective tribes, to ſecure and fortify their tents againſt the rigour of the ſeaſon; and likewiſe that, whenever they ſhould come into the land that God had promis'd them, they ſhould repair to the metropolis, as the ſeat of the holy temple, and there celebrate an eight days feſtival, with burnt-offerings, ſacrifices, and peace-offerings; carrying boughs in their hands of myrtle, willow, palms, and little ſprouts of the peach-tree.

On the firſt day of the eight was to be preſented a burnt-offering, of thirteen young bullocks, fourteen lambs, two rams, and a goat, for an offering of an attonement. The number of the lambs and rams, with the goat, was to be the ſame for ſix days; but one bullock to be abated every day till the number was brought down to ſeven. The eighth was to be a day of reſt, and there were dedicated to God (as I have ſaid before) a calf, a ram, ſeven lambs, and a goat for a ſin-offering. This was the feaſt of tabernacles, upon the Hebrews erecting their tents; which being handed down to us from our anceſtors, has been con-

The feaſt of tabernacles, Lev. xxii. 34. Deut. xvi. 13.

ſtantly obſerv'd with all ceremony by our people.

Ex. xii. Levit. xxiii. Num. ix. Deut. xvi.

Feaſt of unleaven'd bread, Lev. xxiii. 6.

The firſt-fruits, V. 10.

In the month Xanthicus, which we call Niſan, and reckon upon as the beginning of the year; on the fourteenth of the moon, when the ſun is in Aries, and that being the month when our foreſathers came out of Egypt, the law injoins us to offer the ſame ſacrifice every year over again, which our foreſathers did at their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage, under the title of the feaſt of the paſſover. This feſtival we celebrate through all our tribes, without leaving any remainder of the oblation till the next day. The fifteenth is the feaſt of unleavened bread; which laſts ſeven days, and follows in order next to the paſſover. The ſacrifices are two bullocks, one ram, and ſeven lambs for a burnt-offering; to which is added a goat every day for a ſin-offering, toward the entertainment of the prieſts. On the ſecond day of the feaſt of the unleavened bread, and the ſixteenth of the month, they make an offering to God of the firſt-fruits of their grain, before they taſte of it themſelves; judging it a reaſonable thing that the author of all the bleſſings they enjoy ſhould be ſerv'd firſt. And the method of the oblation is this: they take a quantity of corn-ears, and dry them before the fire upon a clean hearth. After this, they break and bruiſe them, and ſo offer upon the altar an Aſſar; one handful of it to be left there, and the reſt goes to the prieſt. The people after this, are allow'd to reap at pleaſure: and the offering in this caſe is a lamb for a Holocauſt.

The feaſt of Pentecoſt, Ver. 16, 17.

On the fiftieth day after the feaſt of the paſſover, that is to ſay, at the end of ſeven weeks or forty nine days, was celebrated the feaſt of Pentecoſt, ſo call'd by the Greeks, as denoting the number of fifty: the Hebrews call it * Aſſartha for the ſame reaſon. On this day they offered to God a wheaten loaf of two Aſſars, bak'd with leaven, and two lambs for a ſacrifice; which ſerv'd for the prieſt's ſupper: But nothing was to be left of it till next morning. The burnt-offerings were three calves, two ſheep, fourteen lambs, and two goats for a ſin-offering. Now there are no feaſts celebrated amongſt us without burnt-offerings and a ceſſation from labour, according to certain rules and limitations preſcrib'd in both caſes by our law; with directions alſo which of the ſacrifices are to be eaten.

There was likewiſe a proviſion order'd out of the publick ſtock of twenty four Aſſars of fine flour, to be made into loaves of bread with leaven, two and two to a loaf. Now this bread was to be bak'd on the ſabbath eve, and ſet upon the holy table next morning; ſix loaves on each hand, and one directly againſt the other, with two golden cups of incenſe over them; which were there to remain till the next ſabbath-day, and then given to the prieſt to eat, and others ſet in their places. The frankincenſe being alſo burnt in the holy fire, which conſumes the burnt-offerings, there was freſh incenſe immediately ſupply'd upon freſh loaves. The high-prieſt moreover, at his own expence, offer'd twice a day of the fineſt flour drenched in oil, and a little bak'd, to the proportion of an Aſſar: one half of it to be caſt into the fire in the morning, the other in the evening. But without more words at preſent, I ſhall have occaſion to be more copious upon this ſubject in another place.

CHAP. XI.

The tribe of Levi ſet apart for the ſervice of the Altar. Of meats and perſons, clean and unclean. Laws for women in child-bed, and in caſe of adultery and jealouſy.

The tribe of Levi ſet apart for God's worſhip, Num. iii. 6--12.

The tribe of Levi being now ſet apart from the reſt of the people for the peculiar ſervice of God, Moſes purify'd them with water of the fountain; and, offering of ſacrifices to God upon the occaſion, committed the tabernacle, the holy veſſels, and all other things belonging to it, to their care and charge, under the orders and appointments of the prieſts; inſomuch that they were now look'd upon as conſecrated to God.

Meats clean and unclean, Deut. xiv.

Blood forbidden to be eat, Lev. xvii. 10--15.

Moses at the ſame time made a difference betwixt meats clean and unclean, declaring what might be eaten, and what not; which we ſhall afterward give the reaſon of as it falls in our way. But for the blood of any creature whatſoever, it is abſolutely forbidden; upon an opinion that the very life and ſpirit of the creature is in it: neither is the fleſh of any thing to be eaten that dy'd, and ſo for the caul and fat of a goat, a ſheep, or an ox, it is all prohibited.

Of perſons clean and unclean, Lev. xiii, xiv.

It was alſo order'd that all lepers, and ſuch as labour'd under a gonorrhœa, ſhould be turn'd out of the city; and ſo for women, during the time of their natural purgations, to withdraw from the converſation of men for ſeven days, and then be permitted to return as purified. And ſo for one who has aſſiſted at the burying of a corps, he ſhall not be reputed clean till ſeven days after. But where the pollution exceeded ſeven days, the patient was ordered to ſacrifice two lambs; one to be dedicated, and the prieſts to take the other. And the ſame ſacrifice ſerves in the caſe of nocturnal pollutions; only the patient to plunge himſelf ſtript in cold water, as men uſually do after coition with their lawful wives. But the lepers effectually and to all intents and purpoſes are baniſhed the city and human converſation, as people little better than dead. But if it ſhall pleaſe God to deliver any man from this affliction upon his humble ſupplications, and to reſtore him to a ſound habit again, there are ſeveral ſacrifices which he is oblig'd to offer up to God in acknowledgment of the benefit he had receiv'd: But of this hereafter. This is enough to expoſe the ridiculous folly and groundleſs vanity of that ſtory, which will have Moſes driven out of Egypt as a leper, and therefore none ſo fit as he to conduct the Hebrews into the land of Chanaan, who were all tainted with this malady as well as himſelf. For if it had been true, he would never have eſtabliſhed ſuch a law, for his own honour; but on the contrary, he would rather have oppos'd it, if it had been propounded; eſpecially conſidering that in ſeveral parts of the world lepers are ſo far from being ſubjected to indignities and contempt, that they are many times advanc'd to commiſſions of honour and truſt, in charges

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* Petavius confutes this in his notes upon Epiphanius, p. 63.

military,

2 Kings v. 1-18.

military, eccleſiaſtical, and civil. This is evident from the caſe of Naaman the leper, whom the king of Syria ſo highly eſteemed, as to advance him to be general over all his army, leaning on his hand when he went to worſhip in the houſe of Rimmon his God. Now if Moſes and the multitude were in truth tainted with this malady, how came it that he did not rather eſtabliſh laws in favour of it? Wherefore it is as clear as day, that this ſcandalous report was only a malicious fiction, to make us and our profeſſion odious. But Moſes being clean himſelf, and converſing with thoſe that were ſo, he ordain'd this law for the glory of God, and with a regard to thoſe who were infected. But every man is at liberty to think of this matter as he pleaſes.

Moſes vindicated.

Laws for women in childbed. Lev. xii.

In the caſe of a woman that is newly deliver'd of a child, if it be a male, ſhe is not allow'd to enter the temple, or to be preſent at divine ſervice forty days after; nor, if it be a female, for twice as many. But at the end of the term aforeſaid, ſhe is bound to offer ſacrifices; part to God, and the remainder to the prieſts.

Laws in caſe of adultery, or Jealouſy, Num. v. 14, &c.

If a man ſuſpects his wife of adultery, his offering muſt be an Aſſar of barley-meal; laying a handful of it upon the altar, and giving the reſt to the prieſts to eat. After this ſome one of the prieſts ſets the woman at the gate that looks toward the tabernacle; uncovers her head, and writing the name of God upon a parchment, commands her to declare upon her oath, if ſhe had ever been falſe to her huſband's bed: To which ſhe anſwers with this imprecation: “If I have (ſays ſhe,) may my thigh rot, and my belly burſt, and let me die miſerable: But on the other hand, if it ſhall be found to be only an extravagant jealouſy of my huſband, proceeding from an exceſs of love, I beſeech God to grant me the bleſſing of a male-child, within ten months from this day”. After this oath, the prieſt took water, and waſh'd the ſacred name of God clear out of the parchment; and then ſtraining the water into an earthen veſſel, caſt of the duſt of the floor of the temple into it, and ſo gave it to the woman to drink. If ſhe was innocent, and tax'd unjuſtly, ſhe ſhould ſuddenly conceive, and go happily through with her burden: But if guilty of incontinence and a falſe oath both together, ſhe was ſure to periſh with horror and infamy, her thigh rotting, and her belly burſting, as is ſaid before. Theſe are the laws that Moſes gave to his countrymen, concerning his ſacrifices and purifications: Beſide a preſcription of other laws and proviſions, as follows.

CHAP. XII.

Laws againſt adultery and inceſt. Prieſts reſtrain'd in their marriages. The ſeventh year's ſabbath; and the Hebrews jubilee. Ordinances of war. The people number'd. Two ſilver trumpets, and the uſe of them.

ADULTERY was abſolutely and expreſly forbidden*; Moſes very well underſtanding that there could be no true happineſs in a conjugal ſtate, but in a mutual faith and confidence betwixt man and wife: And likewiſe how much it concerns, as well governments as families, that the members both of the one and the other ſhould be lawfully begotten. He condemn'd inceſt as a moſt horrible wickedneſs; whether with the mother, the ſtepmother, the aunt; whether by father or mother, the ſiſter, or the daughter-in-law. He prohibited the wife to live ſo much as with her own huſband, in the time of her purgations. He pronounc'd it alſo a moſt abominable ſin to have to do with boys, or beaſts; and all theſe tranſgreſſions he made capital.

Inceſt, a horrible wickedneſs. Lev. xviii. xx.

Prieſts not to marry ſome ſorts of women. Lev. xxi. 7.

V. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

No prieſt with a blemiſh to ſerve at the altar, V. 18,–23.

Lev. x. 9.

As to the prieſts, Moſes laid them under a double obligation: For over and above the tying of them up to the ſame laws with other people, they were likewiſe under a prohibition of marrying with ſome ſorts of women, as a mercenary proſtitute, a maid-ſervant, a ſlave, a publick hoſteſs, or a woman divorc'd upon any account whatſoever. Now there were ſome certain allowances alſo permitted to the prieſts in ordinary, and yet deny'd to the high-prieſt; as the marrying of a widow, when the high-prieſt was only to marry a virgin. He was alſo injoin'd not to come near the dead; whereas the other prieſts were ſuffer'd to pay all cuſtomary reſpects to the bodies of their dead fathers, mothers, brothers, or children; Moſes commanding them to behave themſelves with all candour and ſimplicity both in word and deed. If a prieſt happen'd to have upon him any maim or corporal defect, he had his part however of the oblations among his fellows; but Moſes would not ſuffer him to officiate at the altar, or ſo much as to enter into the temple; looking upon it as the duty of a prieſt to demean himſelf with purity and reverence, not only in the exerciſe of his function, but in the government alſo of his life and manners. Thoſe therefore who behave themſelves as they ought to do in the ſacerdotal robe, are ſober, chaſte, and ſpotleſs in all other reſpects, as well as in their office; neither are they allow'd ſo much as to taſte of wine in their prieſt's veſtments: their ſacrifices are offer'd whole, and without blemiſh.

The ſeventh year's ſabbath Lev. xxv. 4.

The year of jubilee, V. 8, 9, &c.

These were the laws that Moſes gave in the deſart, and which he cauſed to be obſerved during his life; preſcribing others alſo for the government of the people when they ſhould come into the poſſeſſion of the land of Chanaan. He order'd every ſeventh year to be a year of reſt to the earth, without either planting or plowing, anſwerable to what he had eſtabliſh'd in the caſe of the ſeventh day. He appointed likewiſe that all the fruits which the earth ſhould produce in that ſeventh year ſhould be in common to ſtrangers as well as Hebrews, without laying up any thing in ſtore. The like was to be done after ſeven times ſeven years; the next year being the fiftieth, or the Hebrews Jubilee, wherein debtors are diſcharg'd, and ſervants made free; that is to ſay, ſuch as for ſome tranſgreſſion of the law had commuted death for ſervitude. Upon the approach of this jubilee, which ſignifies liberty, there is a reſtitution alſo of lands to the antient poſſeſſors; and it is done after this manner: The buyer and ſeller meet about it; and, upon balancing the profits of the eſtate with the expences upon it, if the profit be found greater, the ſeller takes his ground again; but on the other ſide, if the charge exceeds the profit, the purchaſer receives what falls ſhort, and ſo quits the poſſeſſion. If the profit and charge ſhall fall out to be equal, the eſtate returns to the firſt owner: this was the rule alſo upon the ſale of houſes in open villages; but for thoſe in wall'd towns, there was another method, which was this: if the ſeller laid down the purchaſe-money before the year was out, he had a right to re-enter; but the year once elaps'd, the purchaſer was confirm'd in his poſſeſſion. Moſes receiv'd this body of laws from God himſelf upon Mount Sinai, for the people which were then encamp'd at the foot of the mountain, and cauſed them to be committed to writing for the uſe of poſterity.

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* The perſons detected of committing this crime were both to be put to death, Lev. xx. 10.

Ordinances of war, Numb. i.

Moſes numbers the people, ibid.

Ver. 49, 50.

Gen. xlviii. 5.

Moses having now ſufficiently provided for the ſettling of religion, and the civil government, his next buſineſs was to eſtabliſh certain laws and ordinances of war for the regulation of the militia; and the firſt thing he did towards it, was the iſſuing out of orders to the heads of all the tribes, Levi only excepted, to take an exact liſt of the whole number of the people that were able to bear arms. Now the Levites, being dedicated to the ſervice of God, were exempted from attending any other duty. There were found, in fine, upon the view, ſix hundred and three thouſand, ſix hundred and fifty men, from twenty to fifty, who were able to draw the ſword; and in the place of Levi, Moſes made choice of Manaſſeh, the ſon of Joſeph, and of Ephraim for Joſeph himſelf, according to the requeſt of Jacob to Joſeph when he adopted Joſeph's two ſons to himſelf, as is ſaid above.

The Iſraelites manner of camping and decamping, Numb. ii.

Ver. 17.

A review of the Levites, Exod. xl. 34, &c.

Upon their pitching of their tents, the tabernacle was erected in the middle of the camp, with three tribes on every ſide, and large ſtreets and paſſages betwixt them, and alſo with a market-place; where all neceſſaries were to be ſold, and ſeveral ſorts of tradeſmen orderly diſpoſed of in ſhops and ſtandings about it; inſomuch, that it had the reſemblance of a regular and well-contriv'd city. The prieſts and Levites had the quarter aſſign'd them that was next the tabernacle; and an account of the Levites was taken apart; which upon the review amounted to twenty three thouſand eight hundred and eighty males*, reckoning them from the age of thirty days and upwards. So long as the cloud before ſpoken of hover'd over the tabernacle, they took it for an intimation of God's preſence there, and the army reſted and lay ſtill; but as the cloud remov'd, the army decamp'd.

Moſes's ſilver trumpets, and the uſe of them, Numb. x. 2–10.

Moses caus'd two ſilver trumpets to be made according to this deſcription: they were near a cubit in length, the tube about the ſize of a flute, ſomewhat larger than a reed, and juſt wide enough in the mouth to receive the breath for the toning of it, turning up at the end like the mouth of a bell, or of an ordinary trumpet. The Hebrews call this inſtrument Aſophra. One of them was to call the people together, the other to ſummon a council of the princes about affairs of ſtate, and the ſounding of both together was a ſummons for a general aſſembly. Upon the moving of the tabernacle, this was the method: the three tribes to the eaſtward of it were to decamp upon the firſt ſounding; thoſe to the ſouthward upon the ſecond; the tabernacle was then to be taken in pieces, and mounted upon carriages, half and half, betwixt ſix tribes marching before it, and the other ſix following it; the Levites all this while keeping cloſe to it, and round about it. Upon the third ſounding, that part of the camp mov'd that was toward the weſt; and upon the fourth, that to the northward. They made uſe of theſe trumpets alſo in their ſacrifices, and upon their ſabbaths, and other occaſions. Moſes now ſacrific'd, and it was the firſt paſchal ſolemnity after that in the deſart, celebrated by the Iſraelites ſince their coming out of Egypt.

CHAP. XIII.

A murmuring againſt Moſes for want of food, and a flight of quails to ſupply it.

A ſecond mutiny for want of food, Numb. xi. 4–6.

THE army was now decamp'd from Mount Sinai, and paſſing from place to place, (of which hereafter,) they came at laſt to Iſeremoth, where the multitude fell into a direct ſedition againſt Moſes, telling him that it was through his perſuaſion they were ſeduced out of one of the beſt countries in the world, the plenty whereof they not only ſtood in need of at preſent, but inſtead of the bleſſings he had promiſed them, were forced to wander up and down, reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs and neceſſity, being already upon the point of periſhing for want of water; and if their manna ſhould now fail them, they ſhould be all ſtarved to death beyond redemption. When they had gone on a while, reviling the good man after this inſolent and outrageous manner, one of the company told them, they ſhould do well to call to mind the many and ſignal ſervices Moſes had formerly done them, and wholly to caſt themſelves upon the goodneſs of God for their relief; but this made the matter ſtill worſe and worſe, and ſerv'd only to inflame the mutineers. When Moſes ſaw the multitude abandon'd to this degree of deſperation, he ſpake words of kindneſs and comfort to them, notwithſtanding all the provoking affronts and indignities that had been put upon himſelf; bidding them depend upon it that they ſhould ſuddenly have fleſh ſufficient to ſupply them many days; but they gave no credit to him, but breaking out into violent exclamations, one of them, in ſcorn, asked him, how he could poſſibly take upon him to feed ſo many thouſands? His anſwer was this, That God and his ſervant Moſes would ſee them provided for, notwithſtanding all their reproaches, and it ſhould be ſuddenly too. The word was no ſooner out, but the whole camp was fill'd with quails, and the people gather'd them up; but it was not long before God took vengeance upon the Hebrews for their inſolence and impudence againſt himſelf and Moſes; for they were viſited with a plague that coſt a great many of them their lives. The place where this judgment befel them is call'd Cabrothaba, or the graves of luſt.

The miracle of quails, Ver. 31–34.

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* The Scripture ſays, Numb. iii. 39–43. that the number of the Levites, from a month old and upwards, amounted to twenty two thouſand two hundred and ſeventy three, which falls ſomething ſhort of this account.

CHAP. XIV.

Spies ſent into Chanaan. The delicacy and plenty of the country tempts the deputies, but are aſfrighted at its vaſt ſtrength and fortifications. A conſpiracy againſt Moſes. Joſhua and Caleb quiet the ſedition. Moſes and Aaron obtain mercy for the people.

Numb. xiii, 14.

WHEN Moſes had brought the people into a place call'd the Streights, upon the borders of Chanaan, a very incommodious quarter to live in, he call'd them together, and ſpake to them after this manner: "There are, ſays he, two bleſſings that God has promis'd us; liberty, and the enjoyment of a happy land. By his gracious bounty at this inſtant ye are in poſſeſſion of one of them, and it will not be long before you come to be eſtabliſhed in the other. We are already upon the borders of Chanaan, and it is not in the power of any king, city, or nation to hinder our progreſs into the other. Let us therefore in the firſt place provide an army for the war; for there will be no gaining of this country but by war, nor ſhall we ever obtain an entire conqueſt over them, without firſt fighting a great many bloody battles; wherefore let us ſend ſpies to take a view of the condition of the land, and the ſtrength of the people; but above all things, let us be unanimous, and aſcribe all honour to God, who will both aſſiſt us and fight for us."

Moſes ſends ſpies into the land of Chanaan, Numb. xiii. 16--25.

WHEN Moſes had made an end of ſpeaking, the people highly approv'd of what he ſaid, and upon his motion made choice of twelve eminent men, one out of every tribe, to ſend before them for diſcovery. They travelled through the whole land of Chanaan, from Egypt and the parts thereabouts, as far as the city Amathe and Mount Libanus. When they had well examined the nature of the ſoil, the ſtate of the country, and the manners of the inhabitants, they came back again, with a particular account of what they had ſeen, finiſhing the whole work in forty days. The report they made was ſo much to the advantage of the place for a delicious fruitful country, and the ſamples of the fruits themſelves that they brought along with them, were ſo tempting and lovely, that the people were one and all for a war to make themſelves maſters of it. But then, on the other hand, when the deputies came to reflect on the difficulties of the enterprize, the impaſſable rivers, and inacceſſible mountains and precipices, the ſtrong holds, and fortified cities that were to encounter upon the way, beſide a race of giants in Hebron, of ſo monſtrous a bulk and ſtrength, that from their coming out of Egypt to that very inſtant they had never ſeen any thing comparable to them: their own hearts fail'd them in the firſt place, and ſo they infected the multitude with the ſame apprehenſion.

The deputies frighted at the relation of the country, Ver. 28, 29, &c.

THE people were ſo diſcourag'd upon this diſcourſe at the hazard of the undertaking, that they brake up in a confuſion, and ſpent that whole night with their wives and children in lamentations and outcries againſt God and Moſes. God promiſes fair, they cry'd, but he does nothing for us. Then they fell again to exclaiming againſt Moſes and his brother Aaron the high-prieſt. When they had paſs'd away the night in outrage and blaſphemy, they join'd early the next morning in a conſpiracy to ſtone Moſes and Aaron out of hand, and ſo return back again into Egypt.

Another mutiny againſt Moſes, Num. xiv. 1--4.

UPON this deſperate diſorder, Joſhua the ſon of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, and Caleb of the tribe of Judah, (being the two only diſſenters of the twelve that had been employ'd in the diſcovery,) ſtood up in the middle of the congregation, and did all that was poſſible to appeaſe the multitude for fear of the dreadful conſequences that might attend ſuch a tumult, delivering themſelves in words to this effect: "How is it poſſible for you, good people, to diſtruſt the veracity and goodneſs of God, and at the ſame time to give credit to vain ſtories and amuſements about the land of Chanaan, that are ſpread abroad on purpoſe to affright and abuſe you? why ſhould not you rather believe, and follow thoſe who have taken ſo much pains to put you into the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of thoſe bleſſings? what's the height of mountains, or the depth of rivers to men of undaunted ſpirits, and vigorous reſolutions, eſpecially when God is both their protector and defender; wherefore let us advance and attack the enemy, they cry'd, without ſo much as the leaſt queſtion of the event; only truſt God for your guide, and follow us where we lead you." This was the courſe they took to pacify the people; but Moſes and Aaron in the mean time threw themſelves proſtrate upon the ground, and beſought God, not for their own ſakes, but to compoſe the troubled minds of the ignorant people, and to deliver them from the diſtemper of their impotent paſſion: their prayers were heard, and there appear'd a cloud over the tabernacle, giving them to underſtand that God was preſent.

Joſhua and Caleb quiet the ſedition, Ver. 6--9.

Moſes and Aaron intercede for them, and their prayers are heard, Ver. 5.

A cloud appears over the tabernacle in token of God's favour, Ver. 10.

CHAP. XV.

Moſes tells the people from God, that they themſelves ſhould never enter into the land of Chanaan, but that their children ſhould. They repent and humble themſelves. Moſes, a perſon of great credit and authority. A miſerable famine in the reign of Claudius.

MOSES, in the ſtrength and confidence of this viſion, thruſts himſelf into the crowd, and there laid before the people the judgments that God had denounc'd againſt them for their inſolence and diſobedience; not as a puniſhment anſwerable to the degree of the tranſgreſſion, but as a fatherly correction to his children; "for, ſays he, upon my entering into the tabernacle with ſupplications and tears, to deprecate the wrath and vengeance of God Almighty, that he might not utterly deſtroy you from off the face of the earth, God was pleaſed to repreſent how ungrateful a return you had made him for all his benefits, and the indignity you have now offer'd him in giving more credit to the miſrepreſentations and falſe reports of your ſpies, than to the promiſes of God himſelf. I can yet aſſure you after this, that you ſhall not all periſh; neither will God ever ſuffer the race of his choſen people

A denouncing prediction, Ver. 29, 30, &c.

“ to be wholly rooted out; but for the land of Chanaan, you muſt never expect to enjoy either the poſſeſſion or the comforts of it; for you are condemn'd to a wandering life for forty years in the wilderneſs, without either houſe or home, as a puniſhment for your iniquities. Now this will not hinder, but that in God's good time your children ſhall yet come to be lords of that bleſſed land, which their fathers rendered themſelves unworthy of, by their ſtubbornneſs and unbelief.”

The people repent and ſubmit, Ver. 39, 40.

Upon this dreadful prediction thus denounced by Moſes, the people were all ſtruck with aſtoniſhment and dread, and implor'd him to intercede with God Almighty on their behalf, to pardon their ſins, to deliver them out of the wilderneſs, and put them in poſſeſſion of the promiſed land. He told them that it was not with God as it is with men in the caſes of human frailty, to be wrought upon by unreaſonable importunities; for the proceedings of the Almighty are founded upon certain knowledge, wiſdom, and juſtice; and it was upon this ground that ſentence had now paſſed upon them. It may be wonder'd at, perhaps, that Moſes, being but one man, ſhould be able to encounter the rage of ſo many thouſands, and bring them at laſt within the bounds of moderation and reaſon; but God aſſiſting him, the minds of the multitude were prepared to be overcome: they had found by woeful experience, upon ſeveral mutinies and eſſays of ſedition, that their ſtubbornneſs in reſiſting the divine will did them no good.

Moſes a perſon of great power and credit.

Moses was a wonderful man alſo in divers other reſpects; that is to ſay, for his piety and reſolution; and ſo likewiſe for the credit he had got in the world, to be believ'd in whatever he ſaid; and that not only in his life-time, but his authority continues ſtill as ſacred to poſterity; for the Hebrews ſtand in as much awe of his laws and precepts at this very day, as if he himſelf were preſent to puniſh them for their diſobedience, and their conſciences accuſe them without need of any other witneſſes. One might give ſeveral inſtances in proof of the veneration all men had for him, as a perſon of an authority more than human, and this for one among others: there was once ſome people who came from beyond Euphrates, not without great hazard and expence, a four months journey, out of a reſpect to our way of worſhip: they offer'd ſacrifice, but were not allow'd any part of their own offering, the law of Moſes in ſome caſes forbidding it; others were not permitted to ſacrifice at all, and ſome again were forced to give off when they had but half performed their ſacrifices; others, in fine, were not ſo much as admitted into the temple, and ſo contentedly departed, chuſing rather to acquieſce in the appointments of Moſes, than to gratify their own inclinations; * and this out of no other apprehenſion than from their own conſciences: but looking upon the laws themſelves as of divine inſtitution, they had the greater reverence for the legiſlator. There happen'd not long ſince in the reign of Claudius, and in the pontificate of Iſhmael, a little before the Jewiſh war, ſo pinching a famine in Judea, that flour was ſold at four drachma's an Aſſar †. There was brought up at that time to the feaſt of unleavened bread ſeventy Corus's; ‖ that is to ſay, thirty one Sicilian Medimni, and forty one Attick. The prieſts were ready to ſtarve for want of bread, and yet not ſo much as one man of them touch'd the leaſt bit of this proviſion, ſo tender were they of their duty to the law, and of incurring God's diſpleaſure, even for their moſt ſecret ſins. Who then ſhall any longer doubt of the wonders Moſes wrought, when our very enemies are forc'd to acknowledge the divinity of the writings he hath left behind him, and to confeſs that the founder of our commonwealth was no other than the immediate inſtrument of God himſelf? But every man is left to the liberty of his own thoughts.

A dreadful famine in the days of Claudius.

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* See Selden de Synedriis Hebr. lib. ii. c. 3, p. 70. Ed. Amſtel.

† Viz. One pound and three quarters, at two ſhillings and ſeven pence.

‖ See a letter of Salmaſius in the third Faſciculus, publiſh'd by Crenius.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK IV.

From the Year of the World 2455 to 2493.

CHAP. I.

The Iſraelites make war upon the Chanaanites, contrary to the advice of Moſes, and are ſhamefully overthrown.

Numbers xiv. 2, 3.

THE Hebrews underwent a great many hardſhips in the wilderneſs; and it was yet the moſt ſenſible part of their calamity, that God would not give them leave to make war upon the Chanaanites. Their hearts, in ſhort, were fully ſet upon't; but Moſes, from time to time, adviſing them ſtill againſt it, they told him plainly in the concluſion, "That they would " e'en go their own way to work, and do their " buſineſs without him. He had a mind, they " ſaid, to keep them in miſery, and make " himſelf neceſſary to them, and that was all " he look'd after." Under this perſuaſion, they unadviſedly and raſhly reſolv'd upon the war, depending, as they ſaid, upon God for his aſſiſtance: not ſo much for Moſes's ſake, as for the love he bare to their nation, and to the memory of their worthy anceſtors. They made no doubt, but if they behav'd themſelves like men, he who had formerly given them freedom, would now give them victory: or at worſt, they could deal well enough with the Chanaanites, even though Moſes ſhould do all he could to ſet God againſt them. "We " are to maintain our common liberty, they " cry'd, without leaping out of one ſlavery " into another. What matter is it to us, whe- " ther we ſerve the Egyptians or Moſes? we " change our maſter, 'tis true, but not our " condition, ſo long as we ſuffer ourſelves to " be ſeduc'd by the illuſions of this man's va- " nity and ambition. What a ſtir does he keep " with ſtories of his divine colloquies and re- " velations, as if Moſes was the only confi- " dent to the privacies of God's ſecret pur- " poſes and counſels! are not all we here of the " race of Abraham, as well as he? how comes " Moſes then by the ſole privilege of a divine " preſcience, and a gift by himſelf in the fa- " culty of foretelling things to come? is not " this the land that God has promiſ'd us? why " do we not diſpatch then, and take poſſeſſion " of it, without being fool'd any longer un- " der a maſque of ſeeking God, and ſubjecting " ourſelves to the arrogance of one ſingle per- " ſon? let us bethink ourſelves, as we ought

The Hebrews bent upon a war with the Chanaanites, Ver. 40, 41, 42.

They fall foul upon Moſes for oppoſing it, ibid.

A dangerous mutiny.

“to do, of our preſent diſtreſs; the inconveniencies of a deſart; our wants daily growing upon us, &c. and what remedy at laſt, but fighting the Chanaanites out of hand, taking God for our leader, without troubling our heads any longer for the conſent of our legiſlator.” This was the unanimous ſenſe and reſolution of the field; and in this heat the Hebrews advanced furiouſly againſt the enemy: but neither the fierceneſs of the charge, nor the odds of number was able to daunt or diſmay the Chanaanites; for they bravely ſtood the ſhock, and routed the Hebrews; kill'd a great many upon the place, and purſued the reſt, who ran away moſt ſhamefully, even to their very camp. This unexpected defeat very much dejected the Hebrews; for they were ſtill in fear of worſe to come, and ſo conſcious of a raſh and preſumptuous action, in attempting a battle without God's direction, that they look'd upon this overthrow as a juſt judgment for their fool-hardy wilfulneſs.

The Hebrews attack the Chanaanites, Numb. xiv. 44.

and are beaten out of the field, V. 45.

The overthrow a juſt judgment.

The ſpirits of the multitude were ſo broken and ſunk with this diſaſter, and the Chanaanites on the other hand ſo puffed up and elevated with the ſucceſs, that Moſes found no better expedient in this extremity, than to march them back again into the wilderneſs, for fear the enemy ſhould follow the blow, and do them yet a greater miſchief. The people were convinc'd by this miſcarriage, that nothing proſper'd with them, but by the advice of Moſes: ſo that upon the promiſe of an unconditional obedience to him for the future, the Hebrews decamp'd, and went back into the deſart, with a reſolution never to attempt any thing again upon the Chanaanites, without a direction from heaven.

Moſes leads them back again into the the deſart.

CHAP. II.

The ſchiſm of Corah againſt Moſes and Aaron, about the high-prieſthood.

The levity and violence of a multitude, Numb. xvi.

A deſperate ſedition, ib.

BUT it far'd here, as it does commonly with other great bodies, when things go croſs; there will be complaints, faction, calumnies, and diſobedience; and ſo it happen'd with the Jews. They were ſix hundred thouſand men upon the muſter, and a people not over tractable, at beſt, to their ſuperiors; but upon any pinch of neceſſity or misfortune altogether intolerable; as well one to another as to their governors. This malevolent humour of theirs gave a riſe to the moſt formidable ſedition that ever was heard of, either amongſt Greeks or Barbarians; and it had deſtroy'd them to all manner of purpoſes, if Moſes had not interpos'd to the preſerving of them, generouſly forgetting and forgiving all paſt injuries, even from thoſe very people who were ſo lately within a little of ſtoning him to death. But after all the indignities they had put, not only upon their legiſlator, but effectually upon God himſelf, in contemning his commandments, providence would not yet totally caſt them off, but graciouſly deliver'd them from the imminent danger of the moſt deſperate defection that ever was contriv'd. We are now to ſhew what this ſedition was, and how Moſes manag'd affairs after it was compos'd; but firſt of the cauſe and occaſion of it.

The ſedition of Corah, ib.

There was one Corah, a perſon of diſtinction among the Hebrews, both for his blood and his poſſeſſions, and one who had the art of humouring the people; no man living more popular. This Corah, ſeeing Moſes advanced above all his fellows, and in the exerciſe of ſovereign power, took up an envious pique againſt him. Now being both of a tribe, and kindred, Corah, the wealthier of the two, and of as good a family, he thought it hard that Moſes ſhould have the preference; wherefore he would be often venting his complaints and reſentment, and expreſſing his uneaſineſs upon that head, which made a mighty noiſe among the Levites, and his relations, wherever he uttered his diſcourſe. “Why, 'tis an intolerable ſcandal, ſays he, for Moſes to take upon him at this rate, and to carry on his ambition thus under a maſque of holineſs and religion; and by that means to raiſe himſelf a reputation to the wrong of other men: as he gave lately the prieſthood, and other dignities to his brother Aaron, without any right or colour for it, no conſent of the people to't, nor any pretext of authority, ſave only his own arbitrary will and pleaſure. And that which makes it worſe yet, is his artful way of inſinuation, whereby he inſenſibly makes himſelf maſter of the government; ſo that the people have loſt their liberty before they well know his drift. He that in his own conſcience finds himſelf worthy to be a ruler, will take the good-will and approbation of the people along with him, without any need of violence for the gaining of his end. Nay, in many caſes, where fairneſs and honeſty will not do the work, the very fame of probity and ſquare dealing keeps men within ſome tolerable compaſs. But then what cannot be effected by force, may be ſupply'd by craft and undermining: and that dark way of proceeding ought to be made exemplary in time, before it breaks out into open practices upon the ſtate. What ſufficient reaſon can Moſes bring for his conferring the high-prieſthood upon Aaron, and his ſons after him? if God, ſays he, has annexed the honour to the tribe of Levi, I myſelf may pretend a right to the preference, being of the ſame ſtock with Moſes, and his ſuperior, both for riches and years. Or if it be to paſs by ſeniority, it belongs to the tribe of Rubel; to Dathan, Abiram, and Phala, who are the ſeniors of that tribe, and men of eminent credit every way among them.”

A faction ſet up againſt Moſes for taking ſo much upon him;

and advancing his brother Aaron to the high-prieſt-hood, ib.

Corah's ambition cover'd under a pretence of the publick good, ib.

Corah's pretext all this while was the publick good; but his buſineſs, in truth, was to inſinuate himſelf into the high-prieſthood, by the ſupplanting of Aaron. This calumny was deliver'd in terms plauſible enough, and ſo it paſſed from one to another, ſtill increaſing as it ſpread, till in the end the whole camp was full of it, and no leſs than two hundred and fifty of the principal men among them join'd with the faction, in a conſpiracy to take away the high-prieſthood from the brother of Moſes, and transfer it to Corah. This ſet the multitude all in an uproar, crouding up to the tabernacle, and bawling out, “ſtone him, ſtone him; take away this tyrant, and ſet the people at liberty from the unmerciful oppreſſions that this man lays upon us. If God had had a hand, they cry'd, in this choice,

The whole camp in a mutiny; and two hundred and fifty leading men in the party, Ver. 17.

An outcry to have Moſes ſton'd.

“he would never have conſer'd the honour upon a perſon ſo much below the dignity of the function; or if God had deſign'd it for Aaron, it ſhould have come to him by the ſuffrage of the people, not by the favour of his brother.”

Moses knew very well what Corah was a doing, and what effect his artificial way of ſlander had upon the enrag'd multitude. But in the comfort and ſupport of a good conſcience, and in the certain knowledge that his brother was promoted to the prieſthood by God's appointment, and not upon any private account of his own, he made no difficulty (being well ſkill'd in popular arts) of preſenting himſelf before the people; and ſo he addreſſes himſelf to Corah in words to this effect:

Moſes's defence, Numb. xvi. 4--15.

“I give it for granted, Corah, ſays he, that you yourſelf, or any one of your noble companions here (pointing at the two hundred and fifty of the faction) is worthy of honour; in the mean time, not excluding the reſt of this multitude of people, how inferior ſoever to yourſelf, upon the compariſon, either in riches or other accompliſhments. Aaron was not made high-prieſt for his wealth, you yourſelf are worth as much as both of us: nor for his nobility, for we are all of a family, and derive from the ſame progenitor: neither did I, induced by any partial motive of affection or conſanguinity, rob any man of his right in what I gave to my brother; for if I had any thing in my eye but honour and juſtice, I ſhould have given it to myſelf inſtead of him, ſince charity begins at home; beſide that I muſt have been a mad man to expoſe myſelf to danger, by doing an ill thing for another, and reaping no benefit by it myſelf: but far be it from me to be guilty of ſuch an improbity! God Almighty would never have ſuffer'd either himſelf to be contemn'd, or you to be ignorant of the moſt acceptable things you could do to pleaſe him. It was God himſelf who choſe the prieſt, and it was God's act that has diſcharg'd me of the crime. But now ſuppoſing Aaron to be poſſeſs'd of the holy character purely by a divine choice, and without any inclination of partiality of mine to intervene, he ſhall make no difficulty of caſting the cauſe upon your ſuffrages yet over again, without inſiſting upon the legality of what has been done already, though with your own approbation. This is to ſhew you that he hath no ambition in him, and that he is ready to part with any thing, let it be never ſo much his right, for the purchaſing of your peace. As to the acceptance of what God has been pleaſed to offer us, there can be no offence in it; and ſo on the other hand, it would have been highly impious to have refuſ'd it. But nothing however can be more reaſonable than to allow the benefactor a right of ratifying and making good his own bounty; wherefore you cannot do better than to refer the matter once again even to God himſelf, and ſo to abide by the perſon he ſhall be pleaſed to make choice of for the ſacred function. Now it would be a ſtrange thing for you, Corah, by your ambition, to bar God the liberty of chuſing his own prieſt: this is the very caſe, and without any further controverſy, one day more will bring this point to an iſſue. Let all the pretenders to this dignity appear to-morrow morning, with their cenſers in their hands, and fire and incenſe in them. You muſt have patience, Corah, and wait God's determination, without preſuming to ſet up your own authority above his; but do you appear alſo yourſelf among the other candidates for the dignity; and I know not why Aaron may not come up too, as one of the family, and a perſon who hath behav'd himſelf unblameably in the function. When you are all together, offer up your incenſe in the ſight of the people, and let that perſon whoſe ſacrifice ſhall be moſt acceptable to God, be declar'd to be the high-prieſt, and then in courſe confirm'd by my authority. This will bring the whole matter in diſpute to a fair accommodation, and likewiſe diſcharge me from the calumny of partiality towards my brother.”

Moſes's appeal, Ver. 16, 17.

CHAP. III.

God's judgment upon Corah, Dathan, and Abiram; and the prieſthood ſettled upon Aaron and his poſterity.

WITH this diſcourſe Moſes both quieted the people, and ingratiated himſelf into their better opinion at the ſame time, inſomuch that they look'd upon all he ſaid as exceedingly to the purpoſe, and gave him, in fine, the character of a very good and wiſe man; and here the council broke up.

The next morning all the people gather'd together to attend the ſacrifice, and to ſee the event of the election then in queſtion. The multitude was tumultuous and uneaſy, divided in their inclinations, and not a little ſolicitous betwixt hope and fear, what might be the iſſue of that conteſt. Some were for having Moſes expoſ'd, but the men of ſenſe and ſobriety were for peace and quietneſs; for if the rabble got a head once, they did not know but they might overturn the government; for the common people are naturally fond of new things, reproachful and envious againſt their ſuperiors, apt to receive and ſpread calumnies, and carried about with every wind or rumour. Moſes however ſent a ſummons to Dathan and Abiram, commanding them to attend the buſineſs of the day, and put in their claims as they pretended; but the meſſengers brought word back that they abſolutely refuſed, ſaying, that Moſes had gotten a power into his hands by indirect means, and that they were reſolved to ſubmit no longer to the uſurpation. Upon this anſwer and return, Moſes call'd to ſuch and ſuch of the elders as he thought proper, and bad them follow him, which they did, without any difficulty or delay, Moſes not thinking it an action unworthy of him to go in perſon to the rebellious faction. Dathan and his companions hearing that Moſes and his train were coming towards them, went out of their tents with their wives and children, and there ſtood waiting to ſee what would become of this extraordinary viſit; but with their guards all at hand to repel force by force, in caſe of any violence. Moſes went peaceably forward

The people divided, Ver. 19.

The humour of the common people.

They diſclaim his authority, Ver. 12.

Moſes bids the elders follow him, and they go to the faction, Ver. 25.

Dathan and his companions advance toward them, Ver. 27.

forward till he came to Dathan, and then lifting up his hands to Heaven, he call'd upon God with a loud voice, that the whole multitude might hear him.

Moſes's ſecond appeal to God upon the juſtice of his cauſe, Num. xvi. 28.

“ Blessed God, ſays he, thou who art the Lord of the Heavens, the earth, and the ſea, the irrefragable witneſs of all my actions, and that whatever I have hitherto done hath been perfectly in obedience to thy ſpecial direction: thou who in compaſſion to the Hebrews haſt ſo graciouſly provided for them in their flight, and in their miſerable neceſſities, having been likewiſe upon all occaſions my conſtant ſupport, Lord hear my prayer: thou who knoweſt all things, and ſearcheſt the very ſecrets of our hearts, vouchſafe to bring the truth to light, and to lay open the ingratitude of my unrighteous accuſers: thou who art privy to the whole hiſtory of paſt ages, and of my life in particular, not by hearſay, but upon certain and infallible knowledge; Lord do thou bear teſtimony to my innocence, againſt the malicious calumniators of my integrity and conduct: thou knoweſt, good God, that at ſuch time as I was ſettled in the comfortable ſtate of a quiet eaſy life, under thy bleſſing, upon my induſtry, and by the kindneſs of my father-in-law Raguel *, quitted all the pleaſures and conveniences of a plentiful and a ſafe privacy, in exchange for troubleſome and dangerous commiſſions on the behalf of theſe people; expoſing myſelf firſt for their liberty, and now for their ſecurity, to all labours and hazards. But ſince ſo it is, after all this, that I am now fallen under the jealouſy and diſpleaſure of thoſe very people, who by my care and providence have been redeem'd out of ſo many extremities; Lord, ſays he, thou who didſt vouchſafe to appear to thy ſervant out of the fire upon Mount Sinai, to let him hear thy voice, and make him a witneſs of the prodigies they wrought: thou who gaveſt him the honour of an embaſſy into Egypt, bringing down the Egyptians pride, and delivering the Hebrews out of their bondage: thou, ſays Moſes, who laidſt the power of Pharaoh at my feet, turning the ſea into dry land, and that dry land into ſea again, for the ſafety of thy people, and the confuſion of the Egyptians, furniſhing thoſe with arms that were defenceleſs, converting corrupt water into ſweet, fetching fountains out of rocks in the extremity of drought, food out of the ſea, and meat from Heaven to ſupply their wants, (a thing never heard of before.) Lord, ſays he, thou who haſt laid the foundations of our government, and modell'd our laws: thou who art the judge and witneſs of all things, avenge my cauſe, and bear this teſtimony for me, that I never was corrupted into the favour of an unjuſt cauſe, or of a rich man againſt a poor; and yet now Lord, ſays he, I find male adminiſtration laid to my charge, as if I had elevated my brother to the high-prieſthood, not by divine appointment, but by the impulſe of a private affection, and without any authority from above for what I did. Lord, be pleaſed to make it appear now, that all things are govern'd by thy providence, and brought to paſs by the interpoſition of thy holy will, not by chance; and out of thy wonted kindneſs to the Hebrews, vindicate thyſelf unto them, upon Dathan and Abiram, for the inſolence of ſuggeſting thee to be circumvented by my impoſtures; which is all one with rendering thee paſſive and inſenſible. Lord, ſays he, viſit theſe blaſphemous detractors from thy glory with an exemplary vengeance; let them not die the common death of other men; but as they are not worthy to live upon the earth, let the earth ſwallow them up with their families and ſubſtance, for the honour of thy power, and for a document to ages to come, that they may think more reverently of thy divine majeſty; and if I myſelf ſhall be found guilty of the charge exhibited againſt me, may all thoſe curſes light upon my own head, and my oppoſers be happy and free. But when thou ſhalt pour out thy wrath upon the diſobedient and the troublers of thy people, Lord, preſerve the reſt in peace and unity, ſafe and untouch'd, who live in a dutiful conformity to thy commandments; neither will it ſtand with the methods of thy juſtice, either to confound the innocent with the offenders, or to puniſh the guiltleſs for the faults of the guilty.”

These words were interrupted with tears, when all on a ſudden the earth fell a trembling into an agitation, like the rolling of an angry ſea in a ſtorm, which ſtruck the whole multitude with a profound aſtoniſhment and horror; and a diſmal outcry was heard upon it, that ran through all their tents. In the concluſion, the ground open'd under the feet of the faction with a terrible noiſe, and ſwallow'd them all up, every man of them, with all that appertained to them, cloſing again immediately ſo exactly, that the very mark of the rupture was not to be perceiv'd.

The earth opens, and ſwallows up Dathan and his train, Ver. 32, 33.

This was the end of a ſeditious ſchiſmatical faction, and an illuſtrious inſtance it was of God's providence and power at once; and to make the caſe ſtill more dreadful, there was not ſo much as one of all their relations and acquaintances who pitied them. Nay, the whole multitude had nothing in their mouths but joy and acclamations, in contemplation of this effort of divine juſtice: they look'd no further back upon things paſt, than to raiſe in them a deteſtation for the memory of thoſe people, as the peſt of their nation, and men who did not deſerve ſo much as human tenderneſs. After the extinction of Dathan and his complices, Moſes conven'd the candidates for the pontificate, committing the choice to God once more, to be confer'd upon him whoſe ſacrifice ſhould appear to be beſt accepted. There was gather'd together two hundred and fifty perſons, that both for their fathers ſakes and their own, had an eminent reputation among the people; and with theſe men came forth Aaron and Corah, who ſtanding before the tabernacle, offer'd ſuch incenſe in their cenſers as they brought with them. While they were thus employ'd, there appear'd all in an inſtant, ſo fierce a fire, that the flame of burning mountains, the conflagration of

Who fall unpitied by all their relations and friends.

The choice put to a ſecond trial, Ver. 6, 7.

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* Scrip. Jethro

whole foreſts, with winds and bruſh-wood to aſſiſt it, were nothing in compariſon to it. It was clear and flagrant, and came undoubtedly from Heaven; for no natural ingredients could have produc'd ſo ſubtle a flame. By the force of this fire, Corah, together with his two hundred and fifty companions, were ſo totally conſum'd, that there was not ſo much as any remainder of their carcaſes to be found; only Aaron ſurviv'd, untouch'd, as a moſt certain evidence that this was the ſupernatural work of an Almighty power. Moſes, for the perpetual memory of this judgment, in the tranſmitting of it to poſterity, commanded Eleazar, the ſon of Aaron, to faſten their cenſers about a brazen altar, as a monument for a warning to generations to come, that God Almighty is not to be deceived or impoſed upon by human cunning. By this time it was evident, beyond all contradiction, that Aaron was not elevated to the pontificate through his own ambition, or his brother's particular favour, but by God's appointment; and that he held it ever after by the ſame title.

Corah and his companions conſum'd with fire from Heaven, Numb. xiv. 35.

A brazen altar erected for a memorial, Ver. 30—40.

CHAP. IV.

What beſel the Iſraelites in the deſart, during the ſpace of thirty eight years.

Ver. 14.

The Iſraelites impute all their calamities to Moſes.

BUT all this did not yet wholly extinguiſh the ſpirit of rebellion among the people; for it was follow'd with another ſedition, worſe, if poſſible, than the former, which took its riſe from ſuch cauſes as in all likelihood would not be eaſily ſuppreſs'd; for when they had once taken up a perſuaſion that all things came to paſs by providence, and by the will of God, they reckon'd every thing to be done for Moſes's ſake; ſo that all the ſeverities of divine juſtice were charged to his account, as if God would not have been ſo rigorous againſt ſinners, if Moſes had not preſs'd him to it, and that it was not ſo much for their wickedneſs that they were puniſh'd, as to gratify Moſes. “What was the fault, they cry'd, of all thoſe noble and excellent men who loſt their lives at Moſes's inſtigation, but the exceſſive zeal and affection they had for the worſhip of their God? and Moſes, they ſaid, made his profit of theirs and of the people's ruin, by confirming his brother in the pontifical dignity, and intailing it upon his line; for after paying ſo dear for the competition, no body elſe would ever pretend to it again for the future.” Now this was a time for the relations of the deceas'd to manage with the multitude, and to dilate upon the abſolute neceſſity of putting ſome timely check to the pride and exorbitant power of Moſes; “which the people might eaſily do, they ſaid, and it concern'd them to take it into their care.” Moſes found a ſtorm coming, and very prudently to prevent the ill conſequences that might probably follow upon ſuch a tumultuary practice and diſpoſition, he order'd an aſſembly to be call'd, where he heard their grievances, and without one word of anſwer, for fear of making matters worſe, appointed the heads of the tribes to bring their rods, with the names of their tribes inſcrib'd upon them, and he to be prefer'd to the dignity upon whoſe rod ſhould be found any particular mark of God's favour: this they all agreed to, and brought their rods with inſcriptions as directed, Aaron among the reſt; and his rod bear the inſcription of the tribe of Levi. Moſes laid them up for the preſent in the tabernacle of God, and the next day produc'd them, which were eaſily known again; for the princes that brought them, and the reſt of the people, ſaw their own marks upon them: they found all the reſt of the rods juſt in the ſame condition as they left them the day before, only Aaron's ſprouted out with branches and buds; and which was yet a greater wonder, bearing ripe almonds, the rod being of the wood of the almond-tree. The ſtrangeneſs of this ſpectacle ſtruck the people with the utmoſt ſurprize, and intirely extinguiſhed that animoſity and enmity which they had conceived againſt Moſes and Aaron; and they all ſtood in admiration at the judgment of God, reſign'd themſelves to his holy pleaſure, and yielded the right of the election to Aaron, who was now the third time confirm'd by God himſelf in the prieſthood, where it reſted for the future without any contradiction. This, in fine, put a happy period to the troubles of the Hebrews, after a long courſe of violence and ſedition.

Moſes appoints the tribes to bring in their rods, Numb. xvii.

Aaron's rod buds, Numb. xvii. 8.

Aaron's election farther confirm'd.

THE tribe of Levi being ſet apart for the ſervice of God in holy offices and duties, Moſes exempted them from the burden of all military charges; and for fear the care of providing neceſſaries for life might divert them from attending the duties of their function, he order'd it, that ſo ſoon as ever the land of Chanaan ſhould by God's aſſiſtance come to be conquer'd, there ſhould be forty eight of the beſt and choiceſt cities allotted for the entertainment of the Levites, with two thouſand cubits of land round about, and contiguous to the walls of the place, beſide the impoſition of a tenth part of the yearly profits ariſing from the fruits of the earth, to be paid as a duty on the whole people, to the prieſts and Levites; which hath been religiouſly obſerv'd ever ſince. Let this ſuffice as to the revenue of this tribe upon the people, and we ſhall now come to what directly belongs to the prieſts themſelves.

The Levites exempted from military offices.

The prieſts allowance.

MOSES provided, that of the eight and forty cities before mention'd, the Levites ſhould yield thirteen of them to the prieſts, and the tenth part of the tithes, beſide the firſt-fruits of all the products of the earth, as an offering to God. The firſtling of all quadrupedes offer'd in ſacrifice, if a male, was to be brought to the prieſts to ſacrifice, to be eaten in the holy city with their family; but for thoſe which the law of the country will not permit to be eaten, the owner ſhall preſent a ſhekel and a half * inſtead of a firſtling, and for the firſt-born of a man five ſhekels; and there is a duty alſo to be allow'd upon wool and corn, and likewiſe a cake upon thoſe that bake bread.

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* Viz. About one ſhilling and one penny half-penny in our money.

Of the Nazarenes, Numb. vi.

AS for the Nazarenes that tie themſelves up by a vow, neither to cut their hair, nor to drink wine; when the time of their vow is expir'd, and they preſent themſelves to have their hair conſecrated, whatever they offer in ſacrifice belongs to the prieſts; and ſo for thoſe who call themſelves Corban, that is by interpretation, a gift of God, when they deſire to be diſcharg'd of their obligation and voluntary vow, there is a duty belongs to the prieſts, of fifty ſhekels for a man, and thirty for a woman; and they who have not ſo much money, muſt remit themſelves to the diſcretion of the prieſt.

THEY who kill beaſts for private uſe, and not for ſacrifice, muſt allow the prieſts the breaſt of the beaſt, and the right ſhoulder. This was the allotment of Moſes for the prieſts, beſide ſin-offerings, which we have ſpoken of in the laſt book before this. He ordain'd likewiſe, that in all contributions to the order of the prieſts, their wives, children, and ſervants ſhould have their ſhare, ſaving in ſin-offerings, and thoſe are only to be eaten by the prieſts that officiate. It muſt be in the temple too, and on the ſame day.

The ſedition cruſh'd, and Moſes decamps.

Moſes deſires a paſſage through Idumea, and the king refuſes it, Numb. xx. 14—21.

MATTERS being thus ſettled, and the ſedition cruſh'd, Moſes decamp'd, and with his whole army march'd to the borders of Idumea, ſending his ambaſſadors beforehand to the king thereof, to deſire a free paſſage for his troops through his country, upon aſſurance that he would give him no manner of trouble, and that whatever he had he would pay for. His paſſage was, however, refuſ'd, and an army drawn up to the frontiers, ready to oppoſe him, if he ſhould offer to force his way. Moſes had recourſe to God for advice, whoſe anſwer was, that he would not have him the aggreſſor; and ſo he withdrew to take his way by the deſart.

The death of Mariam the ſiſter of Moſes, Ver. 1.

Forms of purification, Numb. xix.

AT this time died Mariam the ſiſter of Moſes, at the beginning of the month Xanthicus, and in the fortieth year compleat after the coming out of Egypt. She had a publick and a ſplendid burial upon a mountain known by the name of Sin; and after thirty days of mourning, Moſes purified the people. The prieſt took a young red heifer that had never known the yoke, brought it out a little way from the army, and there in a very clean place kill'd it, dipping his finger ſeven times in the blood, and therewith ſprinkling the tabernacle of God. After this, he put the heifer whole into the fire, ſkin, entrails and all, with a ſtick of cedar, hyſſop, and a little ſcarlet-coloured wool. When all was conſum'd, a young man of an unſpotted virgin chaſtity, was employ'd to gather up the aſhes, and lay them up in the cleaneſt place that could be found. Now whoever ſtood in need of being purified, either for touching a dead body, or for aſſiſting at a funeral, he had no more to do, than to caſt of theſe aſhes into fountain-water, dip a bunch of hyſſop in it, and ſprinkle himſelf with it on the third and the ſeventh day; and this was the ceremony of the purification, which Moſes commanded to be obſerv'd whenever the Hebrews ſhould come to be poſſeſs'd of the land which God had promiſed them.

Moſes marches through the deſart into Arabia, Ver. 22.

The death of Aaron, V. 28.

AFTER this purification was over for the death of his ſiſter, Moſes led the army through the deſart into Arabia, and coming to their capital city, formerly call'd Arce, at preſent Petra, where there was a very high mountain, Aaron being foretold by Moſes that he was near his end, went up this mountain, took off his pontifical ſtole, and deliver'd it to his ſon Eleazar, as the next heir to the dignity; and in the ſight of the whole army ended his days there, in the hundred and twenty third year of his age, and in the firſt moon of the month which the Athenians call Hecatombæon, the Macedonians Lous, the Hebrews * Sabba, and the Romans Auguſtus. His ſiſter died alſo in the ſame year.

CHAP. V.

Sihon and Og defeated by Moſes, and their lands diſtributed by Lot to two tribes and a half of the Hebrews.

Ver. 29.

WHEN the mourning for Aaron was paſt, (which laſted thirty days,) Moſes march'd the army to the river Arnon, which falls from the mountains of Arabia, and running through the whole deſart, empties itſelf into the lake Aſphalitis, dividing the Moabites from the Amorites. The country is very fruitful, and wants for nothing. The king's name of the latter was Sihon, to whom Moſes ſent very reſpectfully for leave to march his army through his country, promiſing upon his word and honour that neither his country nor his people ſhould ſuffer any injury from his army. Sihon denied him paſſage, and march'd his army immediately to take poſſeſſion of the fords of the river, thereby to hinder his coming over.

The Hebrews fall upon the Amorites, and defeat them, Numb. xxi. 24.

WHEN Moſes found that the Amorites were reſolved upon a war, he could hardly digeſt the affront, and ſo reckon'd it his beſt courſe for himſelf to give the firſt attack; for the Hebrews being a people of an intractable diſpoſition, he did not know but want and idleneſs might again renew in them the ſpirit of ſedition and rebellion; whereupon, for fear of the worſt, he conſulted God in the firſt place, whether he ſhould attempt the forcing of his way by the ſword, or not. This he did, and obtain'd not only a permiſſion to do it, but an aſſurance of victory. Moſes, upon this encouragement, animated the army into a confidence of ſucceſs, telling them, "That now was their "time to ſignalize their valour, when they "had both divine approbation and human authority to ſecond their inclinations." Upon theſe words, without any heſitation or delay, they march'd up and made a furious charge upon the enemy. The king and his army fell into a pannick terror upon the very ſight of them, and after all their big words and menaces at a diſtance, they had not the heart ſo much as to face the Hebrews: their only hope was in their heels, and in their wall'd towns, if they could come at them; but they were ſo cloſe purſued, that their flight was but of very little ſervice to them: they fell into a direct rout upon the very firſt ſhock, and in that confuſion they all ran ſeveral ways to ſave themſelves; the Hebrews, light arm'd and ſwift of foot, at the heels of them, with their ſlings, darts, and arrows, killing thoſe at a diſtance whom they could not otherwiſe overtake. Vaſt numbers of them were cut off at the river where they ſtopped to quench their thirſt, for it was exceſſive hot weather, and amongſt the reſt Sihon their king. The ſlaughter, in fine, was terrible, and never a more abſolute victory. The Hebrews had the ſpoil of the field, a prodigious booty, and that which they moſt wanted, corn in abundance; for the harveſt was yet upon the ground. All was their own in ſhort: they went whither they would, did what they would, and took what they would, without either reſiſtance or controul; for there was hardly any left behind to oppoſe them, the flower of their men being deſtroy'd in the battle.

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* Bochart in his Hieroz. Part II. lib. iii. c. 13. ſhews, it ſhould be Ab, or Abba.

Sihon their king ſlain, Num. xxi. 24.

This beſel the Amorites, for want both of conduct and courage; for they had neither foreſight to prevent the miſchief, nor reſolution to encounter it. This place, which the Hebrews had now made themſelves maſters of, is a kind of peninſula, betwixt three rivers; Arnon on the ſouth, Jaboc (that falls into the river Jordan) on the north, and the river Jordan itſelf on the weſt.

While matters were in this condition, the Iſraelites found they had yet another enemy to cope with, which was Og the king of Galadene, and of Gaulonitis, who as he was advancing with a powerful army to the relief of Sihon his friend and ally, by the way met with the unwelcome news of the battle, and a total defeat. But this, however, was not ſufficient to deter him from running the hazard of a battle, relying on the valour of his ſoldiers, in confidence of which he hoped ſucceſs would attend his attempt; but his hopes deceived him; for he and his whole army were cut off, to a man. After this victory, Moſes paſs'd the river Jaboc, and made an inroad into Og's dominions, deſtroying all the cities wherever he came, and putting the inhabitants to the ſword, who were a people poſſeſs'd of greater riches, and a more fruitful ſoil than any of the inhabitants of the adjacent countries. The king himſelf was a man of courage and reſolution, of great ſtrength of body, and of a gigantick ſtature, as appeared by the dimenſions of a bed of his, which was found in his palace at Rabatha. The frame of it was of iron, the breadth of it four cubits, and the length nine. The fall of this man did not only ſettle the Iſraelites in a preſent ſtate of ſecurity and quiet, but laid the foundation of great advantages to come: for they poſſeſt themſelves of no leſs than ſixty of his ſtrong holds, and well fortify'd cities, and the whole army to a man, was at the ſame time moſt prodigiouſly enrich'd with the booty.

Og the king of Galadene, and his whole army cut off, Ver. 35.

CHAP. VI.

Moſes maketh war upon the Madianites. The hiſtory of Balaak and Balaam. Zimri oppoſes Moſes. Phinees kills Zimri and Coſby.

Soon after this, Moſes remov'd his camp to a great plain over againſt Jericho, an opulent city, and famous for palm-trees and balſam. The Iſraelites were now ſo fluſh'd with victories that their minds were intent upon nothing ſo much as battles and war; and Moſes thought it pity this martial humour ſhould lie idle: ſo that after he had offer'd up to God ſacrifices of thankſgiving, and feaſted his army, he ſent away a detachment to lay waſte the country of the Madianites, and to deſtroy their cities. The ground of the war was this:

Moſes makes war upon the Madianites.

Numb. xxii. 3, 4.

Balaak, the king of the Moabites, and an antient ally of the Madianites, obſerving the growing power of the Iſraelites, began to have ſome apprehenſion for himſelf, and of his own ſafety. He did not know, it ſeems, that God had forbidden the Hebrews to attempt any other conqueſt than that of Chanaan; ſo that he was either not well inform'd, or not well adviſ'd upon this matter. As to the point of making war upon a people elevated, and puffed up with ſuch a courſe of ſucceſſes, it was a thing he durſt not ſo much as think of; but he was willing enough yet to put ſome ſtop to their farther progreſs, and ſo ſent his ambaſſadors to the Madianites, to conſult what might be done for the common ſecurity of them both. The Madianites ſent away preſently Balaak's ambaſſadors, and ſome men of honour with them, to one Balaam, who liv'd beyond the Euphrates; a famous prophet in thoſe parts, and their particular friend; deſiring him only to come over to them, and curſe the Iſraelites. After he had treated the ambaſſadors with great generoſity and reſpect, he asked counſel of God what return he ſhould make them. His order was, that he ſhould not comply with them, and ſo with that anſwer he went back, telling them that it was not for want of good-will towards them that he did not gratify their deſires, but that God was againſt it, to whoſe goodneſs he ſtood indebted for the reputation he had gotten of a true prophet; declaring farther to them, that the army which they would have him to curſe, was highly in God's favour. And therefore it was his advice, that they ſhould rather addreſs themſelves to the Iſraelites, and ſecure a fair underſtanding with thoſe people upon what terms ſoever. With this reſolution he diſcharg'd the ambaſſadors: but the Madianites, upon the violent importunity of Balaak (who was much unſatisfy'd with the anſwer) ſent the ſame meſſengers a ſecond time, upon the ſame errand; and Balaam to ſhew a willingneſs to oblige them, went and conſulted God a ſecond time upon the ſame queſtion. "Why then you may go along with "the ambaſſadors," (ſays the oracle;) and Balaam, not conſidering with what air it was ſpoken, went ſimply along with them. As they were upon the way, an angel met them in a narrow place betwixt two walls, where there was not room enough for two to paſs. Balaam was mounted upon an aſs, which at the ſight of this viſion, ſtopt, and upon his ſtriking, and preſſing to make her go forward, ſhe ſqueez'd him up againſt the wall; the angel keeping the way ſtill, and the prophet ſtill correcting his aſs; but it pleaſed God at length to open the aſs's mouth, in a complaint of the injuſtice of her maſter, to beat her at that time for not going forward, when the angel of the Lord ſtood there in the paſſage, to divert him from doing what he was about to do. The aſs urging alſo, that this was the firſt time ſhe had ever

Balaak conſults the Madianites how to ſecure himſelf againſt the Hebrews, ib.

Balaak would have Balaam to curſe the Iſraelites, Ver. 5.

But God forbids it, V. 12.

Balaam importun'd a ſecond time, Ver. 15.

Balaam goes along with the ambaſſadors, Ver. 21.

An angel ſtops him in a narrow paſſage, Ver. 24.

Balaam preſſes forward, and the aſs reproves the prophet, Ver. 28--30.

ever diſobey'd him. Balaam was ſurpriz'd, and affrighted to hear the aſs talk like a man; and the angel rebuked Balaam for what he had done, telling him, "That it was not the fault of the beaſt, but the fault of the prophet, in preſuming to take a journey, contrary to the declared will of God." The prophet would have gone back, but God bad him go forward, upon condition, that he ſhould ſay nothing but what he himſelf put in his mouth.

Balaam goes to Balaak, Num.xxii.36.

Upon the condition aforeſaid, Balaam went to Balaak, and, after a very gracious reception, deſir'd the king he might be conducted to ſome of the high mountains thereabouts, where he might take a view of the camp of the Hebrews. So Balaak himſelf took Balaam along with him, with his royal train, up to the top of a mountain, a matter of ſixty furlongs from the army: and when the prophet had made his remarks, he directed ſeven altars to be raiſ'd, and ſeven bulls, and as many rams to be prepared for ſacrifices; which was done out of hand, and the victims preſently offer'd up in order to the forming of a judgment upon the matter in queſtion betwixt the two armies. So ſoon as he had well digeſted his obſervations, he deliver'd the reſult of his preſages with his face toward the army of the Iſraelites in theſe words.

Balaak takes Balaam up to the top of a mountain, where they may ſee the armies, V.41. Seven altars erected, and ſacrifices prepar'd, Numb. xxiii. 1, 2.

Balaam looks toward the Iſraelites, and propheſies, Ver. 7--24.

"You are the happy people, ſays he, who by the bleſſing and bounty of God, ſhall enjoy plenty of all good things in abundance; you ſhall have providence for your guide, your protector, and ſupport, and a reputation beyond all other mortals, for the innocence of your lives, the probity of your manners, and your love and practice of virtue; and the fame of your poſterity ſhall yet exceed that of your forefathers; for God will take you into his peculiar care and protection, and make you, of all nations under the ſun, the moſt bleſſed. You ſhall enter into poſſeſſion of the Land of promiſe, whither God hath ſent you, and it ſhall be to you and your poſterity for ever. The whole earth and ſea ſhall be full of your glory; and you ſhall have ſo numerous an iſſue, that in all parts of the world, there ſhall be found of your ſtock and family. O thou wonderful and bleſſed army! to grow to ſuch a vaſt number out of the loins of one ſingle man. The land of Chanaan muſt at preſent content you, though a ſpot of ground not anſwerable either to your dignity or number; but know that the time is a coming, when you ſhall have the whole world for your habitation. Your children ſhall people the iſlands as well as the continent, and be as the ſtars in the heavens for number. And yet in that infinite multitude, you ſhall feel no want of any thing: But God ſhall give you plenty in peace; courage and victory in war, and the children of your enemies ſhall be your ſervants; wherefore may our adverſaries be yours too, for it ſhall be ruin to them to riſe againſt you, and the wives and children of your adverſaries ſhall have little reaſon to thank their husbands, and their fathers, for any news they ſhall bring them from ſuch an encounter. You are to bleſs the providence of God, in fine, for all theſe gifts and graces; that God, I ſay, who alone can exalt or bring down, as the caſe requires it."

These were the words of God, not of Balaam, for he was tranſported beyond himſelf, and under the power of a ſupernatural and prophetical ſpirit. Balaak all this while expreſſing his reſentment, and upbraiding him, that he had not kept covenants, "Since, he ſaid, he had invited him over with great rewards to curſe the Iſraelites, and yet when it came to the point, he had altogether pronounced them bleſſed." To which Balaam made this reply:

Balaak highly offended at Balaam, V.25.

Balaam excuſes himſelf to Balaak, Ver. 26.

"And does king Balaak think, ſays he, that where prophets are upon the ſubject of fatalities, and things to come, they are left to their own liberty what to ſay, and what not; and to make their own ſpeeches? We are only the paſſive inſtruments of the oracle; the words are put in our mouths, and we neither think, nor know what we ſay. I remember very well, ſays he, that I was invited hither with great earneſtneſs, both by yourſelf, and by the Madianites, and that it was at your requeſt I came, and with a deſire to do all that in me lay for your ſervice. But what am I able to do againſt the will and power of God? Nay, I had thoughts and wiſhes of doing what I found afterwards I was not at liberty to do. When once a ſuperior power takes poſſeſſion of us, we are no longer under the government of ourſelves. I had not the leaſt thought of ſpeaking one good word of the Iſraelites army, or of the bleſſings that God hath in ſtore for them. But ſince God hath decreed to make them great and happy, I have been forced to ſpeak as you have heard, inſtead of what I had otherwiſe deſign'd to ſay. But now to anſwer the very wiſhes, both of yourſelf and the Madianites, with all poſſible decency and reſpect, let us erect other altars, and provide new ſacrifices, and try yet once again, if God will give me leave to curſe theſe people." Balaak approv'd the motion, and the ſacrifices were renew'd; but God would not yet be prevail'd upon for leave to curſe the Iſraelites. Nay, on the contrary, he fell upon his face, and foretold the fate of ſeveral great kings, and famous cities; ſome not as yet in being, others now extant, that in our memory have anſwer'd the predictions, in ſeveral actions both at ſea and land, from whence may be reaſonably inferr'd, a probability alſo, that the other parts of the prophecy are not idle.

Balaam propoſes new altars and ſacrifices, and to conſult God a ſecond time, Ver. 29.

The credit of Balaam's predictions.

Numb. xxiv. 10.

Balaak was ſo provok'd at this diſappointment of his hope and expectation, that he diſmiſs'd the prophet without either honour or reward, and ſo took his leave; but coming to Euphrates, he bethought himſelf, and ſent to ſpeak with Balaak, and the princes of the Madianites yet once more; and that which he had to ſay was to this purpoſe:

Balaam offers Balaak an expedient inſtead of curſing, Numb. xxxi. 16.

"To the end, ſays he, that king Balaak, and you the princes of Madian, may know the great deſire I have to pleaſe you, tho' in ſome ſort againſt the will of God, I have bethought myſelf of an expedient that may perhaps be for your ſervice. Do not flatter yourſelves, that the Hebrews are ever to be deſtroy'd by war, peſtilence, famine, or any other of thoſe common caſual calamities; for they are ſo ſecure under God's ſpecial providence, that they are never to be totally extinguiſhed by any of thoſe depopulating judgments. Some temporary afflictions they may ſuffer, and inevitably they will; but in a little time they'll recover, and be the better for them. Now if the gaining of ſome ſmall and ſhort-liv'd advantage over them may give you any ſatiſfaction, hearken to my advice. Send into their camp a proceſſion of the lovelieſt virgins you can pick out; dreſs them up with all the ornaments of art to aſſiſt nature; give them their leſſons, how to behave themſelves upon all occaſions of courtſhip and amour. When the young men ſhall make their addreſſes to them on the ſubject of love, let them receive them with a ſeeming kindneſs and air of reſpect; but if they proceed to any wanton importunities, let them threaten immediately and peremptorily to be gone; and when the Hebrews ſhall intreat them to ſtay longer, let them not conſent, but upon expreſs condition, that they will actually renounce the laws of their country, and the honour of that God who preſcrib'd them; and finally engage themſelves to worſhip after the manner of the Madianites and Moabites." This, ſays he, will provoke God, and draw a vengeance upon their heads; and ſo he departed.

The Madianites follow Balaam's counſel, Numb. xxv.

THE Madianites ſent their daughters with inſtructions, according to Balaam's advice, and the young men were preſently charm'd with their converſation and beauty, ſtill preſſing more and more upon them for further endearments and reſpect. The girls gave them the hearing, and allow'd them the liberty of careſſing and embracing them after an amorous and endearing manner. This had the effect they wiſh'd for; ſo when they found they had by their wiles and allurements ſtrongly ingaged their affections, the girls all on a ſudden made a pretence as if they were that inſtant to be gone; but upon affectionate ſupplications, with ſighs and tears, on the other hand, not to forſake them, and ſolemn oaths and vows over and above, of love and honour, with life and fortune, all at their feet, they were prevail'd upon to ſtay and treat a little longer. They found by this time that they had intirely got the aſcendant over them, and therefore the anſwer they gave them was to this effect:

They gain their point, ibid.

"IT is not for want, ſaid they, either of fortune, or of credit; the love of our parents, or the kindneſs of our friends and relations, nor for the proſtituting of our beauties (ſuch as they are) that we are now come, moſt illuſtrious young men, into your quarters, but out of pure hoſpitality and good-nature to you, as you are ſtrangers, and may perhaps have need of us. For theſe reaſons, and upon an opinion alſo that you are men of honour, we have made no ſcruple of treating you with an innocent and a generous freedom. You ſay you love us, and ſhould be very unwilling to part with us. If ſo, we are not at all averſe to the gratifying of your deſires; but you muſt firſt ſecure us of a conjugal faith; (for nothing elſe will do,) and that the love we have for your converſation, may be warranted by the reputation of becoming your wives; for we ſhould be loath to be turn'd off for variety, and ſent back again to our relations with ſcandal and reproach. You will not blame us, we hope, for being a little ſolicitous in ſo tender a point." The young men ſtuck at nothing that might advance the ends of their love, and ſo the virgins went on. "Since, ſaid they, we are thus far agreed, it will become us to mind you of ſome other conſiderable differences that remain yet to be adjuſted. You have certain ways of life and cuſtom, that are altogether peculiar to yourſelves, even as to particular meats and drinks. Now if we live together, you muſt reſolve to do as we do, and to worſhip as we worſhip; for by the reverence you pay to our Gods, we ſhall be able to judge of the affection you have for us. No body will blame you for adoring the Gods of the country where you are, and the Gods in truth of almoſt all other countries too; whereas yours is a ſingular God, that is only to yourſelves." They left them in concluſion to this choice, either to live there, and conform to their country cuſtoms, or to depart to ſome other place, where they might do as they thought fit.

The Iſraelites fall from luſt to idolatry, ibid.

THE young men were ſo blinded with paſſion, and abandon'd to their pleaſures, that whatever the women propounded, they ſwallow'd it, though to the renouncing of the religion of their forefathers, and the laws of their country, without ever examining the conditions; ſo that they join'd with them immediately in the opinion of a plurality of Gods, in the manner of their worſhip, the common uſe of all meats indifferently; and for the womens ſakes, in ſhort, they ſtuck at nothing, though never ſo unwarrantable. This infection ſpread itſelf inſenſibly over the whole camp, and it was follow'd with a more dangerous ſedition than the former; inſomuch, that there was hardly any face left of the order, piety, and devotion of former times; for when the youth came once to have a hankering after the novelty of ſtrange cuſtoms and manners, there was no ſtopping of them in that career; but great and ſmall, one with another, were all corrupted and confounded in this apoſtaſy.

Zimri, an Hebrew, marries Coſbi, a Madianite, V. 6.

A ſtrange marriage leads to a ſtrange worſhip.

Moſes falls ſeverely upon the ſcandal of the apoſtaſy.

ZIMRI, one of the princes of the tribe of Simeon, married Coſbi a Madianite, the daughter of one Zur, a perſon of eminent quality in that country. This ſame Zimri, by the perſuaſion of his wife, and in contempt of the Moſaical rites and conſtitutions, made open profeſſion, both of a ſtrange worſhip, and a ſtrange marriage. While matters were in this diſorder, Moſes, for fear of worſe conſequences, called the people together, and there fell upon a diſcourſe, how unworthy a thing it was, and how great a ſcandal to the memory of their anceſtors, for them to value the gratifying of their luſts and appetites above the reverence they ow'd to their God, and their religion; how much it behoved them to repent in time, and to ſhew themſelves brave men; not in the violation of laws, but in the maſtery of unruly affections. He minded them how incongruous a thing it was too, for men who had been virtuous and modeſt in a deſart, to lead ſuch profligate lives in a good country, and ſquander away that in luxury, which they had honeſtly gotten together in the time of their diſtreſs. He did this to try, whether either ſhame, reaſon, or conſcience would work upon them, but without pointing out any particular perſon all this while; for a perſonal particular reproof, he thought, might have made them deſperate; and it was his buſineſs to reclaim, not to expoſe them. This oblique diſcourſe of Moſes gave Zimri an occaſion to riſe and ſpeak.

Zimri breaks out into inſolent reflections upon Moſes.

Zimri the mouth of the faction.

Moſes diſcharges the aſſembly.

“Moses, ſays he, you are at liberty to uſe your own laws. They have been a long time in exerciſe, and that cuſtom is all that is to be ſaid for their ſtrength, and credit. If it had not been for this, you would have found long ſince to your coſt that the Hebrews are not to be impoſed upon; and I myſelf am one of the number who will never truckle to your tyrannical oppreſſion; for what's your buſineſs all this while, but under a bare pretext, and talk of laws and God, to bar us not only the exerciſe, but the very deſire of liberty; to eſtabliſh your own greatneſs upon our miſery and ruin, depriving us of that freedom, which all people have a right to that are not under a maſter? What are we the better for coming out of Egypt, if it be only in exchange for a more grievous bondage under Moſes? You are to make here what laws you pleaſe, and we to abide the penalties of them, at your will and pleaſure, when at the ſame time 'tis only you yourſelf that deſerve to be puniſhed, for abrogating ſuch cuſtoms and privileges as are authorized and eſtabliſhed by the common conſent of nations, and ſetting up your own will and fancy, againſt general practice and reaſon. What I have done, I take to be well done, and ſhall make no difficulty to confeſs and juſtify it. I have, as you ſay, married a ſtrange woman. I ſpeak this with the liberty of an honeſt man, and I care not who knows it. I never meant to make a ſecret of it, and you ſhall never need to look further for an informer. I do acknowledge, that I have changed my way of worſhip too; and I reckon it very reaſonable for a man to examine all things who would find out the truth, without being tied up, as if it were in a deſpotick government, to the opinion and humour of one ſingle perſon; beſide that I ſhall not thank any man that takes upon him to over-rule me in my own affairs.” Zimri was in this ſpeech the mouth of the faction, and the people when it was over, ſtood quietly waiting to ſee what would be the iſſue of ſo audacious an affront; for they were much afraid that miſchief would be the conſequence of it, eſpecially obſerving that Moſes gave not one ſyllable in return to ſo inſolent a provocation; for one word, he thought, might beget another, till it came to blows, eſpecially in a multitude diſpoſed already to take fire. Upon this conſideration, he immediately diſcharged the aſſembly; but this outrage, in all likelihood, would not have ſtopp'd there yet, if Zimri had not been ſoon after cut off, in ſuch manner as will now appear.

The zeal of Phinees, Num. xxv. 7, 8.

Phinees kills Zimri and Coſbi in their tent, Ver. 8.

The whole faction deſtroyed betwixt the ſword and the plague.

There was one Phinees who reſented this contumacy of Zimri to the higheſt degree of indignation. He was one of the braveſt youths of his time, and as eminent for the honour of his extraction, as he was for his perſonal virtue. Eleazar the high-prieſt was his father, and Moſes his great uncle. This Phinees, was ſo ſenſible of the danger of letting ſuch an indignity paſs unpuniſhed, and of ſuffering the laws to be trampled upon and deſpiſed, that he took up a reſolution of a revenge upon the ringleader of this indignity; being very well aware, that in all ſuch caſes, the greater the man is, the greater is the neceſſity of inflicting puniſhment upon him, leaſt his example have a contagious influence upon others. Now as Phinees was a perſon both of body and mind, fit for the execution of ſuch an exploit; ſo without any more ado, he went directly to the tent of Zimri, and with his drawn ſword killed him and Coſbi, both at a thruſt. This glorious action created ſuch an emulation among thoſe of his cotemporaries, who had but any ſpark of honour in them, that they fell immediately upon the remainder of the faction; and they who eſcaped the ſword, died by the judgment of a peſtilence that followed ſoon after, which took away not only thoſe that had been actors in the ſedition, but thoſe of their kindred alſo, who by their intereſt or authority might have interpoſed to prevent it. This plague ſwept away to the number of fourteen thouſand ſouls *.

Moſes ſends out an army againſt the Madianites, Numb. xxxi.

The candor and ſincerity of Moſes.

Moses was ſo irritated by theſe practices of the Madianites, that he ſent out an army againſt them utterly to extirpate the nation. But we ſhall give an account hereafter of that branch of the ſtory, and in the mean time take up again where we left off. It would be but juſt and reaſonable, in this place, to extol the candor, and clear the generoſity of Moſes upon the matter. As to this Balaam who was invited by the Madianites to curſe the Hebrews, though he could not prevail for leave from God to do it, yet he gave the enemy ſuch counſel, as the Hebrews were almoſt ruined by it, in the miſleading and corrupting of them in their religion. Of this Balaam, Moſes, I ſay, makes honourable mention in his writings, inſerting his prophecies and predictions. If Moſes had not been very ſincere, he might have aſſumed the credit of them to himſelf, and not one witneſs upon the face of the earth to diſprove him; but he choſe rather to do right to his memory. People may think of this as they pleaſe. But to purſue my relation

CHAP. VII.

The Hebrews obtain a notable victory over the Madianites.

MOSES, as I was ſaying, ſent twelve thouſand men againſt the Madianites; a thouſand out of every tribe, and Phinees to command them; by whoſe means the laws were vindicated; and Zimri the violator of them, juſtly puniſhed.

Upon intelligence given to the Madianites that the enemy was already upon the borders, and drawing toward them, they got their troops together; fortified ſeveral paſſes as far

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* The Scripture, Numb. xxv. 9. ſays, twenty four thouſand.

Moſes routs the Madianites, deſtroys their army, and cuts off five kings.

Recem (or Petra) the capital of Arabia.

A prodigious booty in cattle and treaſure, Numb. xxxi. 32, 33, 34. beſide thirty two thouſand virgins V. 35.

as their time would give them leave, and ſo put themſelves in poſture to ſtand a battle. The Madianites were utterly diſcomfited upon the firſt encounter, and the number of the ſlain was incredible. Their very kings themſelves did not eſcape the ſlaughter, who were five, viz. Ochus, Sures, Robeas, Ures, and Recem.[*] The capital city of Arabia derived its name (which it ſtill retains) from the laſt of theſe kings, who was the founder of it. They call it Rekem, and the Grecians, Petra. Upon this rout, the Hebrews laid waſte the country, putting all to the ſword, both men and women, ſave only ſuch as had not known man, according to Moſes his order to Phinees, who brought back the army ſafe and unhurt, with a memorable booty, as fifty two thouſand and ſixty ſeven oxen; ſixty thouſand aſſes; houſhold plate and veſſels of gold and ſilver, to an immenſe value; for the pomp and magnificence they lived in was beyond imagination. They brought away alſo a matter of thirty two thouſand virgins.

The diſtribution of it, V. 36, &c.

Moſes now in years, leaves Joſhua his ſucceſſor, Numb. xxvii. 22, 23.

Moses made a diſtribution of the booty; one fiftieth part to Eleazar, and the prieſts; another fiftieth to the Levites; and the reſt to the people, which gave them the means of enjoying the fruits of their toils and hazards, in peace and plenty. Moſes was now well ſtricken in years, and having received a command from God to leave Joſhua his ſucceſſor, he conſtituted, and declared him ſo, in the ſeveral functions of a prophet, a leader, and a governor, being trained up by himſelf to a perfect underſtanding of the laws both of God and man.

The tribes of Gad, Reubel, and half Manaſſes beg the Amorites country, Numb. xxxii. Ver. 1--5.

Moſes charges them with ſelf-ends, Ver. 6--15

They clear themſelves to Moſes, Ver. 16--19.

Moſes grants them their requeſt upon conditions, Ver. 20--24.

The two tribes of Gad and Reubel, and the one half of that of Manaſſes, joined about this time in a petition to Moſes for a grant of the Amorites country; a place lately conquered, and an excellent ground for paſture, and therefore the more commodious for them who had ſuch vaſt poſſeſſions in herds and other cattle. Moſes took this requeſt of theirs only for a pretext to avoid fighting, and charged them downright with tergiverſation, ſloth, and cowardice. “ You have a mind, ſays he, to live in eaſe “ and luxury, and by appropriating to your- “ ſelves the advantages of a common war, to “ abandon the reſt of your companions. They “ have a great deal of work yet upon their “ hands, in carrying on their conqueſts be- “ yond Jordan, and making their way (by “ the overthrow and extirpation of their ene- “ mies) into the land which God hath pro- “ miſed them.” Moſes diſcovering himſelf to be much unſatisfied, the petitioners excuſed themſelves, that it was neither fear, nor lazineſs that mov'd them to do what they did, but only the deſire of ſome convenient place to ſecure what they had got, that they might be the more at liberty to attend the war; ſetting forth, that if Moſes would be pleaſed to aſſign them towns of ſafety for their wives, their children, and their goods, they were ready to march wherever they ſhould be commanded, and venture their lives in the common cauſe. Moſes was ſo well ſatisfied with what they ſaid, that he call'd for Eleazar the high-prieſt, Joſhua, and the reſt of the magiſtrates; and in their preſence gave them the land of the Amorites, according to their requeſt; but upon condition that they ſhould join with their countrymen in a league offenſive and defenſive, againſt the common enemy; and never lay down arms till the war ſhould be intirely finiſh'd. Upon theſe terms they obtain'd what they deſir'd, and were put in poſſeſſion of ſtrong cities, where their wives, children, baggage, and fortunes might be in ſafety.

Moſes builds ten cities beyond Jordan, Ver. 34--38. Three cities of refuge, Numb. xxxv. 14.

Boſor, Ariman, and Gaulademan. Or Bataniti*s*.

There were ten cities built in that country by Moſes, part of the forty eight heretofore mentioned. He made three of them ſanctuaries, or places of refuge for thoſe who fled thither, in the caſe of killing a man by chance-medley, and without malice prepenſe. The refugee was to continue in baniſhment during the life of the high-prieſt, under whoſe juriſdiction the homicide happened, and upon his deceaſe he was permitted to return. During this baniſhment it was lawful for any of the kindred of the man that was ſlain, to kill the homicide, if he found him without the walls of the city of refuge; but it was not permitted to any other. The names of theſe cities of refuge were Boſor, on the borders of Arabia; Ariman, in the country of Galadene; and Gaulademan in the land of Batanæa. Moſes provided alſo, that upon the taking of Chanaan there ſhould be three places of refuge erected there alſo among the cities of the Levites, with the ſame privileges as the former.

Daughters allow'd to inherit if they marry into their own tribe, Numb. xxxvi. 6, 7, 8.

About this time there died an eminent perſon of the tribe of Manaſſes, called Solophades, leaving no male children, but only daughters. Some of the chief men of the tribe conſulted Moſes, whether or no theſe daughters were to inherit. The reſolution was given, that they were to inherit, if they married into the tribe, but not if they married out of it; upon which occaſion he paſs'd an ordinance, “ That every tribe ſhould keep its “ own inheritance, without alienating or “ transferring it.”

CHAP. VIII.

The life and laws of Moſes.

Moſes calls the people together to Abila, Deut. xxxi.

Moſes's dying ſpeech, Deut. xxxii. xxxiii.

It was now forty years within thirty days, ſince the Hebrews came out of Egypt, when Moſes call'd the people together at a place known at preſent by the name of Abila, by the ſide of the river Jordan, near a field of palm-trees; and when the multitude were met, he deliver'd himſelf in a ſpeech to them to this effect:

“ Since it is the will of God now in the “ hundred and twentieth year of a waſted “ troubleſome life, to take me out of this “ world, (the courſe of nature alſo requiring “ it,) and ſo to order, that I can be no “ longer uſeful to you, either with my arms, “ or counſels, in your further progreſs be- “ yond Jordan, toward the land of Chanaan; “ it will be yet a great comfort to me at my “ laſt hour, to leave my valiant fellow-ſol- “ diers, labourers, and ſufferers, in ſo hope- “ ful a proſpect of all the good their own “ hearts can wiſh. I muſt not be wanting to

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[*] Numb. xxxi. 8. Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba.

"my duty however, (even in this critical extremity,) of conſulting your happineſs, and ſo far as in me lies, of promoting it alſo, by telling you what that happineſs is, and directing you to the means of attaining it; and in ſo doing I ſhall entitle myſelf to an everlaſting eſteem in your memory. I make no doubt but I ſhall find credit with you, and I may take upon me to ſay, that I deſerve it too, if it were but for the indefatigable conſtancy of my endeavours to advance your welfare, wherein I never diſappointed or deceived you: beſide, that the words of a dying man are ſacred and ſincere.

"As to the ſubject of human felicity, you may aſſure yourſelves, that no man can be happy, but in the favour of God, and that it belongs to him alone to confer bleſſings upon the righteous, and to take them away from the wicked. Do but behave yourſelves anſwerably to what God requires at your hands, or according to the precepts and inſtructions which you have receiv'd from me by his commiſſion, and you ſhall be celebrated for your virtue, and envied for your proſperity; and not only ſo neither, but the bleſſings that you are poſſeſs'd of ſhall be continued to you, and thoſe you want ſhall be ſuperadded. Only reſign yourſelves to God's will, and obey his commandments, and all this ſhall be made good to you. But have a care how you give a preference to any other laws, comparatively with thoſe which God ſent you by me; or how you allow yourſelves in any innovations in matters of worſhip and religion. Follow my advice, and you ſhall be victorious and invincible; for when you have God on your ſide, what matters it who is againſt you? The rewards of virtue are glorious and certain, over and above that virtue itſelf is the greateſt, and that all other advantages are caſt in by way of acceſſion. Practiſe it one with another, and you ſhall be both happy yourſelves, and likewiſe make others ſo, to the comfort of your preſent ſtate, and to your immortal honour in times to come. All this you may promiſe yourſelves, if you neither violate, nor ſuffer to be violated, the written laws I brought you by God's ſpecial direction; and if you make the wiſdom and the righteouſneſs of thoſe laws your daily meditation and ſtudy. This will ſecure your eſtabliſhment; and if I may but ſee you now in a ſtate of ſettlement before I leave the world, I ſhall depart in peace. All I can do towards it will be to recommend you to the obſervance of thoſe precepts of piety and prudence which are given you for your inſtruction and practice, and to an obedient compliance with the orders of your ſuperiors, that ſhall be appointed and provided for your well-being and ſafety. That God, under whoſe government you have acted hitherto, and to whoſe goodneſs you ſtand indebted for all the benefits you have receiv'd from me. That God, I ſay, will never forſake you, but watch over you and protect you ſo long as you worſhip him as you ought to do. You ſhall not want excellent monitors neither, as Eleazar the high-prieſt, Joſhua the ſenate, and the principals of the tribes; treat them with all reverence, and without any thing of ſtubbornneſs and refractorineſs, as ever you hope to be happy; for he who cannot obey well, can never govern well, when it comes to his turn. Have a care how you take mutiny for liberty, as you have done formerly, and how you ſet up for a privilege of thwarting the commands of your governors, under that notion. You have been too much addicted to this fault in times paſt; pray correct it for the future, and your affairs will thrive the better for it. God forbid you ſhall ever be ſo impetuous and intemperate toward any of my ſucceſſors, as you have, but too often, been to me; inſomuch, that (as you know very well) my life hath been more in danger from you ſometimes, than from the enemy. I do not ſpeak this to reproach you; for I was not tranſported with paſſion, you ſaw, at the doing of the thing, neither would I afflict you with the memory of an ill thing done, at a time when I am upon the very point of taking my eternal leave of you; only be wiſer for the future, and be not puff'd up with the wealth and plenty of the land of Chanaan, when you ſhall come to take poſſeſſion of it; but know it to be your intereſt, as well as your duty, not to behave yourſelves contumeliouſly to thoſe that are ſet over you: for if ever wealth and luxury ſhall make you inſolent, to the contempt of religion, authority and virtue, God, of a protector, will become your enemy. You ſhall loſe that land again with infamy, which you got with honour and courage; and be ſcatter'd all over the face of the earth, as the moſt deſpicable of mankind. When it comes to that once, it will be too late to wiſh things undone again, and that you had contain'd yourſelves within the bounds of your laws and duty. Now to prevent the danger of this fatal apoſtaſy for the time to come, give no quarter whereever you gain a victory, for in ſo doing you cut off all danger of being ſeduced into idolatry, by mixing with the inhabitants of the land, and thereby corrupting and departing from the laws and religion of your anceſtors. As for their temples, groves, and altars, let every one of them be deſtroy'd with fire and ſword wherever you come, even to the extinction, if it were poſſible, of the very memory of them. This, in fine, is the only way to ſecure yourſelves to all purpoſes; but yet for fear of the worſt, and to aſſiſt the ignorant toward the underſtanding of their duties, I have written a body of laws by the command of God himſelf; and ſuch a form of adminiſtration, publick and private, that you ſhall be certainly the happieſt people under the ſun, if you conform yourſelves to thoſe rules and meaſures."

WHEN Moſes had made an end of ſpeaking, he deliver'd them a book of laws and precepts in writing, with reſpect to government and good manners. This book was but the prologue to a final ſeparation, and brought ſeveral things to their mind, that made the whole multitude burſt out into an exceſſive weeping. Some of them were ſolicitous what ſhould become of them when Moſes was gone, being in deſpair of ever getting ſuch another commander, ſo highly in the intereſt and favour

Moſes delivers them a book of laws and precepts for government and good manners, Deut. xxxi. 24.

vour of God Almighty. Others were upon the ſubject of his bravery and conduct, what pains he had taken, and what dangers he had run, and how generouſly and chearfully he did every thing for their good. Some again were at a loſs for a mediator, who ſhould conſult God for them when they wanted advocates, or intercede for them when he was angry. But nothing more ſenſibly afflicted them than the memory of their outrages againſt Moſes in the deſart; upon which reflection they were all tranſported into ſuch violent lamentations, that what with ſhame and guilt, it carried them out of all government of themſelves, till Moſes at laſt, by his perſuaſion and authority, prevail'd with them to moderate their ſorrow, by firſt committing, and then recommending to them the ſtudy and uſe of his book of laws, and when he had done this, he diſmiſs'd the aſſembly.

An abſtract of the laws themſelves.

It will be worth my while now, before I paſs over to other matters, to inſert the laws themſelves, that the reader may ſee how anſwerable they are to the majeſty of the compiler of them, and the original of our uſages and cuſtoms. Every thing that he wrote is yet extant, and we muſt take it as he left it, without any room for ornament or variation. We have only taken the liberty of altering the method, and of reducing thoſe ſeveral laws which Moſes delivered one after another, as God was conſulted about them, into their proper and natural place and order. I have premoniſhed the reader of this, to prevent the calumny which ſome of our people might otherwiſe have raiſed upon it, as if Moſes had not been fairly dealt withal in this part of the relation. Now I ſhall only take notice in this place of the publick laws and conſtitutions which have regard to the policy of their government; but for matters of private dealing and contract, whether among ourſelves, or with ſtrangers, I ſhall treat of them in a commentary which I propoſe, God willing, to make publick, concerning the cuſtoms and reaſons of thoſe laws.

How the Iſraelites are to govern themſelves in the land of Chanaan, Deut. iv. 1, 2.

When you ſhall have made yourſelves abſolute maſters of the land of Chanaan, ſettled your plantations, and built your cities, you will have nothing more to do toward the maintaining of yourſelves in the full, ſafe, and eaſy enjoyment of your acquiſitions, than to love God, and keep theſe his following commandments, which will eſtabliſh your felicity upon a foundation never to be ſhaken.

One holy city.

Let there be one holy city in the land of Chanaan, to be erected in ſome certain place for the fruitfulneſs and beauty of the ſituation, which God by his prophet ſhall make choice of, and appoint. Let there be one temple in it, and one altar, and that altar to be made of unhewn ſtones out of the quarry, gather'd up here and there, and ſo put together and varniſh'd, for the better grace of the work, and to make it the more agreeable to the eye: the aſcent not to be made by ſtairs or ſteps, but by a gradual riſing of the ground for the decency of the approach. But there muſt be no more temples or altars in any other city; for the Hebrews are but one nation, and worſhip but one God.

One temple, and one altar.

Blaſphemy made death.

Whoever ſhall blaſpheme the holy name of God, let him be ſtoned to death; his body expoſed upon a gibbet for one day, and afterwards thrown into the ground with infamy and contempt.

The whole nation to worſhip thrice a year at Jeruſalem, Deut. xvi. 16.

Let the whole nation of the Hebrews come up from all quarters to this holy city and temple, to worſhip thrice a year, and offering up thankſgivings for benefits receiv'd, to implore future bleſſings; and ſo by the freedom of a chearful tenderneſs of converſation, to create friendly diſpoſitions, and promote mutual love, one toward another. It is a matter of common convenience for people of the ſame ſtock, intereſt, and profeſſion, to be thoroughly acquainted; for there is a wonderful force many times in the impreſſion of a word, a look, or an action; as on the contrary, without theſe meetings and interviews, all the comforts and advantages of communication are loſt to us.

Tenths, Deut. xviii. 1--8.

Let there be alſo reſerved to the value of another tenth of the fruits of the earth (over and above the dues to the prieſts and Levites) out of the ſale of them in the market, to be laid out in ſacrifices and entertainments, which ſhall be celebrated in this city; as it is but reaſonable to dedicate the fruits of the land to him, who of his own free bounty, gives us the propriety and poſſeſſion of it.

Not to offer the hire of a harlot, Deut. xxiii. 18.

Thou ſhalt not offer in ſacrifice the hire of a proſtitute, for God is not pleaſed with any thing that is wicked or impure; and there is no fouler impurity than this mixture of bodies. And ſo in like manner for the hire of a bitch to keep up the breed of a hound, or a ſheep-dog, as it is for the hire of a ſtrumpet. Let no man ſpeak ill of the Gods of other nations, nor rifle their temples, nor take away any thing out of them that is dedicated to divine uſe or worſhip.

Only the prieſt to wear a mixed garment, Deut. xxii. 11.

Let no Iſraelite wear a mixt garment of wool and linnen, unleſs he be a * prieſt; to whom alone it belongs.

The prieſt to read the law upon the feaſt of tabernacles.

In every ſeventh year when the feaſt of tabernacles ſhall be celebrated in the holy city, let the prieſt, from a high pulpit, where he may be heard by the whole congregation, read the book of the law, and all ſorts of people without exception, women, children, yea and ſlaves themſelves too, be admitted to the hearing of it: for when the law is once thoroughly imprinted in people's minds, it will never out of their memories: beſide that it takes away the common plea of pretended ignorance. Laws have more force alſo upon the conſciencies of offenders, when they tell them beforehand what they are to truſt to in caſe of diſobedience, and mingle terror with authority. What men receive by the ear ſinks into their minds, and they find themſelves ſo far convinced of the intent and reaſon of laws, that they continually carry along with them their own accuſers upon the tranſgreſſion of them.

Children to be early inſtructed in the law.

Above all things let children be early inſtructed in theſe laws, as the moſt neceſſary and profitable diſcipline they can be trained up to. Wherefore let them twice a day, morning and evening, be conſtantly put in mind of the goodneſs of God that brought them out of the land of Egypt; and ſo of his other mercies; for it is equally reaſonable to give God thanks

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* That this is falſe, Bochart ſhews in his Hierozoic. lib. ii. c. 45. p. 491. Ed. Lond.

for former bleſſings, as to pray for new ones. Let them have memorials of God's power and bounty, by inſcriptions upon their doors, their heads, about their arms, &c. ſo that which way ſoever they turn themſelves, remembrancers of God's providence may ſtill preſent themſelves before their eyes.

Memorials of God's mercy, Deut. vi. 8, 9.

A council of ſeven in every city.

Let every city have a council of ſeven magiſtrates; men of exemplary virtue, and lovers of righteouſneſs*, and to each of theſe rulers let there be two Levites. Let the dignity of the ſeat of judgment be kept ſacred, and no man preſume to utter an irreverent or intemperate word in the face of the court; for the practice of this veneration toward political governors will, by degrees, introduce an habitual love and awe of piety, as well as of common juſtice, and an affectionate ſenſe of our duty to God himſelf, in the deference we pay to his miniſters. There muſt be no appeal from the ſentence of the judge, unleſs in caſe of manifeſt error and corruption. Juſtice is the main end of judgment, and it is to be adminiſter'd without any regard either to power, intereſt, or affection. It is a reproach to the divine power and goodneſs, to be more afraid of a great man than of God himſelf, as if the latter were the weaker of the two; and this is in truth the caſe of ſuch partialities. If it ſhall ſo fall out that the judges are either not informed at all, or miſinformed, and conſequently ſtrangers to the queſtion, and ſo incompetent, (which many times happens;) let the cauſe be carried up entire to the holy city, for the high-prieſt, the prophet, and the ſenate to decide the controverſy.

Magiſtracy to be honoured.

No men condemned under two or more witneſſes, and men of probity, Deut. xvii. 6. & xix. 15.

Let no accuſation be admitted, but from the mouth of two, three, or more witneſſes; and let them be men of probity too, and an unſpotted reputation.

A woman's teſtimony not to be admitted.

The teſtimony of a woman ſhall not be reputed a warrantable evidence, becauſe of the natural levity of the ſex, and that they talk too much at random.

No ſlave to be a witneſs.

No ſlave ſhall be allowed of as a competent witneſs, becauſe of the ſervile and mercenary condition of his mind and quality; and becauſe he may probably be wrought upon, either by fear, or by profit, to give a falſe teſtimony.

The puniſhment of a falſe oath, Deut. xix. 16, &c.

Whoever ſhall be convict of a falſe oath, ſhall be liable to the ſame puniſhment that the accuſed ſhould have ſuffered, if the charge had been proved upon him.

Puniſhment in the caſe of blood, Deut. xxi.

In the caſe of homicide, when a man ſhall be found dead in a field, and he who kill'd him doth not appear, nor any perſonal jealouſy of a malice prepenſe againſt him, let there be a ſtrict enquiry upon the life of the man, and publick rewards offered by proclamation for the diſcovery. If after all this ſearch and diligence, it ſhall not yet be made out how he came by his death, let the magiſtracy, and the neighbouring townſhips meet together, and take an exact meaſure which of them was neareſt to the place where the dead body was found; and let the inhabitants of the place who ſhall be found neareſt, provide a heifer, and bring it into a rough ſpot of ground that is neither fit for planting nor ſowing, and there let the ſinews of the neck be cut, the prieſts, Levites, and elders waſhing their hands with water over the head of the heifer, and purging themſelves by an open proteſtation that they know nothing, either directly or indirectly, of the homicide; concluding the ceremony with prayers to Almighty God to preſerve that place and people from the guilt of blood for the time to come.

Ariſtocracy the beſt form of government.

As to the matter of government, Ariſtocracy is the beſt form; wherefore let the Hebrews ſtick to it, and maintain it; for whenever they caſt it off, it will be to their loſs; for they have nothing above them but the laws, and thoſe laws are a ſtanding rule what they are to do; and therefore I think it may ſuffice them that they have God for their king, and their ſupreme governor.

Advice in the choice of a king, Deut. xvii. 14, &c.

Now after all this, if you ſhould come to fall in love with monarchical government, be ſure you chuſe your king out of your own ſtock and lineage; a perſon eminent for juſtice, and all other virtues; one who ſhall depend upon the direction of God and the laws, more than upon his own wiſdom; one who ſhall take the advice of the high-prieſt and elders along with him in all he does, without ſetting his mind upon a multitude of wives, or the pomp of treaſure and horſes, for fear the ambitious affectation of this power and magnificence ſhould tranſport him into encroachments upon your laws and liberties, and make him greater, in fine, than would comport with your intereſt and convenience.

No land-marks to be removed, Deut. xix.

Remove no boundaries, or land-marks, whether your own or your neighbour's; for they are the beſt ſecurity we have for a common peace. Let them be kept as firm as the foundation of the earth, and as if providence itſelf had fixed them there. The breaking in upon theſe bounds opens a certain way to wars and tumults; and what avarice does in one caſe, ambition does in the other. The firſt fruits of trees which bear before the fourth year from their planting, are not either to be offered to God, or to be eaten by man; for coming before their time, they are rather abortions than a natural production. But in the fourth year, when the fruit comes to maturity, let all be gathered, and convey'd into the holy city, to be there ſpent by the owner, together with the tenths of other fruits,) in treating his friends and acquaintance, widows and orphans. But in the fifth year, the proprietor may take the whole product to his own uſe.

Of the firſt fruits of trees under four years growth.

Planting of vines.

Let no ground be ſowed which is planted with vines; for it is ſufficient for the earth to afford nouriſhment for the ſupport of that plant, without the ſuperfluous vexations of the plow over and above.

To plow with oxen alone.

Let the earth be plowed with oxen alone; for beaſts of ſeveral kinds are not to draw in the ſame yoke.

The ſeed to be ſimple.

Let the ſeeds to be ſown be ſimple and unmix'd, not two or three ſorts together; for the confuſion of ſuch diverſities is unnatural.

No adulterate mixtures.

Let there be no adulterate mixtures betwixt the female of one kind, and the male of another, leſt men ſhould be tempted alſo by the corruption of this unnatural example into the liberty of inordinate luſts; as the fouleſt extravagances have taken their riſe many times from trivial beginnings, wherefore let nothing be permitted in human converſation, that by a perverſe hint of applying it, may tend to the depravation of good manners; ſo that it is not for laws to paſs over in neglect, even the ſmalleſt things in appearance, when ſo great matters depend upon them.

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* See Selden de Synedr. Hebr. lib. ii. c. 6. p. 165, 166, 167. Ed. Amſtel.

Gleanings of corn and grapes to be left for the poor, Deut. xxiv.

Let not the harveſt-reapers ſweep away the whole crop, but leave a large allowance of gleanings for the neceſſities of the poor; and ſo for cluſters of grapes upon the vintage, and wind-falls upon the gathering of olives, let there be a compaſſionate remainder left for thoſe who have nothing to eat of their own. The reward of the charity will infinitely more than countervail the charge of the bounty; for God will bleſs the land with fertility, and the owner of it with plenty, when a man has a regard to the wants of the neceſſitous, as well as to his own convenience. The ox is not to be muzzled when he treads out the corn; for it would be unreaſonable to deny any creature a part in the fruit of its own labours.

No muzzling of the ox when he treads out the corn, Deut. xxv.

Deny no paſſenger fruit that is a gathering, upon a journey.

Let no paſſenger upon a journey be refuſed to taſte of ripe fruit if he deſires it, whether of the country, or a ſtranger; but let him take and eat and welcome, as if it were his own, provided he carry none away with him.

Give grapes to a paſſenger upon the way as they go to the preſs.

Let no man in bearing grapes to the preſs, refuſe a bunch of them to a traveller that meets him upon the way; for it would be very hard to deny any man ſo ſmall a proportion of the good things which God had beſtowed upon mankind gratis, and in ſuch abundance, eſpecially conſidering that is the moſt fruitful ſeaſon of the year, and which, according to the courſe of providence, will be ſoon over. Nay, if men ſhould be ſo ſcrupulous upon a point of modeſty, as to forbear touching or deſiring any thing, let them be invited and entreated to take and pleaſe themſelves. If they be Iſraelites, they are to be look'd upon as partners and fellow-ſharers in what you have, being all of the ſame blood and brotherhood: If ſtrangers, let them be deſired to accept of ſuch a reſpect as a preſent of hoſpitality out of God's bounty. We are not to account any thing loſt that is thus beſtowed; for when it pleaſes God to ſhower down his bleſſings upon the ſons of men, it is not for this or that man's ſake, or uſe alone, but a depoſitum with them as truſtees for the common ſervice of thoſe that want. Neither can men do a greater right to God's magnificence towards themſelves, than by communicating part of the bleſſings to others. Whoever ſhall preſume to act contrary to what is here preſcrib'd, ſhall receive forty laſhes ſave one from the hand of the common executioner; a ſervile puniſhment, but good enough for a mercenary freeman, who ſacrifices his dignity to his avarice. It is but juſt and reaſonable, ſays Moſes, that thoſe people who ſuffer'd ſo many hardſhips themſelves in Egypt and the wilderneſs, ſhould from the experience of their own miſery contract ſomewhat of tenderneſs and compaſſion for their neighbours; ſo far at leaſt, as being in plenty themſelves, to aſſiſt the needy in ſome degree out of their abundance.

A third to the poor.

Beside the two yearly tenths already appointed to be paid, the one to the Levites, the other to the holy feaſts, there remains yet a third to be every third year divided among the poor widows and orphans.

The firſt fruits to the temple, Deut. xxvi.

Let every man carry his firſt fruits to the temple, and after thankſgivings to God for the earth that brought them forth, and ſacrifices celebrated in due form of law, let him give them to the prieſts; and this being done, and the tenth with the firſt fruits for the Levites and the feſtivals, preſented according to cuſtom, let him when he is ready to go home again, give God thanks before the door of the temple for delivering the Hebrews from their grievous ſlavery, and putting them in poſſeſſion of ſo fair and plentiful a country; publickly declaring, that he has paid his tenths according to the law and appointment of Moſes. Let him then pray to God, both for himſelf and for the publick, to grant them not only a continuance of his graces and mercies toward them, but by his infinite power and goodneſs, to vouchſafe them an augmentation of thoſe bleſſings.

The choice of a wife.

When men are of years to marry, let them make their choice out of virgins that are well born, and well educated, and the children of virtuous parents; but let not him that will not marry a virgin, preſume to ſeduce the wife of another man, to the diſquiet and affliction of her husband.

Love is no plea for a freeman who marries a bond-woman.

Let not a freeman marry a bond woman, and then plead love in his defence; for a man forfeits his dignity when he can no longer command his paſſions.

Let no man marry a harlot.

Let no man preſume to contract marriage with a harlot; for God will not receive a nuptial ſacrifice from an unclean body; beſides, libidinous marriages generally produce a libidinous and vicious offspring, and ſuch as are intirely void of ſobriety and honour.

The caſe of a woman that marries for a virgin, and is none, Deut. xxiv.

If any man thinks he has married a virgin, and finds afterwards that he was miſtaken, let him put the cauſe upon a trial, and bring his proofs, while on the other ſide the father, the brother, and the next a-kin may appear on the behalf of the woman; if ſhe be acquitted, her accuſer ſhall be bound to live in wedlock with her, and that marriage never after to be diſſolv'd, unleſs upon poſitive evidence beyond contradiction; but whoever ſhall be found in ſuch a caſe as this, raſhly and ſcandalouſly to calumniate an innocent perſon, let him have the corporal puniſhment of nine and thirty ſtripes, and ſtand condemn'd in a mulct of fifty ſickles, to the father of the woman. But if it ſhall be made out that ſhe was corrupted before her marriage, ſhe ſhall be ſtoned to death for her incontinence, if a perſon of a mean quality; or if otherwiſe, as of the family of a prieſt, let her be burnt alive.

No transferring the right of primogeniture to a younger child, Deut. xxi. 15–17.

If a man have two wives, and a much greater value for the one than for the other, (whether upon the account of beauty, inclination, or what other motive ſoever,) in caſe the husband ſhall be prevail'd upon by the favourite wife to demand a right of primogeniture for her younger ſon, to the prejudice of an elder ſon by another wife, (for by my laws, ſays Moſes, the ſeniority entitles him to a double portion) let it not be allow'd of; for it is unjuſt that the elder ſon ſhould be robb'd of his birthright for the partiality of the father to one wife more than the other.

Of debauching a woman contracted to another man, Deut. xxii. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27.

If any man ſhall debauch a virgin contracted to another man, they are both guilty, and ſhall both ſuffer death; the man for corrupting the woman, and the woman for conſenting; the one for ſeducing the woman into the preference of a ſcandalous uncleanneſs to an honourable marriage; the other for yielding herſelf a proſtitute, either for luſt or profit. But if a man ſhall be found to have forced a woman alone, and no body within diſtance of coming to her relief, the man only ſhall die.

The penalty of corrupting a virgin that's free, Ver. 28, 29.

He who ſhall corrupt a virgin that is under no obligation to any other man, let him marry her; or if her father will not agree to it, let him give him fifty ſhekels for a compoſition.

The caſe of a man's parting with his wife.

If a man has a mind to part from his wife upon what cauſe ſoever, as there are pretences in abundance, let him give it under his hand that he will never have any thing more to do with her; hereby ſhe may be empower'd to marry another man, but without ſuch a diſcharge ſhe cannot, neither will the divorce ſtand good; but in caſe ſhe marry a ſecond husband, and he chance to die, and the woman have a mind to go back to her firſt again, it is not to be permitted.

The caſe of a husband that dies and leaves his wife without iſſue.

If a husband dies and leaves his wife without iſſue, let the brother of the deceaſed marry the widow, and in caſe of a ſon by the ſecond husband, let him bear the name of the family, and inherit the eſtate; for it concerns the publick that names and families ſhould be preſerv'd, their poſſeſſions kept entire, and it is a relief to the woman to live with ſo near a relation to her firſt husband. But if the brother refuſe to marry her, let her complain to the ſenate, that whereas ſhe offer'd herſelf to ſtay in the family, and to bring children to it, her husband's brother had given her the repulſe, and put a diſhonour upon the memory of her dead husband. The elders ſhall then interrogate the brother upon the reaſon of his refuſal, and whether his reaſons be ſtrong or weak, the iſſue will be this in the concluſion: the widow ſhall looſen the lappet of the brother's ſhoe, and ſpit in his face, telling him that he deſerv'd all this, for caſting a diſhonour upon the memory of the deceaſed. After this he departs the court, ſtigmatiz'd with infamy as long as he lives; and ſo the widow is left at liberty to marry again where ſhe pleaſes.

A maid, widow, or wife that is taken priſoner, and then marries, Deut. xxi.

If any man takes a maid, widow, or wife, priſoner, and hath a mind to marry her, they are not to have converſation together as man and wife, till the priſoner ſhall have ſhaved her head, and run through the whole courſe of her mourning for the friends and relations ſhe loſt in the battle; and this ceremony being over, ſhe is at liberty to enjoy the comforts of mirth and marriage. It is nothing but juſt and reaſonable that he who takes a woman to have children by her, ſhould indulge the will and affections of his wife, and not ſo abſolutely purſue his own ſatisfactions, as to neglect her's. But after thirty days mourning, which is enough for any perſon of diſcretion, it may be ſeaſonable to marry. If the man ſhould prove fickle, and grow weary of her, he muſt not think to make her a ſlave again, for ſhe hath purchaſed her freedom to go whither ſhe pleaſes.

Of undutiful children.

If children ſhall behave themſelves undutifully and contemptuouſly toward their parents, without any regard to filial reverence, piety, or good manners, let the father and mother in the firſt place (whom nature has made their judges) inſtruct and tutor them by ſome diſcourſe to this or the like purpoſe.

Good advice to children.

“You ſhould conſider, children, that the conſcientious end of marriage is not either wealth or pleaſure, but firſt to have children, as a bleſſing which we are to acknowledge with joy and thankfulneſs, and then to train up thoſe children to the knowledge and exerciſe of virtue and ſubmiſſion, that they may ſo live, as to be a comfort and ſupport to their aged parents. You cannot ſay that we have ſpar'd for any thing in the care of your inſtitution, that might honeſtly qualify you for all the agreeable advantages of a happy life. And what return at laſt for all this tenderneſs? But youth is raſh and frail, and the errors of it are not unpardonable. Come, children, you have been to blame; be ſo no more, but repent and amend, before it be too late. You are not aware, perhaps, how God himſelf is wounded in your unnatural perverſeneſs to thoſe, from whom, next under him, you received your being; and that your heavenly father imputes all the faults committed againſt your earthly father, as done to himſelf, under the analogy of that common appellation, being the father of all fleſh living; to ſay nothing of the inevitable ſeverity of the law in that point, which I had rather you ſhould underſtand by diſcourſe than experience.”

If this way of reaſoning take effect, it will be but a piece of charitable juſtice to forgive it as a mere ſlip of ignorance, beſide that it would be for the honour of governors, and the comfort of parents, that their children never fall under the laſh of the law; but if neither authority, nor advice can prevail, and that rebellious children will ſtill perſiſt in an incorrigible contumacy, there is no way left then, but to turn the laws looſe upon them, which will have them carried out of the city, and there ſtoned to death; the bodies to be expoſed for a publick ſpectacle for one day, and at night to be taken down and buried.

Incorrigible obſtinacy in children to be puniſhed with death, Deut. xxi. 18—21.

The ſame thing is to be done in all other caſes of capital puniſhment; publick enemies are not to be denied burial; the dead muſt be allowed earth to cover them; the law preſcribes the puniſhment, and it would be injuſtice to go beyond the ſentence.

Publick enemies to be allow'd burial.

It is not lawful for one Hebrew to lend unto another who is poor, either meat or drink upon uſury; for it is not fair to make advantage of the neceſſities of a brother. Let it ſuffice, that the conſcience of a good office does more than countervail the profit of it; ſo that the very charity is clear gain, if men would but truſt God Almighty for their reward, which never fails, ſooner or later, to follow good works. As for thoſe who borrow either money or fruits, wet or dry, let them be ſure to make a chearful repayment of it ſo ſoon as ever God ſhall put them in a condition ſo to do; which is no more than depoſing ſo much in another hand for your own uſe, to be in readineſs upon the like occaſion.

No lending betwixt Hebrews upon uſury, Deut. xxiii.

Debtor and creditor, Deut. xxiv. 10, 11.

In caſe of a debtor, who hath neither the ſhame, nor the conſcience to reſtore what he borrow'd, the creditor ſhall not enter into his houſe to take a pledge, but demand it at the door, where the debtor himſelf is to deliver it, but upon the order of the judge in favour of the creditor, there muſt be no oppoſing of it. If he who has given the pawn can conveniently ſpare it, let the creditor keep it till he receives ſatisfaction; but if he be very indigent, and wants it, let it be return'd before ſun-ſet, eſpecially if it be a garment, leſt he ſhould want it to keep him warm in the night. Such is the tenderneſs of Almighty God in favour of the poor.

Ver. 12, 13.

A mill not to be taken in pawn, Ver. 6.

Take not a mill in pawn, or any thing that is eſſentially neceſſary to the working of it, for fear it ſhould deprive ſome poor people of the means of a livelihood.

Death to ſpirit away any body, Ver. 7.

Let it be death to ſpirit away, or to ſteal a man; and he who ſteals gold or ſilver, let him reſtore double.

Lawful to kill a thief in the act of ſtealing, Exod. xxii. 2.

He who ſhall kill a thief in the act of ſtealing, or of breaking into a houſe, ſhall be acquitted.

The penalty of ſtealing a labouring beaſt, Ver. 1.

He who ſhall ſteal a labouring beaſt ſhall be condemn'd in four times the value of it, unleſs it be an ox, and then the penalty ſhall be fivefold in value; but if the party be not able to pay the fine, let him be turn'd over for a ſlave to the perſon he has wrong'd.

The caſe of ſelling one Hebrew to another, Lev. xxv. 39–43.

If one Hebrew be ſold to another, he ſhall ſerve ſix years, and be made free the ſeventh; but if it ſhould ſo fall out, that he hath children in his maſter's houſe by any of his female fellow-ſervants, and ſhall think fit, out of ſome particular inclination to continue in ſervitude beyond his time, he ſhall, in the year of Jubilee, which is every fiftieth year, be ſet free with his wife and children.

Finding gold and ſilver upon the way, Deut. xxii 1, 2, 3.

If any man ſhall find gold and ſilver upon the way, let him ſeek and enquire, by the common crier, who it was that loſt it, in order to the reſtoring of it; for it would be inhuman to make profit of another man's misfortune; and ſo for cattle which ſhould be ſeen aſtray, and wandering in a deſart, either let the maſter be found out to whom they belong, or let the finder keep them to himſelf, till the right owner may be heard of, calling God to witneſs that he does not covet the goods of any other men.

Ver. 4.

A man may not paſs by, and ſee his neighbour's beaſt that has the misfortune to be laid faſt in the mud, without helping it up, as much as if it was his own.

Set a traveller into his right way.

If any man ſees a traveller at a loſs for want of knowing his way, let him give him his beſt direction and advice, to ſet him forward on his journey. It is barbarous, either to make ſport with him, or to hinder his buſineſs.

Speak no ill of the deaf or abſent, Exod. xix. 14.

Speak no ill either of the deaf, or of the abſent.

Striking upon a ſudden quarrel, Exod. xxi. 18, 19.

If one man ſtrikes another upon a ſudden quarrel, and not with a ſword, let juſtice be immediately done upon the aggreſſor, by the ſame number of blows that he gave the other; but if he who was ſtruck be carried home, lie ſick for ſeveral days, and then die, there ſhall lie no action of murder in the caſe; but if he recovers, the other ſhall bear the whole charge of his cure, doctors, apothecaries, ſurgeons, attendance, and the like.

Of beating a woman, and making her miſcarry, Ver. 22.

If any man ſhall kick a woman with child, ſo that ſhe miſcarries, the judges ſhall condemn him in a ſum of money for the loſs of a ſubject, beſide another ſum by the way of a fine to her huſband; but if ſhe dies of the ſtroke, the man muſt die too, for life muſt anſwer for life.

Finding a mortal poiſon in the poſſeſſion of an Iſraelite.

If there ſhall be found in the poſſeſſion of an Iſraelite, the preparation of any mortal or dangerous poiſon, he ſhall ſuffer death for it, to anſwer for the lives of thoſe againſt whom it ſhall appear to have been deſign'd.

An eye for an eye, Ver. 24.

He who ſtrikes out another man's eye, ſhall forfeit his own, and make ſatisfaction in kind, an eye for an eye, unleſs he ſhall otherwiſe think fit to compound for it with money; for the law will ſo far allow a man to be a judge in his own caſe, where he ſhall think fit to moderate the rigour of a penalty for an injury done to himſelf.

The caſe of an ox that gores, Exod. xxi. 28–32.

If an ox be miſchievous, and given to goring, let his maſter kill him. If an ox kill any body, let him be immediately ſton'd to death, and no man preſume to eat of his fleſh; but if it ſhall appear that the maſter had been forewarn'd of the fierceneſs of this beaſt, and gave no heed to it, he himſelf ſhall ſuffer death for not preventing the death of another man. If an ox ſhall kill a man or a maid-ſervant, the ox ſhall be ſton'd, and the owner of the ox ſhall ſtand condemned in thirty ſhekels to the maſter of the ſlave that was ſlain. If one ox ſhall kill another, let the living and the dead be both ſold, and the money divided betwixt their two maſters.

Let no pit or well lie open, Ver. 33, 34.

If any man digs a pit or a well, let him cover it with boards, and caſt up a mound about it when he goes from it, not to engroſs the water, but to give notice of the danger, and to keep man and beaſt from falling into it; or in caſe any beaſt ſhall drop in at unawares, and be loſt for want of ſuch a fence, or cover, the owner of the ground ſhall make ſatisfaction to the value of the beaſt.

A depoſitum is a truſt that is ſacred, Exod. xxii. 7, 8, 9.

If any man ſhall receive a depoſitum, that is to ſay, ſomewhat in truſt for the uſe of another, let him preſerve it as a thing ſacred, and not to be touch'd by man, woman, or child, though immenſe riches were to be gotten by it, to the prejudice of the creditors; and witneſs or no witneſs, either to the truſt, or to the fraud, does not alter the caſe one jot. The conſcience is the only judge and evidence of what we ought to do, and of what we do, and whether we do well or ill; and according to that inward teſtimony we ſtand or fall to a God that is not to be impos'd upon. But now ſuppoſing the depoſitum to be loſt in reality, and he who had it in charge not to blame neither: where it ſo falls out, let the truſtee apply himſelf to the ſeven judges, and there make oath in the preſence of God, that he never employ'd any part of it to his own uſe, and that neither directly nor indirectly he had any hand or privity in the loſing of it; and this ſhall be ſufficient to acquit him of having perform'd his truſt. But yet if it ſhall afterward be made appear, that he ever converted any particle of this depoſitum to his own proper uſe, he ſhall be obliged to make good the whole.

God will have the ſame ſtrictneſs of juſtice to be alſo obſerved in the punctuality of paying the labourer his hire, which conſiſts partly in not defrauding him of any portion of his due, and partly in not delaying the payment of it; but upon the ſame day, when he makes an end of his work, let him receive his wages.

Children not to ſuffer for their father's ſins, Ezek. xviii. 20.

Children are not to be puniſh'd for the iniquity of their fathers, but where they are good, they deſerve rather to be pity'd, for lying under the lot of having ſuch fathers: beſide the equity of reſpecting them for their own virtues rather than making them odious for the failing of others. Neither is the lewdneſs of children in all caſes to be imputed to their parents; for there are ſome natures ſo harſh, and intractable, that all the gentleneſs of good example, care, and diſcipline, can never work upon them.

All caſtrations forbid.

There are an abominable ſort of people, who out of ſome unnatural affectation, make themſelves Eunuchs; and in ſo doing, deſtroy as much as in them lies, the very intent of nature and providence, in male and female; cutting off the means of encreaſing, and conſequently of poſterity, both at once, to the diſappointment of the main end of their creation. Their minds were firſt corrupted, before they came to make this experiment upon their bodies. Theſe men are to be avoided, and deteſted as the worſt of monſters, wherefore let nothing be caſtrated, neither man nor any other living creature, for it is a departure from the very inſtitution of nature.

These are the laws you are to obſerve in times of peace, and I hope by the bleſſing of God, they will be continu'd unchangeably ſacred, and inviolable, to yourſelves, and your children after you for ever. But yet, in regard of the uncertainty of human affairs; and that upon ſome ground or other, whether of malice, or miſadventure, difficulties and troubles will inevitably ariſe, I ſhall endeavour in a few words, the beſt I can, to prepare you for the obviating of thoſe contingencies, ſo far at leaſt as a reaſonable, and a political foreſight of things may enable me, that you may not be taken unprovided how to acquit yourſelves upon occaſion.

An exhortation to unity, and the obſervation of the law.

I wish with all my heart you may continue in a quiet poſſeſſion of the land which God hath allotted you; and that you may come to reap the fruit of your induſtry and patience, in peace, and plenty, without the hazard, either of open enemies from abroad, or of worſe in your own bowels; for inteſtine diſcord would endanger the overturning of the laws, cuſtoms, diſcipline, and religion of your forefathers; which are no other than the ordinances of God himſelf, being warranted by the ſtamp and authority of his divine approbation. From theſe conſtitutions you are never to depart.

Not to go to war without firſt ſending embaſſadors.

But if it ſhall be your fortune, either now or hereafter, to fall under the neceſſity of a war, God grant it may be a foreign one, and for the decency of the proceeding, let it be advanced in form. You ſhall do well to let your heralds or embaſſadors be ſent in the firſt place with memorials, and declarations upon the matter in queſtion; for according to the courſe of reaſon and nature, words ſhould go before blows. You may give them to underſtand that your buſineſs is not to enrich yourſelves with priſoners, or booty: how unwilling you are to put things to extremities, and how deſirous of peace, upon any terms; notwithſtanding all the advantages of numbers, horſe, arms, military proviſions, and more than all the reſt, of an Almighty and a gracious God to fight your battles. But if your competitor ſhall yet think fit to put the cauſe upon a trial of war, draw out your men againſt him, committing the government of the whole to God, and next under him to the braveſt man of arms, policy, and courage, that you can pitch upon, as his deputy. Have a care of many heads; for they do commonly more hurt than good: not only for want of agreement, but in the matter of execution and diſpatch. Look to the choice of your levies; for the minds of men muſt be conſider'd as well as their bodies. Let them be daring as well as robuſt, for the leaſt mixture of cowardice may be enough to diſcourage and diſpirit a whole army.

Advice in the choice of a general.

No cowards to be choſen for ſoldiers.

Perſons excepted out of the militia, Deut. xxiv.

You ſhall except out of the militia, the maſters of new-built houſes which they have not yet liv'd a year in: the planters of vineyards who have not as yet taſted the fruit of their own vines; and new-marry'd men that have not taken their wives home with them yet, who, when they ſhould be venturing their lives for their country, will be indulging them for their pleaſure.

Obſerve good order in the camp. Cut down no fruit-trees for common uſe. Deut. xx. 19.

Keep good order in your camp, and allow no liberties that are harſh and cruel. When you want wood at any time upon a ſiege, as for an engine, or ſome military uſe, ſpare all fruit-trees, upon this conſideration, that they were both created and planted for other uſes. If they had tongues they would expoſtulate the matter with you, why thoſe that were no cauſe of the war ſhould be deſtroy'd for the ſervice of it; and for their parts, if they were at liberty to tranſplant themſelves they could be as well elſewhere.

No quarter to the obſtinate. The Chanaanites to be rooted out, Ver. 16. 17.

When you have the fortune to overcome in battle, give no quarter to thoſe of your enemies that were obſtinate and ſtood it out, but preſerve the reſt, and make them your tributaries, ſaving only the Chanaanites; and thoſe you are to extirpate, even the whole nation of them, root and branch.

No man to put on a woman's habit, nor a woman a man's, Deut. xxii. 5.

* Let no man appear in a woman's dreſs or habit, nor any woman in a man's; but eſpecially in a military action.

The form of the Hebrew commonwealth. Deut. xxx. xxxi. xxxiii. xxxiv.

This was the form and polity of the Hebrew commonwealth as Moſes left it, and he delivered other laws alſo that he had written ſome forty years before: of which in another tract.

A prophetical hymn, and benediction, xxxiii. xxxiv.

He held aſſemblies ſeveral days after this, ſucceſſively; beſtowing his benedictions upon thoſe who liv'd in obedience to his holy laws, and purſuing the malicious tranſgreſſors of them with bitter maledictions. He then recited a kind of a prophetical canticle in Hexameter verſe, containing a diſcourſe of things to come, and in the very order as they fell out after, without any variation either in the matter itſelf, or in the ſeries of the ſtory. This he left in writing to be kept in the oratory. He delivered his books to the prieſts, and alſo the ark, wherein were the ten commandments, written in two tables, leaving it in charge to the people; that ſo ſoon as ever they ſhould come to be maſters of the promis'd land, and ſettle their plantations, they ſhould take their revenge of the Amalekites, for the indignities they had formerly put upon them in the deſart.

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* See Cunæus de Rep. Hebr. l. ii. c. 22.

The Chanaanites to be deſtroy'd, and an altar erected betwixt mount Garizim and Gebal, Deut. xxvii. xxviii.

He commanded alſo that upon the taking of Chanaan, and putting the whole multitude to the ſword, they ſhould raiſe an altar to the eaſtward, not far from Sichem, betwixt two mountains, Garizim on the right hand, and Gebal on the left, and ſo dividing their army into twice ſix tribes, they were to diſpoſe of thoſe two diviſions upon theſe two mountains, together with the prieſts and Levites. They were to pray in their turns, and Garizim to lead the office, imploring all ſorts of bleſſings from Almighty God upon thoſe that kept his holy commandments and walked in the ways of his ſervant Moſes: the tribes upon Gebal, by way of reſponſe, at the cloſe, returning their acclamations, in token of approving what the other had done. And then after the ſame manner they follow'd with their maledictions, which were pronounced and ratify'd with the ſame ſolemnity as before. Theſe bleſſings and imprecations were at that time committed to writing, for a perpetual memory of the thing. He cauſed them alſo, when he was dying, to be engraven on each ſide of the altar, the people aſſiſting and offering up ſacrifices and burnt-offerings: a thing after that time not warrantable in itſelf, and therefore not to be brought into precedent. You have here the ordinances and conſtitutions of Moſes, which the Hebrews obſerve moſt religiouſly to this day.

Bleſſings and maledictions, ibid.

The people under an oath to obſerve God's laws, Deut. xxix.

Upon the day following, the whole multitude being gather'd together, men, women, and children, the meaneſt of ſlaves themſeves not excepted, Moſes bound them with an oath to the obſervance of theſe laws according to the will of God, and that neither favour, terror, nor any other pretence, ſhould ever make them depart from their obedience to thoſe precepts; but that if any ſingle perſon, though never ſo near or dear to them, or any body of men, ſhould ever attempt an innovation, they would join as one man againſt him and them, to perſecute the people, eraze their cities, and not leave them ſo much as one ſtone upon another, if they had power to compaſs it. But otherwiſe, in caſe of inſuperable difficulties, they would at leaſt make a publick proteſtation againſt the wickedneſs, and utterly deny their aſſent to it. This was the ſum and ſubſtance of the oath the multitude took upon this occaſion. Moſes inſtructed them further alſo, how they ſhould govern themſelves in their ſacrifices, and what meaſures they were to take in all great enterprizes; to know whether they had God's approbation or not, by obſerving the ſtones upon Aaron's breaſtplate, as is already ſet forth.

Joſhua's predictions, Deut. xxxiv. 9.

While Moſes was yet alive, Joſhua foretold, by the ſpirit of prophecy, what he himſelf was to do for the welfare of the people, either in war abroad, or in a legal adminiſtration at home, preparing the multitude by his diſcourſes, for the entertainment of their new way of diſcipline. He told them alſo, that what he ſaid was by a divine impulſe, and that if ever they ſhould depart from the religion of their country, they would fall into great calamities; their land ſhould be over-run with foreigners, their cities ſack'd, their temple laid in aſhes, and themſelves ſold for ſlaves to a people who would treat them without mercy or compaſſion, till they came at laſt to a late and unprofitable repentance; not but that God would be pleaſed in time to come to reſtore them to their cities and their temple. But yet that after ſuch a reſtoration, they were ſtill in the future, to be loſt over and over again.

Joſhua order'd to march againſt the Chanaanites, Deut. xxxi. 7, 8.

Moſes being now ready to diſcharge himſelf of his commiſſion, order'd Joſhua to march with his army againſt the Chanaanites, in a full aſſurance that God would proſper him in his undertaking, and not without preſages likewiſe of all ſorts of bleſſings to the people, of whom he took his laſt leave in the following words:

Moſes's laſt ſpeech and advice to the people, Deut. xxxiii. xxxiv.

“Since it is the will of the Almighty to call me to my fathers, and ſo to order it, that this very day is to be the laſt of my life, it will become me, while I am yet living, and in your preſence, to give God thanks for all his cares and providences extended to you, and your affairs; not only in your deliverances from all manner of calamities, but in the bounty of innumerable bleſſings and benefits; and I muſt likewiſe acknowledge his infinite goodneſs to myſelf, in proſpering and aſſiſting all my reaſonable endeavours for your comfort and advantage; wherein my part hath been only ſubſervient and miniſterial toward your well-being, while God himſelf was the firſt mover and perfecter of it; for all which providences, his holy name be praiſed; and to his gracious protection, now as a dying man, I reckon it a duty to recommend you. It is my duty likewiſe to mind you of the honour and veneration you owe to that Almighty power, which alone, and no other, you are to worſhip and adore; and pray ye have a care to put a true value alſo upon the laws he hath given you, as the moſt ſacred and ineſtimable of all his bounties. Suppoſe it the caſe but of a common lawgiver, to have his ordinances trampled upon, and his authority deſpiſed, how unpardonable an affront would this be, even from one man to another? But who ſhall be able to ſtand againſt the indignation of an incenſed God then, who is your divine lawgiver, when he ſhall be provoked to call you to an account for the contempt of his commandments?”

Moſes univerſally lamented, ibid.

These laſt words of his were accompanied with a thouſand benedictions to the tribes, and not without ſeveral prophetical preſages of things afterward to befal them, and which accordingly came to paſs. The multitude fell all into a violent fit of weeping at this diſcourſe of Moſes; the women beating their breaſts, and their very children under a miſerable impatience of lamentation. Such was the tenderneſs, that even theſe poor innocents had for the dignity and virtue of ſo great a man, upon the apprehenſion of his approaching end. There was, in fine, a ſort of conteſt betwixt the young and old, who ſhould exceed each other in grief. The young were afflicted to think what would become of them for the time to come; the old to conſider how ill they had treated him in time paſt, and that they never underſtood the value of the bleſſing they enjoy'd, till they were now to be for ever deprived of it. But the force of this impreſſion did not appear in any thing ſo much, as in the effect it had upon the conſtancy and magnanimity, even of the comforter himſelf; for after all his philoſophizing upon the contempt of death, and his conſolatory counſels of reſignation and ſubmiſſion to the will of God, and to the law of nature, he yielded himſelf up at laſt to the weakneſs he condemn'd, and wept for company. While he was now moving toward his laſt retreat, and the multitude all in tears attending him, he gave a ſign with his hand to thoſe at a diſtance to ſtop where they were, and deſired thoſe nearer hand not to trouble the peace of his laſt hour with thoſe fruitleſs and unſeaſonable importunities. So they kept back to gratify his intimation, but ſtill looking after him with weeping eyes and ſad hearts, as far as they could ſee him. He took along with him only the elders, Eleazar the high-prieſt, and Joſhua his ſucceſſor. When he came to Abarim, a very high mountain over-againſt Jericho, he took a view of the fair and fruitful country of Chanaan, diſcharged the ſenators, and after a final leave taken of Eleazar and Joſhua, with mutual embraces, Moſes was taken away from them in a cloud, while they were yet diſcourſing, and tranſlated into a certain valley. The holy ſcripture ſays he died, leſt people ſhould imagine him, becauſe of the excellency of his perſon, to be yet alive, and with God. He lived a hundred and twenty years; and within one month of a third part of that time bore command over the Hebrews. He departed this life in the laſt month of the year, and the firſt day of the month, which the Macedonians call Dyſtrus, and we Adar.

Moſes within ſight of the land of Chanaan, Deut. xxxiv. 4.

Moſes taken away in a cloud.

The age and death of Moſes, Ver. 7.

He was a man of admirable wiſdom, and one who made the beſt uſe of what he underſtood; an excellent orator, and no man better skill'd in moving the affections of the people than himſelf; ſo great a maſter of his paſſions, that he liv'd as if he had none, and as if he had known them only by their names; or elſe as he obſerv'd them in other men; never a greater captain, nor a prophet equal to him; for all his words were oracles. The people mourned for him thirty days, and the death of this holy man was the moſt ſenſible mortification they ever felt; and this was not only his character among thoſe that knew him in his life and death, but he has made himſelf as famous to poſterity in his writings, as he was to the age he liv'd in, for his actions. This is all we have to ſay concerning the end of Moſes.

Moſes's character, Ver. 10, &c.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK V.

From the Year of the World 2493 *to* 2850.

CHAP. I.

Joſhua ſucceeds Moſes in his command over the Hebrews, fights and ſubdues the Chanaanites, and divides their lands by lot among the tribes.

Joſh. i.

MOSES being now tranſlated, as aforeſaid, the laſt duties paid to his memory, and the mourning ceremony over, Joſhua order'd the people to be in readineſs to march, and ſent away his ſpies to Jericho, to learn how the people ſtood affected, and to view the ſtrength and condition of the town. After this he decamp'd, with a deſign to paſs the river Jordan by the firſt opportunity. Upon this occaſion he conven'd the princes of the tribes of Reubel, Gad, and Manaſſes; (for one half of Manaſſes was allow'd to plant and ſettle in the country of the Amorites, which was a ſeventh part of the land of Chanaan,) minding them of their promiſes to Moſes, and deſiring them, both for his ſake, and their own, that they would now be as good as their words, in aſſiſting their brethren; and do it chearfully too, as a juſtice to the memory of their glorious patron, who had always expreſs'd ſuch a particular care for them, even to his laſt breath. They exhibited their aſſiſtance very willingly; inſomuch, that Joſhua march'd from Abila with fifty thouſand men, a matter of ſixty furlongs, toward the banks of the river Jordan. Immediately upon their encamping, the ſpies brought Joſhua an account of the ſtate of Jericho, and what the Chanaanites were a-doing. They came thither as ſtrangers, they ſaid, and ſo went whither they would, and ſaw whatever they had a mind to, without any ſtop or queſtion. They took a view of the walls, the gates, and the ramparts; all the weakneſſes and ſtrengths of the town, paſſing the whole day for men of curioſity only, and not in the leaſt ſuſpected of any deſign. They took up toward evening, in an inn near the wall, where they refreſhed themſelves; and after eating, news was brought them, as they were diſcourſing how to get back again, that information had been given to the king as he was at ſupper, of ſome certain ſpies who were come out of the Hebrew camp, and lay hid in the houſe of * Rachab; and that order was

Joſhua ſends ſpies to Jericho, Joſh. ii. 1.

Calls the tribes together, Ver. 10.

Minds them of their promiſes, Ver. 12, 13.

And marches from Abila with fifty thouſand men, to the banks of Jordan, Joſh. iii. 1, 2.

The ſpies bring intelligence of the ſtate of Jericho, Joſh. ii. 23, 24.

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* Scrip. Rahab.

Rachab conceals the ſpies, Joſh. ii. 4.

The ſpies promiſe Rachab protection, Ver. 14.

Rachab conveys away the ſpies, Ver. 15.

given immediately for the ſeizing of them, and putting them to the torture to know their buſineſs. So ſoon as Rachab underſtood that the houſe was to be ſearch'd, ſhe cover'd the ſpies under a parcel of flax that lay a drying upon the wall; and upon the coming of the meſſengers to look for theſe people, Rachab told them, indeed, of certain ſtrangers who had been there in the evening about ſun-ſet, but went their way again after ſupper; and if they were men ſuſpected to the king, as dangerous to the ſtate, they might be eaſily overtaken. The woman talk'd and look'd with ſuch an air of ſeriouſneſs, that the officers, without ever ſearching the houſe, poſted away toward the river Jordan, narrowly examining every road which they thought they might have taken; but having loſt their labour without making any diſcovery, they gave over the ſearch. So ſoon as the hurry was over, Rachab called forth her gueſts; minded them of the riſque ſhe had run for their ſakes; for that if they had been diſcover'd, it would certainly have coſt her and her family their lives; "Wherefore, ſays ſhe, whenever you come to take this place, (as I have a revelation from God that it will be ſo,) do you take as much care of mine, and my people's lives, as we have done of yours." And with theſe words ſhe diſmiſs'd them. The ſpies promiſed, with oaths, that her kindneſs ſhould be punctually requited, and therefore adviſed her, in order to it, that whenever ſhe found the town in danger of being taken, ſhe ſhould withdraw with what friends and goods ſhe had, into her own houſe, and hang out a ſcarlet cloth before her door. The general, they ſaid, ſhould be told of the token, and of the meaning of it, and would undoubtedly provide for the ſafety of whatever ſhould be found within thoſe walls. "She might depend upon it, they ſaid, that they would be true to what they had ſworn; only if any of them ſhould be ſlain in actual hoſtility, they would be quit from the obligation of their oath, and the blame lie at her door, not theirs." Upon theſe conditions they parted; Rachab having provided them a rope to let themſelves down from the wall, by which means they made their eſcapes, and returned to the camp with the intelligence of what they had ſeen and obſerv'd, and the whole buſineſs of Rachab, with all the circumſtances; that of the oath eſpecially, in which caſe the general conſulted Eleazar the high-prieſt, and the elders, who did authoritatively pronounce the oath to be binding, and ſo ratified the obligation.

The Hebrews encamp upon Jordan, Joſh. iii.

The Hebrews were now encamped upon the banks of the river Jordan, on their way to Jericho; but the waters being out, the current of itſelf rapid and impetuous, not ſo much as a boat or a bridge to help them over, nor the means of building any, with an enemy over and above ſo near, and the town at laſt on the wrong ſide of the water, the general for ſome time was not a little diſcouraged under the apprehenſion of ſo many invincible difficulties, till it pleaſed God to aſſure him by a comfortable revelation, that thoſe obſtacles ſhould be removed, and the river made fordable for the tranſporting of his troops.

Their miraculous paſſage, ibid.

The order of their march, ibid.

After two days expectation of this miraculous providence, Joſhua paſs'd the river with his army. In the firſt place went the prieſts, with the ark; the Levites after them with the tabernacle and the holy veſſels; after the Levites, follow'd the whole army; which was ranged according to the order of their ſeveral tribes; the women and the children in the middle, the better to ſecure them againſt the violence of the ſtream. It was obſerved upon the prieſt's firſt entrance into this paſſage, that the fierceneſs of the current abated, and the water fell: they found the bottom firm, and by degrees the channel came to be as dry as a pavement; ſo that the whole multitude forded it over, without any farther doubt or trouble; when they ſaw every thing ſucceeded according to what God had foretold them. But the prieſts continued ſtill in the middle, till the people were all paſs'd over, and ſafe landed on the other ſide. So ſoon as the army was got aſhore, the prieſts follow'd them, and left the river to its natural courſe again, which immediately fill'd up the channel, and put every thing into the ſame ſtate as before.

An altar of twelve ſtones; Joſh. iv. 20.

Joſhua ſacrifices upon it, and keeps the paſſover, Joſh. v. 10, 11.

Their manna fails them, Ver. 12.

The army marched from thence fifty furlongs toward Jericho, and there encamped within ten furlongs more of the place. Here it was that Joſhua erected an altar of the twelve ſtones, which twelve princes of the ſeveral tribes brought along with them out of the bottom of the river, by the prophet's order and command, for a token and a memorial to future ages of the ſtream of the river thus miraculouſly ſtanding ſtill; and upon this altar did Joſhua ſacrifice, celebrating the feaſt of the paſſover alſo in the ſame place, and in a ſtate of plenty and abundance, equal to the degree of want and miſery, which they had hitherto endur'd; for the Chanaanites harveſt was at this time ripe upon the ground, cattle, and other booty every where expos'd, and the Hebrews had it all at mercy; only the manna fail'd them now at laſt, after a ſubſiſtence of forty years upon it in the wilderneſs.

The Chanaanites keep to their holds, Joſh. vi. 1.

The prieſts carry the ark round Jericho for ſix days ſucceſſively, Ver. 14.

The Iſraelites living thus at diſcretion upon the Chanaanites country, without any ſort of check or controul, gave the Hebrew general to underſtand, that the enemy was not to be drawn out of their holds, by any provocation or affront whatſoever; ſo that he bethought himſelf of making ſome trial rather what might be done by a ſiege. Upon the firſt day of the feſtival, the prieſts took up the ark, and ſo marched forward with it in the middle of a guard of ſoldiers; ſeven other prieſts going before them, with ſeven horns ſounding, to animate the army to behave themſelves like men. And thus they went round about the walls of the city with the elders after them; but the prieſts only ſounding; and when they had gone the circuit of the city, they went back again to their camp without any more ceremony. This was the firſt day's work; and when they had done the ſame thing over again for ſix days ſucceſſively, Joſhua called the army and the people together on the ſeventh, and told them for news, that the town ſhould that day be delivered up to them, without any hazard or trouble; for the very walls ſhould fall down of their own accord, and leave the place naked; giving them in charge at the ſame time, to make a total deſtruction of every creature that had life in it; and that neither wearineſs of doing execution, tenderneſs of nature, or any other conſideration of booty or flight, ſhould prevail upon them to hold their hands; but that they ſhould put all to the ſword, without reſerving any thing of the ſpoil to their own advantage. What gold or ſilver ſoever ſhould be found, they were order'd to lay it in one maſs altogether; for it ſhould be dedicated to God, as the firſt-fruits of the victory obtain'd over that city; ſaving only that Rachab, with her family and relations, ſhould be preſerv'd for the ſake of the oath ſworn to her by the ſpies.

The walls fall of themſelves, on the ſeventh day, Joſh. vi. 20.

The Iſraelites enter the breach, ibid.

All put to the ſword but Rachab and her friends, Ver. 23.

A prodigious booty, V. 24.

WITH theſe words he marched with his army toward the city, and went the round of it with the prieſts, the ſenate, and the ſoldiers, in the ſame order as before. Upon the ſeventh time going about it, they made a little ſtop, and the wall fell down all on a ſudden, without any engine or force bent againſt it. This terrible ſurprize put the people into ſuch an amazement, that they had not the hearts left to make the leaſt reſiſtance; ſo that the Hebrews entered the breach, and cut off all before them, without the leaſt hazard or oppoſition; ſome in the ſtreets, others in their houſes; ſome in one place, and ſome in another, till it came, in fine, to an univerſal ſlaughter, without ſparing either women or children; ſo that the city was only a pile of dead bodies in the concluſion, and not one of the inhabitants found means to eſcape the common fate. This deſolation ended in the burning of the city, and the adjacent country; only Rachab, and her friends and family were reſcued by the ſpies, who being brought to the general, received his acknowledgments for the good office ſhe had done his agents; promiſing withal, that ſhe ſhould not fail of a ſuitable reward, which he quickly made good to her, by conferring on her a conſiderable eſtate in lands. Nor was this all; for he never fail'd afterwards to ſhew his eſteem and value for her upon all occaſions. What the fire had ſpared, was deſtroyed by the ſword, with a prophetical curſe upon any man that ſhould ever preſume afterward to rebuild it; wiſhing that whoever ſhould take upon him to lay the firſt ſtone of a new foundation, might loſe his eldeſt ſon, and he that ſhould finiſh the work, his youngeſt; and God would not ſuffer this malediction to paſs in vain neither, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter. There was taken in this town gold, ſilver, and braſs, to an ineſtimable value, without any diminution of it for the profit of any particular perſon; but Joſhua deliver'd it up to the prieſts, to be depoſited in their treaſury; and this was the fate of Jericho.

Achar's tranſgreſſion, Joſh. vii. 1.

BUT it ſo fell out that one * Achar, the ſon of Zebedee, and of the tribe of Judah, had gotten a rich cloak of the king's, of cloth of gold, and a huge maſs of the ſame metal, weighing two hundred ſhekels †. This man thought it ſomewhat unreaſonable to give that to God which he had no need of, and for which he himſelf had ventured his life, and had ſo much occaſion to make uſe of; ſo that he digged a hole in the ground under his tent, and there hid it; imagining that ſo long as his fellow-ſoldiers knew nothing of it, the concealment might paſs upon God himſelf. The army at that time was encamped at a place called ‡ Galgala, which ſignifies liberty; for being now paſſed the river, they reckon'd themſelves as good as ſecured from the ſlavery of Egypt, and the miſeries of the deſart.

The Iſraelites worſted at Ain, Ver. 4.

Their faſting and humiliation, Ver. 13.

SOME few days after the razing of Jericho, Joſhua ſent out a detachment of three thouſand men to Ain, a city a little above, higher in the country, where they engaged the enemy, and were beaten back with the loſs of ſix and thirty men. The tidings of this repulſe put the Iſraelites to a terrible anxiety of thought, not ſo much for the number of the ſlain, (tho' their near relations and men of valour and worth,) but for the ill-boding of the diſappointment; for they looked upon the difficulties of the war (even according to God's promiſe) to be all over, and that they were as good as maſters of the land; but their enemies had now taken heart again, they ſaid; and immediately, upon this reflection, they put on ſackcloth, and ſpent that whole day in faſting, weeping, and mourning; ſo grievous was the ſenſe they had of the diſgrace that was befallen them. The ſpirits of the army were ſo ſunk upon this diſaſter, and caſt down into ſuch a deſperation of better things for the future, that Joſhua, upon this occaſion, addreſſed himſelf with a more than ordinary aſſurance to Almighty God, ſaying,

Joſhua's prayer and appeal, Ver. 6-9.

"LORD, ſays he, we did not preſume to
" come here, prompted by any ambitious views
" of our own to make war upon theſe people,
" but out of a pure deference and reſpect to
" the perſuaſion of thy ſervant Moſes, who in-
" cited us to this undertaking, and not with-
" out the warrant of many ſigns and miracles,

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* Scrip. Achan the ſon of Zerah.

† A Shekel (according to Dr. Arbuthnot) reduced to Engliſh Troy weight, weigh'd nine penny weights, two grains, and four ſevenths; two hundred ſhekels therefore muſt weigh ſeven pounds, ſeven ounces, one penny weight, and ten grains; or ninety one ounces, one penny weight, and ten grains, which, reckoning gold at four pound the ounce, amounted to three hundred ſixty four pounds, five ſhillings, and eight pence of our money, or thereabouts. The ſhekel of gold, which was alſo a particular coin among the Jews, according to the beſt authors, was worth one pound, ſixteen ſhillings, and ſix pence of our money, two hundred of which amount exactly to three hundred and ſixty five pounds, which comes very near the abovesaid ſum.

We think it not improper here to obſerve to the reader, that there is great diſagreement among learned men, about the value of the Jewiſh ſhekel of ſilver. Some ſay it was worth but two ſhillings and a penny, ſome two ſhillings and three pence farthing, and half farthing; others two ſhillings and ſix pence in our money. But as Joſephus, more than once, avers it was equivalent to the Attick Tetradrachm, ſeveral of which we having lately had the opportunity of ſeeing and weighing, and finding them generally ſomething heavier than our half-crown, we rather chuſe to fix it at two ſhillings and ſeven pence, conformable whereunto is all that we have hitherto ſaid upon this ſubject, ſave only in two places, viz. in Book I. Chap. xv. where 'tis ſaid Abraham gave Ephraim four hundred ſhekels for a burying-place, which (according to the opinion of them who think a ſhekel was worth no more than two ſhillings and a penny,) ſhould there have been computed at forty one pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and four pence, Engliſh money; but according to our preſent valuation of it, at fifty one pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and four pence. So in Book IV. Chap. iv. p. 114. the note at the bottom ought to be three ſhillings and ten pence half penny in our money. Theſe emendations, we hope, will attone for the inconſiſtency we have herein been guilty of, and obviate, or at leaſt anſwer the juſt objections that either have, or otherwiſe might be made by our candid readers upon this head.

‡ Scrip. Gilgal. Maſius in his commentary upon the fifth chapter of Joſhua ſhews this to be an error.

“to convince us that he had reaſon and authority on his ſide; when he told us that thou thyſelf had'ſt promiſed us the poſſeſſion of this country, and to give us victory over all our enemies. But what a change is here all on a ſudden, in the diſappointment of our hopes, and in the loſs of our friends! as if either Moſes's predictions had not been of divine inſpiration, or otherwiſe thy promiſes and purpoſes variable. If this be the beginning of a war, we cannot but dread the further progreſs of it, for fear this miſcarriage upon the firſt experiment ſhould prove only the earneſt of greater evils to come. But Lord, thou alone who art able to give us relief, help us, and ſave us; vouchſafe unto us comfort and victory, and be graciouſly pleaſed to preſerve us from the ſnare of deſpairing for the future.”

God bids him purge the army of ſacrilege, and caſt lots to find out the offender, Joſh. vii. 13.

JOSHUA delivered this ejaculatory prayer proſtrate, with his face upon the ground, till upon finiſhing, God bid him “Riſe and purge the army from a pollution that had defiled it; for there was a ſacrilegious fraud that lay unaccounted for among them; and that corruption was the true cauſe of the miſchief that had lately befallen them; but, ſays the oracle, let there be lots caſt, to find out the criminal, and then let him be puniſhed on whom the lot falls, and the Iſraelites ſhall certainly carry their cauſe, and be victorious.” Joſhua made a report of all this to the people, and calling to him Eleazar the high-prieſt, and the princes of the tribes, he put the tribes to the firſt teſt of the lot; and the lot falling upon the tribe of Judah, they caſt lots next upon the ſeveral families of that tribe, and the lot fell upon the family of Zacharias; bringing the queſtion, in fine, upon a perſonal examination of man by man, they came at laſt to find out the very individual perſon that was guilty of the ſacrilege, the lot falling upon Achar, who thereupon was forthwith taken into cuſtody, and finding that there was no trifling with divine juſtice, his conſcience alſo being his accuſer, confeſs'd the ſacrilegious theft, and delivered it up in the ſight of the people; whereupon he was immediately put to an ignominious death, and his body buried by night in a ſcandalous manner, like a common malefactor.

The lot falls upon Achar, Ver. 18.

Who confeſſes the fact, and is ſtoned to death, Ver. 20, &c.

WHEN the army was purged, Joſhua drew them out toward the city of *Ain, planted his ambuſhes, and early next morning preſented himſelf in ſight of the enemy with his main body. The Ainites were ſo elevated with their former ſucceſs, that ſo ſoon as they had the Iſraelites in their eye, they immediately advanced in a furious manner againſt them to give them battle; the one giving way by little and little, as for fear, and the other preſſing upon them as in a full aſſurance of a certain victory. By this ſtratagem of a pretended flight, the Ainites were drawn from their city; when immediately upon a ſignal given, Joſhua put a ſtop to the army, and the ambuſh almoſt in the ſame inſtant, entered the town, with little or no oppoſition; for the inhabitants were moſt of them gotten together upon the walls, out of a curioſity to ſee the action, and inferring from the countenance of things, that the day was as good as their own already. It came however to a terrible ſlaughter; and in the mean time, the army being totally routed before the town, had no other retreat left them, but to fly back again to the city for ſanctuary: which was the courſe they ſteer'd; upon a preſumption that the place was ſtill in the ſame ſtate they left it. But when they came to find it taken, their houſes rifled and burnt, and their wives and children, either deſtroyed or priſoners, the miſerable remainder of them who eſcaped the ſword, were forced to betake themſelves to the wild fields and woods, for refuge. It was an incredible booty that was taken upon this encounter: a world of women, children, and bondſlaves; plate, and coſtly furniture, to a prodigious value; a great many flocks, and herds of cattle, and mighty ſums of current money. The country, in ſhort, was exceſſively rich, and the whole ſpoil of it was divided among the ſoldiers, who were then encamped in Galgala.

Joſhua takes Ain. Joſh. viii. 20.

The Chanaanites routed, Ver. 22--26.

An ineſtimable booty.

The Gibeonites ſtartled at the fate of Jericho and Ain, Joſh. ix. 3, 4.

WHEN the Gibeonites (being near neighbours to Jeruſalem) came to hear of the miſerable fate of Jericho and Ain, they began to conſider that their own turn might be next; but however, being prepoſſeſſed with an expectation that the whole nation of the Chanaanites were to be rooted out, they thought it not worth their while to make any barefac'd application to the Hebrews for favour. They invited however their neighbours the Chephirites, and thoſe of Kiriath-jearim, to join with them in the propoſal of a fair alliance with the Hebrews; telling them, unleſs they took proper meaſures to evade the approaching danger, they would be involv'd in the ſame ruin with the reſt of their countrymen; but that if they wou'd take their advice, means might be found out to avoid it. The advice was found reaſonable, and ſo they diſpatched away an embaſſy to Joſhua, of the fitteſt men they could pick out to manage ſuch a commiſſion. They had it in their inſtructions, not upon any terms to own themſelves for Chanaanites, but rather to inſinuate, that they lived a great way off, and had no manner of dealing with thoſe people. “They had heard much, they ſaid, of the reputation of the Hebrews, and they were now come to attend their General upon this occaſion. It might be ſeen by their clothes, that they had come a great way; for they were new when they ſet out, and they were now worn threadbare by the length of their journey.” Now they had purpoſely put on clothes that were coarſe and threadbare, for the better credit of the impoſture. In this habit they preſented themſelves before the aſſembly, with their teſtimonials, that they came as commiſſioners from the Gibeonites, and their neighbouring cities to enter into a treaty of friendſhip with them, ſaving only the rights and privileges of their country; for they found, that by God's grace and bounty, the land of Chanaan was given them for an inheritance, wherein they congratulated their good fortunes, deſiring to make a league of friendſhip and confederacy with them; thereby thinking to ſecure their liberties and property, making an oſtentation of their rags all this while, as the evidence of their ſincerity. Joſhua gave

They ſend deputies to Joſhua, Ver. 4--13.

The deputies inſtructions, ibid.

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* Ἄινα. Scrip. Ai. Steph. Byzant. Ἄιννα, and Berkelius fancies it to be the ſame with Κανᾶ and Κάναθα, in Joſephus. See Berkelius, p. 134.

Joſhua ſtrikes up a league with them, Joſh. ix. 15.

Joſhua's miſtake, Ver. 16.

Joſhua would come off, but cannot, V. 19, 20.

The Gibeonites made drudges, Ver. 27.

ſo much credit to the pretences, both of their words, and clothes, that taking for granted they were not Chanaanites, he ſtruck up a league with them, Eleazar the high-prieſt, and the elders, at the ſame time giving them the oaths of friends and allies, and that they ſhould never do any thing contrary to the tenor of that obligation. The agreement was ſolemnly executed, in the preſence, and with the approbation of the whole multitude. By this artifice they gained their point, and ſo returned to their own home. It happened ſoon after this, that upon Joſhua's drawing his army to that quarter of the Chanaanites which looks toward the plains, he was given to underſtand that theſe Gibeonites did not live far from Jeruſalem, and that they were of the ſame ſtock with the Chanaanites: ſo he ſent for ſome of the chief men of the country to come to him, and told them plainly that they had not dealt with him like men of truth and honour. They excuſed themſelves upon the neceſſity of the caſe; for, ſaid they, "we had no other way "left to ſave our ſelves." Upon this difficulty, the high-prieſt, and the elders were conſulted as to the obligation of the treaty, and were all poſitive in their opinion, that an oath ſo circumſtanced, and ſo ratified, was abſolutely ſacred and inviolable; but that the point might yet in ſome ſort be modified, by ſetting them apart for the doing of ſervile offices in the publick drudgery; which was the condition they ſtood afterwards condemned to; and upon theſe terms they avoided a much worſe fate, which otherwiſe would moſt certainly have befallen them.

The king of Jeruſalem makes war upon the Gibeonites, Joſh. x. 1.

They ſend to Joſhua for ſuccour, V. 6.

Joſhua relieves them, and routs the enemy.

A terrible tempeſt, Ver. 11. The ſun ſtands ſtill in his courſe, Ver. 11, 12.

Five kings ken, and p to death in the cave of Makkeda, Ver. 22—26.

WHEN the king of Jeruſalem came to be informed that the Gibeonites were revolted, and gone over into alliance with the Hebrews, he ſo highly reſented it, that he preſently ſent to four neighbouring kings to join with him in a war againſt them. They debated the matter, and came immediately to a reſolution, drew their troops together, and encamped near a certain fountain not far from the city, which they were then preparing to beſiege; the Gibeonites being apprehenſive the ſtorm would fall upon them, apply'd to Joſhua for aſſiſtance. Matters were now come to this paſs, that they were to be ruined by their own people, and forced to fly for protection to thoſe who were in arms purpoſely to root out the inhabitants of Chanaan. But ſo it was, however, that they had no other hope of ſafety under the ſun but in their new friendſhip. Upon the firſt intelligence of this enterprize, Joſhua marched with his whole army, night and day, to ſuccour the Gibeonites, and fell upon the enemy early in the morning, as they were juſt about to attack the town, routed, and had the chace of them along the hills, till they came to the valley of Bethora. The hand of God was never more viſible in any human action than it was in this battle; for, over and above the dreadful thunder and lightning of that day, with a violent tempeſt of hail-ſtones of a prodigious ſize, there was yet one prodigy ſtranger than all the reſt, and ſuch a one as was never heard of before: The ſun itſelf ſtood ſtill in the firmament, that the Hebrews might not want day-light for the perfecting of their victory. Upon this rout, the five kings were purſued to the cave of Makkeda, where they were found by Joſhua, taken, and all put to death. The miracle of the lengthening of this day beyond its natural meaſure, and of the ſun's ſtopping in its courſe, is moſt expreſly atteſted in the holy ſcriptures, according to the copies reſerved in the temple.

AFTER this defeat of the five kings that made war upon the Gibeonites, Joſhua went back again to the mountainous part of Chanaan, where he put a great many people to the ſword, and ſeized a vaſt number of cattle; which done, he marched back with the army to Gilgal.

A confederacy of the Chanaanites againſt Joſhua, xi. 1—

An army o three hun dred thouſand foot, ten thouſ horſe, and two thouſ chariots.

A bloody battle, V. The Cha nites overthrown, their kin ſlain, V.

Joſhua la the whol country waſte, V.

THE fame of the Hebrews for their martial exploits, and the numbers of the ſlain, made ſo great a noiſe every where, that the very reputation of their arms carried a terror along with it. But this did not yet hinder the Chanaanite kings of mount Libanus and thereabouts, nor thoſe of the plains, together with the Philiſtines, from joining in a confederacy againſt them; for they drew their forces together, and encamped at * Berothe, a city of Galilee, not far from the upper Cœdeſa, which is alſo in the country of Galilee. Their whole ſtrength was computed to amount to three hundred thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and two thouſand chariots. The thought of this formidable power caſt ſuch a damp upon the ſpirits, not only of the Iſraelites in general, but upon Joſhua himſelf, that the dread they had for ſo unequal an encounter, fell little ſhort of a downright deſpair: but upon God's reproving them for their faint-heartedneſs and diſtruſt, and encouraging them with freſh aſſurances of victory and protection, commanding them likewiſe to hamſtring the enemies horſes, and burn their chariots, the general took heart upon it, and forthwith marched with a full aſſurance of ſucceſs toward the enemy. Upon the fifth day he came up to them, and fought them. The encounter was obſtinate, and ſo bloody, that the truth of the action would be almoſt incredible; but however, the confederates were abſolutely broken, vaſt numbers kill'd in the purſuit; all the kings ſlain, and the whole army, in effect, entirely cut off: nay, ſuch was the rage of the victors againſt the conquer'd party, that when they had no more men to kill, they wreak'd their fury upon the horſes and chariots. The fortune, in fine, of this day, made Joſhua abſolute maſter of the country. He took their towns, kill'd all he could come at, did what he thought fit, and no creature left to oppoſe him. Their country, in ſhort, was wholly depopulated, and the very nation itſelf extirpated, ſaving only ſome few ſtragglers, who had the good hap to provide for their ſafety by flying into ſtrong holds. And all theſe diſtreſſes were but the miſerable devaſtations of one five years war.

Joſhua ches from Gilgal toward Sil where he ces the ta nacle, Jo xviii.

Joſhua another at Sichem

UPON this fatal overthrow, Joſhua decamped from Gilgal, and marched up the mountains toward Siloe, where he planted the holy tabernacle, with an intent to wait a while there, for the firſt opportunity of erecting a temple: the ſituation of the place being both commodious and delicious, and in all reſpects agreeable to the deſign. From thence he took all the people along with him to Sichem, where he erected an altar, as Moſes in time

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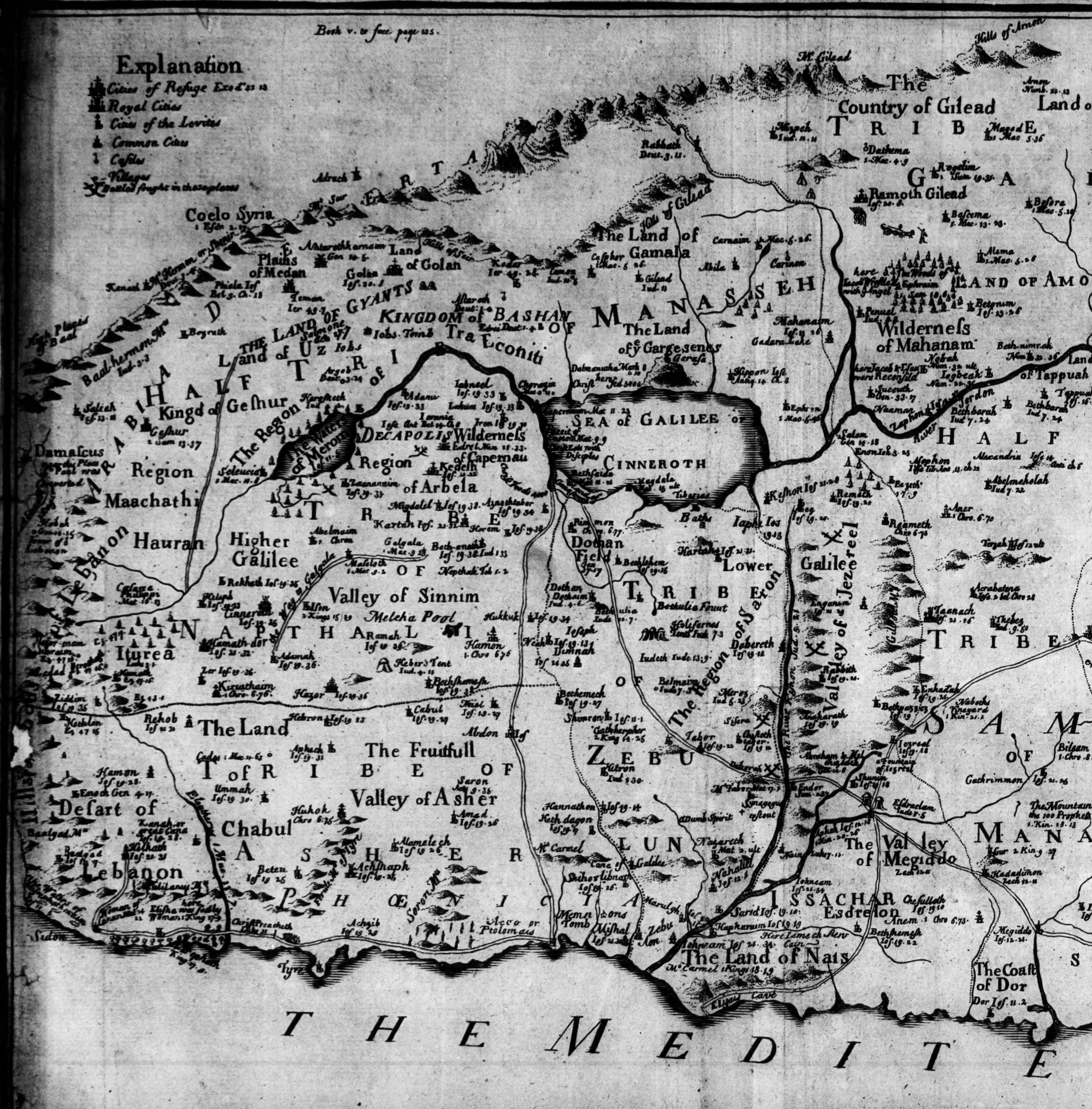
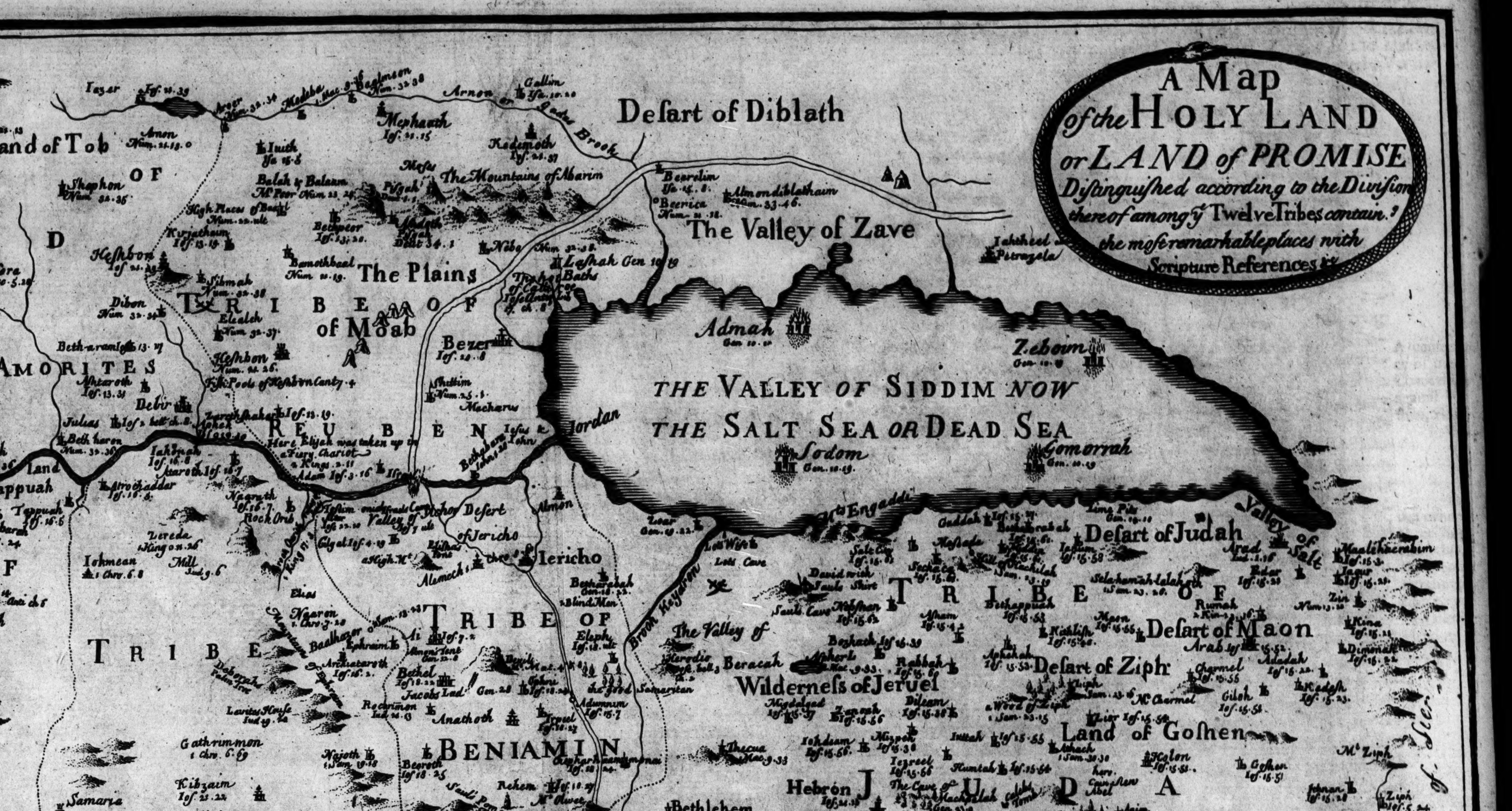
* Maſius would have it Meroth, and not Beroth. See his comment upon Joſhua, c. 11.



Explanation
Cities of Refuge Exod. 21. 13
Royal Cities
Cities of the Levites
Common Cities
Castles
Villages
Battles fought in these places
Coelo Syria
Mt. Seir
Adrach
Plains of Medan
Ashtaroth karnaim Gen 14. 5.
Land of Golan
Hills of Seir
THE LAND OF GYANTS
Land of UZ
KINGDOM of BASHAN
Tra conitis
HALF TRIBE OF MANASSEH
The Land of Gamala
Hills of Gilead
Mt. Gilead
Hills of Amon
The Country of Gilead
TRIBE OF GAD
Rabbath Deut. 3. 11.
Ramoth Gilead
Land of Amon
LAND OF AMORITES
Wilderness of Mahanam
Mahanaim
Land of Tappuah
Penuel
Succoth
Jordan
HALF
ARABIA
Kingd of Geshur
The Region of Argob
The Waters of Merom
DECAPOLIS
Region of Arbela
Wilderness of Capernau
Chorazin
Capernaum
The Land of Gargesenes
Gerasa
Bethsaida
SEA of GALILEE or CINNEROTH
Magdala
Tiberias
Damascus
Region Maachathi
Hauran
Lebanon
Higher Galilee
Lower Galilee
Valley of Sinnim
Melcha Pool
TRIBE OF NAPTHALI
Iturea
Kedesh
Hazor
Dothan Fields
Bethlehem
Bethulia
Holofernes Tents
Endor
Mt. Tabor
Nazareth
Nain
Cana of Galilee
The Region of Saron
Valley of Jezreel
Jezreel
TRIBE OF ZEBULUN
The Land
The Fruitfull Valley of Asher
TRIBE OF ASHER
Desart of Lebanon
Chabul
PHŒNICIA
Sidon
Tyre
Acco or Ptolomais
Achzib
Memnons Tomb
Mt. Carmel
The Land of Nais
Mt. Carmel 1 Kings 18. 19
Elijahs Cave
ISSACHAR
Esdrelon
The Valley of Megiddo
Megiddo
The Coast of Dor
Dor Ios. 11. 2
SAMARIA
Bileam
TRIBE
HALF TRIBE OF MANASSEH
THE MEDITERRANEAN

Book v. to face page 125.



A Map of the HOLY LAND or LAND of PROMISE Distinguished according to the Division thereof among ye Twelve Tribes contain. ye the most remarkable places with Scripture References

Desart of Diblath
The Valley of Zave
The Mountains of Abarim
The Plains of Moab
TRIBE OF REUBEN
AMORITES
Land of Tob
Heshbon
Bezer
Arnon
Jordan
Admah
Zeboim
THE VALLEY OF SIDDIM NOW THE SALT SEA OR DEAD SEA
Sodom
Gomorrah
Desart of Judah
Valley of Salt
Desart of Maon
Desart of Ziph
Land of Goshen
TRIBE OF JUDA
Hebron
Damascus Field
Valley of Eschol
Brook of Bezor
Wilderness of Jeruel
The Valley of Beracah
Desart of Jericho
Jericho
TRIBE OF BENIAMIN
JERUSALEM
Bethlehem
Anathoth
Valley of Rephaim
Gibeon
TRIBE OF DAN
TRIBE OF SIMEON
Valley of Gerar
Wilderness of Beer-sheba
The Sandy Desart
Mountains of Seir
Samaria
Sichem
SAMARIA
EPHRAIM
Mountains of Ephraim
MANASSEH
Joppa
Antipatris
Gath
Ekron
Azotus or Ashdod
Ascalon
Gaza
Lachish
Gezer
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

I. Harris. Sculp.

Joſhua marches in two bodies to Mount Garizim and Gebal, where they raiſe a third altar.

paſt had foretold and appointed. This being done, he divided his army; one half he ſent to Mount Garizim, and the other to Mount Gibal*, where there was likewiſe another altar built; the prieſts and Levites being alſo divided. Here they offer'd ſacrifices, and when they had denounced the maledictions, formerly mentioned, and engraven them upon the altar, they returned to Siloe.

Joſhua calls an aſſembly at Siloe, Joſh. xxiii.

And minds the people of the great things God had done for them, ibid.

Joshua was now far gone in years, and conſidering that the Chanaanites had yet ſeveral places of ſtrength left them, which betwixt art and nature were in a manner impregnable, (for the Chanaanites having intelligence from the very firſt departure of the Iſraelites out of Egypt, that they had a deſign to invade their country, let no time ſlip to ſecure and fortify themſelves;) Joſhua, I ſay, being aware of all this, call'd a general aſſembly of the people to meet at Siloe, where the appearance was very great. Joſhua, upon this occaſion, ſummed up what he had to ſay in few words, and laid the matter in hand before them. He gave them a ſhort hiſtory of the great things they had done and ſucceeded in already, by the aſſiſtance of God's favour and protection, as a people that religiouſly obſerv'd his laws. He minded them how God had given them victory over one and thirty kings, that had the confidence to take up arms againſt them, deſtroying their moſt numerous armies, and rooting out the very generations of their enemies. But in regard that the conqueſt was as yet but imperfect, ſome of their cities being already taken, and a great many others remaining in their hands that were better mann'd and fortified, and that it would be a work of time to reduce them, he thought it adviſeable, in the firſt place, to diſmiſs thoſe of their friends who came from beyond Jordan, to join in the hazard of the common cauſe; and with all due reſpects and acknowledgments, to ſend them back to the lot of their inheritance again. And ſecondly, that commiſſioners ſhould be choſen reſpectively out of every tribe; men of approved ſkill and integrity, and their buſineſs ſhould be, to take an exact ſurvey of the country, and to make a full report of it, without fraud or delay.

Joſhua adviſes the diſmiſſing of the two tribes and a half that came from beyond Jordan, Joſh. xxii. 4.

And the ſending of commiſſioners to ſurvey the country, Joſh. xviii. 8, 9.

Commiſſioners are choſen, ibid.

The people, every man of them, were highly pleaſed with the motion, and ſo Joſhua preſently order'd his agents to enter upon the work, appointing them for their aſſiſtants, men well ſkill'd in ſurveying; whereby they could not ſo well be impos'd upon, or miſled in the account.

With inſtructions to make n eſtimate, ot upon uantity, but quivalence.

They had it in their inſtructions alſo, notwithſtanding the ſurvey upon meaſure, to make a final eſtimate upon the quality or goodneſs of the land, as one quarter might fall out to be better or worſe than another; for there are in Chanaan a great many fair large fields, which being put in balance with ſome others, might be allow'd vaſtly to have the preference for corn, and all ſorts of fruits; but if compared with the land about Jericho or Jeruſalem, they would be found to be prodigiouſly inferior in worth. The country, indeed, is not large, and a good part of it mountainous; but for the plenty, growth, and beauty of the productions, no place whatſoever goes beyond it. For this reaſon it was concluded, not to value the lots barely by the meaſure, but by the virtue of them; for one acre ſometimes might fall out to be worth a thouſand. There were ten men employ'd upon this commiſſion to anſwer the ſame number of tribes concern'd in the queſtion. Theſe ten commiſſioners took both a view and an eſtimate of the country, and within ſeven months after, they came back again with the whole ſtate of the computation to Siloe, which was at that time the ſeat of the tabernacle.

The tabernacle at Siloe

A partition of the whole by lot into nine parts, to anſwer the nine tribes and a half, Joſh. xiii, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix.

Joshua then calling to his aſſiſtance Eleazar the high-prieſt, with the elders and princes of the tribes, made a partition of the whole, into ſo many ſhares, to be divided among nine tribes, and one half tribe of Manaſſes; every one to have in proportion, according to the rate and equity of the diſtribution.

The lot of Judah.

Upon putting it to the lot, the tribe of Judah had for their lot all the Upper Judea, reaching in length to Jeruſalem, and in breadth to the lake of Sodom; comprehending alſo the cities of Aſcalon and Gaza.

Simeon.

The tribe of Simeon, had that part of Idumea which borders upon Egypt and Arabia.

Benjamin.

The tribe of Benjamin had that part of the country, which, in length, extends from the river Jordan to the ſea; and, in breadth, from Jeruſalem to Bethel. This, for compaſs, was the ſmalleſt lot: but the quality makes amends for the quantity; for Jericho and Jeruſalem are comprized in it.

Ephraim.

The tribe of Ephraim had for their lot the country in length from Jordan to Gadara, and in breadth from Bethel to the large plain.

The half tribe of Manaſſes.

The half tribe of Manaſſes had their lot lengthways, from Jordan to the city Dora; and breadthways to Bethſana, which is now known by the name of Scythopolis.

Iſſachar.

The tribe of Iſſachar had for their lot, all betwixt Jordan and Mount Carmel, which reaches out in breadth to Mount Itabyr †.

Zabulon.

The tribe of Zabulon had for its lot, the whole country that borders upon Mount Carmel and the ſea, and ſo far as Genezareth.

Aſſer.

The tribe of Aſſer had for its lot, the country behind mount Carmel, over-againſt Sidon, reckoning the city of Arce ‡ alſo, otherwiſe Actipus.

Nephthali.

The tribe of Nephthali had for their lot the Upper Galilee, and the country eaſtward to the city of Damaſcus, Mount Libanus, and the head of the river Jordan, which has its riſe from that ſide of it that borders upon the city Arce, toward the north.

Dan.

The tribe of Dan had the vallies toward the weſt, which are bounded by Azotus and Dora; and to them likewiſe belong the cities of Jamnia and Gittha, and the whole country from Aceron to the mountain, where the portion of the tribe of Judah begins.

This was the diviſion that Joſhua made of ſix provinces of the Chanaanites, which took their names from ſo many of the ſons of Chanaan; and of this country did he deliver the poſſeſſion to the aforeſaid nine tribes and a half; but as to Amorrhæa, ſo call'd from one of the ſons of Chanaan, Moſes had diſpoſed of it long ſince to the two other tribes and a half,

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* Scrip. Ebal. † Or Tabor.

‡ See Berkelius's notes upon Steph. Byzant, p. 76, 167.

The Amorites country already diſpos'd of, Numb. xxxii. 33.

as we have ſhewn above; but then the regions of the Sidonians, the Aruceans, Amatheans, and Aritheans, are not comprized in this diviſion, not being at that time inhabited.

While Joſhua was now ſtruggling with the infirmities of old age, and the cares of the government, he found evidently that as he was no longer able to diſcharge the offices of his function in his own perſon, ſo there was no depending upon thoſe whom he deputed to act for him in the publick adminiſtration; for they had not a due regard, he ſaw, to the common good; wherefore he gave it in charge to every tribe reſpectively, not to tolerate any of the race of the Chanaanites in the land God had allotted them, but to root out the very remains of them; minding them how ſolemnly Moſes had declar'd himſelf in this matter, to whoſe advice and opinion he doubted not of their giving both heed and credit: beſide, that their own ſecurity, and that of their laws, rights, and religion, depended all upon it, and that he had experience, as well as authority for what he ſaid. He enjoin'd them farther, to deliver up to the Levites the thirty eight cities that were deſign'd them, being in poſſeſſion of ten already in * Amorrhæa, on the other ſide of the river. Three of theſe were to be cities of privilege or refuge. In the tribe of Judah, the city of Hebron; in the tribe of Ephraim, Sichem; and in the tribe of Nephthali †, Cedeſe, in the Upper Galilee: to all which they readily agreed, out of a veneration they had for the obſervance of the laws and cuſtoms of Moſes. He proceeded after this, to a diſtribution of the booty, which in herds and flocks, money, plate, furniture, and other pillage amounted to an immenſe value; for it was a large and plentiful country, and the Iſraelites, one and all, from the higheſt to the loweſt, made their fortunes out of the ſpoil.

Joſhua charges all the tribes utterly to root out the Chanaanites, Joſh. xxiii. 5.

Cities of ſanctuary, Hebron, Sichem, and Cedeſe, Joſh. xx. 7, 8.

A diſtribution of the booty.

Joſh. xxiii. 2.

The next thing Joſhua had to do, was the calling together of his auxiliaries, who came to him from beyond Jordan, and had their part in the honour of his late conqueſt: they were computed to be a matter of fifty thouſand men, and upon their meeting, Joſhua deliver'd himſelf to them to this effect:

Joſhua's ſpeech to his troops from beyond Jordan, Joſh. xxii. 1--8

“Since it has been the good-will and pleaſure of our heavenly Lord and father firſt to put us in the poſſeſſion of this land; and then to promiſe the continuance of it to our poſterity; and ſince God has been likewiſe pleaſed to make uſe of your ready and cheerful aſſiſtance toward the execution of this holy purpoſe, it is but reaſon, for you who have born ſo great a part in the dangers and difficulties of this war, to be partakers alſo in the comforts and bleſſings of a common peace; to which end, we think it but juſtice to diſcharge you from any farther attendance at preſent; not doubting of the ſame affection and good-will from you for the future, if ever there ſhould be ſuch another occaſion. We are now to give you a thouſand acknowledgments for all the toils and hazards you have hitherto undergone with us; and pray let the ſenſe of good offices gone and paſt, be improv'd into a mutual and an inviolable league of friendſhip for the time to come; remembring that we ſtand indebted for the advantages that at this inſtant we enjoy, next under God, to the force of this reciprocal aſſiſtance; and that providence hath evidently made us neceſſary one to another. It may be conſider'd alſo, after all you have done and ſuffer'd, that your ſervices are not unrewarded, ſo far at leaſt as an ineſtimable booty in gold, ſilver, and whatever elſe is moſt precious, may paſs for a recompence: beſide the engaging of friends in us, who ſhall never forget the obligation, but ſhall always be ready to do you good offices; for you have moſt religiouſly executed the laſt will of Moſes, and left nothing undone that we could take kindly at your hands; wherefore we ſhall now leave you at liberty to depart to the lot of your inheritance, which we wiſh you much joy in. But pray ye, let no diſtance of place ſet limits to our friendſhip; the interpoſition of rivers muſt never divide our affections; for on which bank ſoever, we are all Hebrews ſtill. Abraham was the common father of us all, let our abode be where it will, and it was from one and the ſame God that all our forefathers received their being; and that God we are all to worſhip, according to the ordinances and inſtitutions left us by Moſes. So long as we ſtand firm to that way of religion, we may be ſure of the favour and protection of that God for our comfort. But whenever you apoſtatize from this, and eſpouſe another religion, and other gods, the God of your fathers will caſt you off.” With theſe words he took a ſolemn and diſtinct leave, both of the princes, and of the people, to whom he addreſs'd his ſpeech; who upon this diſmiſſion return'd to the place whence they came, the reſt conducting them ſome part of their way, till after much weeping and reluctancy, they came with great difficulty in the end to a final ſeparation; Joſhua continuing ſtill in the ſame place where he was.

Joſhua diſcharges his auxiliaries, ibid.

Joſhua's laſt adieu to his friends from beyond Jordan, ibid.

An altar erected in memory of the league between the borderers on both ſides the river, Ver. 10.

A violent jealouſy upon the raiſing of this altar, Ver. 12, 13, 14.

The people betake themſelves to their arms upon it, ibid.

The tribes of Reubel and Gad were no ſooner paſs'd the river, with thoſe of Manaſſes that followed them, but they erected an altar upon the farther bank, to remain as a monumental record to poſterity of the alliance that was then contracted betwixt the borderers on both ſides of the Jordan. The news of this altar was immediately carried over to their friends on the other ſide of the water, without one word of the intent and meaning of it; which put their aſſociates into ſo outragious a jealouſy of their confederates, as apoſtates and innovators, that they preſently betook themſelves to their arms, for the vindication of the worſhip and religion of their forefathers, and to avenge the cauſe of God upon the heads and authors of this defection. In this heat they took up a reſolution, with ſword in hand, to paſs the river, and to do juſtice upon the principals of this deſertion, without any reſpect to the dignity of perſons, or the nearneſs of relations; for it was God's cauſe, they ſaid, and in the caſe of his ſervice they were abſolv'd from all other obligations. In the flame of this tranſport, the general, the high-prieſt, and the elders, betwixt authority and advice, ſo far prevail'd upon the headſtrong multitude, as to ſuſpend the execution of ſo extravagant a revenge, till they might be certainly inform'd

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* The land of the Amorites.

† Or Cades.

whether their brethren were guilty of this abomination or not; and if they found them guilty, they ſhould be then left at liberty to fall upon them without mercy. They agreed to the motion, and ſo made choice of Phinees, the ſon of Eleazar, and ten other perſons of eminent note among the people, to go over to their countrymen, and learn what was the true end of building that altar. They departed upon this embaſſy, and ſo ſoon as ever they got croſs the water, there was ſummon'd an aſſembly, wherein Phinees diſcharg'd himſelf of his commiſſion in words to this effect:

Phinees, and ten eminent men ſent upon an embaſſy to the diſcontented tribes, Joſh. xxii. 13.

An aſſembly call'd, Ver. 15--21.

Phinees to the Reubelites, ibid.

"We underſtand very well, that the crime charg'd upon you at preſent, is too heinous to be puniſh'd only with words; but yet we have not taken up arms now, inconſiderately and raſhly to execute a vengeance according to the degree of the iniquity; for it is out of reſpect to conſanguinity, and in hope that ſecond and ſounder thoughts may bring you to better reaſon, that we are engaged upon this embaſſy, and to ſpeak in this aſſembly. We do but deſire to be ſincerely inform'd, upon what motives, and with what deſign you have now raiſed this altar. If you have done it out of any pious end, we have no quarrel to you; but if you are gone over to a falſe worſhip, it is for our God and our religion that we muſt draw our ſwords againſt you. We ſpeak our fears; for we cannot think it credible yet, that a people ſo well inſtructed in the will, and in the laws of God, our friends and allies that we have but juſt now parted with, a people newly eſtabliſhed in the lot of a plentiful poſſeſſion, by God's ſpecial grace and providence: We cannot, I ſay, believe you to be ſo inſenſible and ungrateful, as to abandon the holy tabernacle, the ark, the altar, and the worſhip of your forefathers, to join with the Chanaanites in the adoration of their falſe gods; or if unhappily you ſhould have been ſo miſled, do but repent and diſclaim your error, and return to that reverence you owe to the laws of God, and of your country, and you ſhall be yet received. But if you ſhall obſtinately perſiſt, there is no labour or danger that we ſhall think too great for the defence of our laws and worſhip. If that be the caſe, we muſt immediately break in upon you by force of arms, and put no difference at all betwixt Apoſtate Iſraelites and profeſs'd Chanaanites, but deſtroy the one indifferently with the other. Do not perſuade yourſelves, that becauſe you are out of our bounds, and a river betwixt us, you are therefore out of the reach of God's power and providence; for you are upon his ground wherever you are, and under his juriſdiction. If you are not able to withſtand the temptations of the place you live in, take your fortune in a new diviſion of lands, and quit the country, let it be never ſo fruitful. Be wiſe and temperate in time, and do not ſuffer yourſelves to be carried away with a wanton and profane deſire after new things. This we beg of you, for the ſake of your wives and children, and whatever elſe may be dear to you. Do not force us upon the neceſſity of ſuch a war, as we tremble at the very thoughts of; but it is at your choice ſtill, whether you will rather ſubmit to be overcome by reaſonable words, or to put the main cauſe to the dint of a battle."

When Phinees had made an end of ſpeaking, the rulers of the aſſembly, in the name of themſelves, and of the whole multitude, returned this anſwer in their own juſtification.

The Reubelites reply, Ver. 21--29.

"We are not conſcious of having ever departed from your alliance; neither are we, in any ſort, guilty of that affectation of novelty in the erecting of this altar, which is now charged upon us. We know but one God, and that God is the God of all the Hebrews; and but one altar, which is the brazen altar before the tabernacle. As for this altar here, which we are ſuſpected for, it was never intended for any religious uſe, but only for a civil memorial to future times of our fellowſhip and alliance; and rather to keep us ſteddy to our antient religion, than to be any ways introductive to the violation of it. We can ſafely appeal to God, that we had no ſuch thought in the ſetting up of this altar as is imputed to us; wherefore pray have a better opinion of your brethren for the future, than to think us guilty of ſo mortal an apoſtaſy from the rites and cuſtoms of our progenitors; a ſin not to be expiated in any of the ſons of Abraham, but with the loſs of his life."

Phinees was overjoy'd at ſo firm and ſatisfactory a declaration, and returning immediately to Joſhua, gave him a particular account of every thing, in the hearing of the people, who were all infinitely pleaſed with the reſult of this embaſſy, when they ſaw things brought to ſo amicable a concluſion, without any danger of a civil war, or of bloodſhed. Hereupon they ſacrificed, and gave God thanks, after which Joſhua diſmiſs'd the multitude to their ſeveral homes, while he himſelf took up his abode in Sichem.

All miſunderſtandings remov'd, Ver. 31, 32, 33.

Joſhua takes up at Sichem, Joſh. xxiv.

In the twentieth year after this, Joſhua being being now extremely old, and too infirm for the executing of publick buſineſs, he call'd a general aſſembly of the heads of the cities, the elders, and magiſtrates, and as many of the common people as could be gotten together upon that occaſion. At this meeting he addreſs'd himſelf to them in a pious and pertinent diſcourſe, upon the ſubject of God's infinite mercies and providences towards them: "Setting forth, how he had preſerv'd them all in their calamities, relieved them in all their wants and diſtreſſes, and now advanced them at laſt, out of the moſt deſpicable condition of ignominy, penury, and oppreſſion, to the higheſt degree of reputation and plenty. He laid it as an injunction upon them for the future, ſo to behave themſelves toward that God, that they might not loſe his favour; minding them withal, that they had no other way of preſerving themſelves, than by leading their lives in the fear and love of that Almighty power, and in the obſervance of his commandments. He adjured them alſo, to take thoſe his laſt words and counſels in good part; for he was now leaving the world, and could not end his days better than in the diſcharge of that duty."

Joſhua extremely old. He appoints a general aſſembly, ibid.

Joſhua upon God's mercies and providence, ibid.

With theſe laſt words in his mouth he departed this life, in the hundred and tenth year of his age, having ſpent forty of them under the diſcipline of Moſes, and twenty five years

The death of Joſhua, xxiv. 29.

more in the adminiſtration, as his ſucceſſor, after his death.

Joſhua's character.

He was a man of political prudence, and endu'd alſo with a ſingular felicity of popular eloquence in expreſſing his thoughts; brave and indefatigable in war, and no leſs juſt and dexterous in peace; and in ſhort, a perſon qualify'd for all great purpoſes. He was bury'd in Thamma †, a city belonging to the tribe of Ephraim.

The death of Eleazar the high-prieſt, Joſh. xxiv. 33.

Eleazar the high-prieſt dy'd alſo about the ſame time, the prieſthood deſcending by ſucceſſion to his ſon Phinees. His ſepulchre is at this day to be ſeen in the city Gabatha.

The war proſecuted againſt the Chanaanites. Judg. i. 1, &c.

After the death of Joſhua and Eleazar, the people conſulted Phinees about God's farther will and pleaſure in the proſecution of the war againſt the Chanaanites; whoſe anſwer was, that they ſhould go on with it; but that the ſovereign command and direction of it ſhould be committed to the tribe of Judah; who engaging that of Simeon to their aſſiſtance, undertook the war: upon condition, that after a total extirpation of the Chanaanites out of the former tribe, the other ſhould ſee the ſame thing done in theirs too, according to that example.

CHAP. II.

Adonibezec defeated, and taken priſoner. Jeruſalem beſieg'd. Hebron taken. A diſmal ſtory of a Levite and his wife. A dreadful civil war.

The Chanaanites march againſt the Iſraelites under king Adonibezec.

THE Chanaanites were at this time very ſtrong; and waiting with a great army near the city of Bezec *, under the command of Adonibezec, that is to ſay, in Hebrew, Lord of Bezec, to give the Iſraelites battle. The thing they moſt depended upon for encouragement and hope of ſucceſs, was the Iſraelites diſappointment in the loſs of their general; but the two aforeſaid tribes, encountering them, after an obſtinate diſpute, kill'd ten thouſand upon the ſpot, and had the chace of the reſt. Their leader Adonibezec they took priſoner, and cut off his fingers and toes; wherein he acknowledged the juſt judgment of God upon him, having formerly ſerved ſeventy two kings himſelf after the ſame manner.

The Chanaanites defeated, ten thouſand kill'd, Ver. 4. and Adonibezec taken priſoner. Ver. 5.

They carry'd him off alive, with theſe maims upon him, toward Jeruſalem, where he dy'd, and there they bury'd him: the Iſraelites, advancing farther after this, ravaged the country; taking and deſtroying town after town, till in the end they laid ſiege to Jeruſalem itſelf.

Siege laid to Jeruſalem, and the lower town taken, Ver. 8.

They made themſelves maſters of the lower town, putting all they found in it to the ſword; but for the city itſelf, that ſtood above, what with artificial fortifications, the ſtrength of the walls, and the natural ſituation of the place, it was ſo ſtrong, that they were forc'd to quit it, and remove to Hebron, which they enter'd by aſſault, and cut off all before them, without giving any quarter.

The ſiege rais'd, and Hebron taken by aſſault. V. 10.

There were found among the ſlain, divers bodies of the race of the giants, which for bulk, ſtature, and countenance, were ſo much differing from the ordinary appearance of other men, that the very people that ſaw them, could hardly believe them to be of human extraction; for they had quite another ſort of voice and aſpect; and there are ſome of their bones expoſed for a kind of prodigy, even to this day. This town, being a place of conſideration, was given to the Levites, with two thouſand cubits of ground about it; the remaining part of the territory belonging to it was conferr'd on Caleb, according to the fore-appointment of Moſes.

Caleb one of Moſes's ſpies. A dividend of land among Jethro's children.

Now this Caleb was one of the ſpies who had been formerly ſent by Moſes into Chanaan, to diſcover the land. There was a dividend given alſo to the ſons of Jethro, the Madianite, Moſes's father-in-law, who abandon'd their native country to join in the expedition, and to bear their part with the adventurers in all the difficulties and hazards of the war, and of the deſart.

Several Chanaanitiſh cities taken; as Aſcalon, Azotus, &c. Ver. 18.

These two tribes took ſeveral of the Chanaanitiſh cities upon the mountains; and ſome others upon the plain alſo, near the ſea, as Aſcalon, and Azotus: but for Gaza and Acaron, which lay in the flat country, and were ſtrong in chariots, which was a deſperate way of fighting; theſe cities made good their defence, and ſcap'd better than many of their neighbours.

The tribes of Judah and Simeon betake themſelves to the arts and buſineſs of peace.

The two enterprizing tribes of Judah and Simeon, being now grown prodigiouſly rich by the ſpoil of the war, returned to their poſſeſſions, laid down their arms, and betook themſelves to the arts and buſineſs of good husbandry and peace.

The Benjamites make the people of Jeruſalem tributaries, Ver. 21.

The Benjamites, to whoſe lot Jeruſalem fell, came to an agreement with the inhabitants, upon a compoſition, and ſo under the protection of tributaries, both ſides thought themſelves ſecure; the one from violence, and the other from ſedition; and in this proſpect of tranquility, they apply'd themſelves to the cultivating of the land under their care.

Other tribes do the like. Ver. 22, &c.

The ſame thing was alſo done by other tribes after the example of the Benjamites, contenting themſelves upon the ſame conditions of taxes and tributes, to let the Chanaanites enjoy themſelves in peace.

The tribe of Ephraim had been now a long while before Bethel, without making any great advance toward the taking of it, conſidering how much time and trouble the ſiege had coſt them; for they made a very obſtinate defence on the one ſide, and the work was as reſolutely carry'd on by the other: but it ſo fell out at laſt, that a townſman of the place fell into the hands of the Ephraimites, as he was conveying proviſion into the city.

Bethel betray'd to the Iſraelites by a wile, Ver. 24, 25.

They treated with him, and came in the end to an agreement upon oath on both ſides; the citizen to let them ſecretly into the town, and the Ephraimites to ſave him, and his friends and relations upon their entering the city, which was performed on both parts; the Ephraimites being introduced, the citizen and his friends were preſerv'd, but all the reſt put to the ſword; the Ephraimites now remaining maſters of the city.

The Iſraelites relent toward the Chanaanites.

The hearts of the Iſraelites began now to ſoften toward the people of Chanaan, and inſtead of extirpating them by the proſecution of a war, they bethought themſelves rather how to make advantage of their labour, in planting and tillage, by the good husbandry of an induſtrious peace; but their hearts being ſet upon wealth and pleaſure, they preſently

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† Scr. Timnath. Scrah.

* Gr. Ζεβέκη, and ſo Steph. Byzant. reads it. That it ſhould be Βεζέκη Berkelius has ſhewn in his notes, p. 373.

gave

The Iſraelites diſpenſe with God's order, Judg. ii. 1--4.

gave up themſelves to their luſts and appetites, without any regard at all to God's will and worſhip, or to the laws and diſcipline of their anceſtors. God, in his wrath, for theſe indignities gave them to underſtand by a prophet, that they had none of his commiſſion for the ſparing of the Chanaanites, and that it would not be long before they ſhould pay dear for that unſeaſonable mercy, by cruelties they ſhould ſuffer from the Chanaanites themſelves. They were ſtartled at this remonſtrance from Heaven, but not enough yet to advance a war upon it, Religion being the leaſt thing in their thought; and as to the matter of any military exploit, their luxury had quite unmann'd them; beſide, the great advantage they made of their tribute and labour, was an argument ſufficiently prevalent to reſtrain them from committing any act of hoſtilities againſt the Chanaanites.

A total diſſolution of government and good manners.

The form of government was depraved, the authority of the elders ſlighted, the choice of the ſenators, and other magiſtrates, nothing ſo regular as formerly; but every man for advancing his own private ends, without any regard to the good of the publick. In the courſe of this diſſolution of government and good manners, there happen'd an occaſion of a terrible ſedition, which ſoon after broke forth into a civil war, and the caſe was this:

The hiſtory of the Levite and his wife, Judg. xix.

There was within the lot of Ephraim, a certain Levite, of an ordinary extraction, who married a wife of the city of Bethlem, belonging to the tribe of Judah. She was wonderfully beautiful; and the man had a paſſionate tenderneſs for her; but to his great affliction, ſhe made him little or no return of his kindneſs. This diſagreement begat daily diſputes, inſomuch, that the woman, under an impatience of theſe expoſtulations, went away from her husband in the fourth month after they were married, to her own parents. The husband, out of an ardent affection, follow'd her to her father's houſe, where he was received with all hoſpitality and reſpect, and by the mediation of her parents a reconciliation made betwixt them. When he had been there preciſely four days, he propoſed upon the fifth to be going home again; but friends were loth to part, and ſo they made it late before they ſet out: they went their way, however, he and his wife together, with only one ſervant, and an aſs for the woman to ride upon. When they had travelled a matter of thirty furlongs, and being then not far from Jeruſalem, the ſervants adviſed them to take up a lodging ſomewhere near hand, before it was too late, to avoid the danger of travelling in the night, eſpecially in an enemy's country; beſide that late hours are ſuſpicious, even among friends: but the husband had no mind to truſt himſelf among ſtrangers, and the city was at that time in the poſſeſſion of the Chanaanites; ſo that he choſe rather to venture twenty furlongs farther, where he might lodge among his friends and allies. Travelling forward to Gaba, a city belonging to the tribe of Benjamin, it was ſo late, that he was at a loſs for a lodging. It happen'd, however, that an ancient man of the tribe of Ephraim, coming juſt at that time out of the country to a houſe he had at Gabaa*, ſaw this man, and aſk'd him what he was, and what made him abroad at ſo unſeaſonable an hour. He told him that he was a Levite, and carrying his wife home with him from her father's to his own houſe, in the lot of Ephraim. The old man, out of reſpect to tribe and conſanguinity, and likewiſe for the ſake of hoſpitality itſelf, took the Levite home with him. Some young men of the town taking notice, it ſeems, of the Levite's wife in the ſtreet, for a very beautiful woman, follow'd her to the houſe of this ancient man, knock'd at the door, and demanded the woman. The people of the houſe were not able to make any conſiderable oppoſition, but the old man ſpar'd for no importunities to perſuade them to moderation, and quietly to go their ways, without offering any violence or indignity to his gueſt. All the anſwer he could get, was this: Deliver up the woman, and you ſhall have no farther trouble. The other pleaded the relation of a kinſwoman, the wife of a Levite, and laid great ſtreſs upon the hideouſneſs of ſo brutal an outrage, under ſo many tender circumſtances, againſt all the laws of religion, honour, humanity, and common juſtice. But the gravity of theſe reaſonings and counſels ſerv'd only for matter of deriſion, with terrible threats in the concluſion, that if he did not immediately deliver up the woman, they would forthwith cut his throat. When the good man found himſelf brought to the laſt neceſſity, either of yielding, or compounding, he made them an offer of his own daughter in exchange for that ſtranger, as the leſs evil of the two; for this way he did but ſacrifice the reputation of a private family; whereas in violating the rights of hoſpitality, he ſhould have been guilty of an affront upon the publick faith of human ſociety. But ſupplications and arguments were to no manner of purpoſe with men ſo peremptorily reſolved upon that woman, and that no other ſhould content them. In this heat they took her away by force, to their own quarters, where they ſpent that whole night in all manner of beſtial liberties, and then ſent her back again next morning. She fell into ſuch a confuſion of thought upon her return, for what had befallen her that night, that betwixt ſhame and indignation it broke the very heart of her. As to her husband's part, ſhe looked upon the wound to be utterly incurable, and had not the confidence ſo much as to look him in the face after it; but as ſhe came near him, ſhe fell down upon the ground and died. Her husband took it at firſt only for an oppreſſion of wearineſs for want of ſleep, or at the worſt, but for ſome fainting fit; and ſo he tried to awake her, and bring her to herſelf again, by telling her for her comfort, that this violence had not at all derogated from the dignity of her unſpotted innocence and virtue. But all this came too late; for the woman was dead, and the Levite behaved himſelf with a wonderful preſence and conſtancy of mind upon it, conſidering the quality of ſo mortal a ſurprize. He took up the body of his dead wife, laid it upon his aſs, and carried it directly home with him. Being come to his own houſe, he divided the body into twelve parts, to be diſtributed among the twelve tribes, ſending to each tribe one of them. The ſeveral bearers had their inſtructions

The execrable lewdneſs of the Gibeonites to the Levite's wife, Judg. xix. 25.

The Levite's wife falls dead with ſhame and confuſion, Ver. 26.

The Levite cuts the body into twelve parts, and ſends it to the twelve tribes, Judg. xx. 6.

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* See Berkelius's notes upon Steph. Byzant.

tions to acquaint the tribes where they went, with the whole hiſtory of this villainy; the authors of it, and the barbarous circumſtances of the fact itſelf. They all agreed the wickedneſs to be ſo far beyond example, that the like was never ſeen or heard of before. The horror, in ſhort, of this action, tranſported them into ſuch a rage, that they immediately gather'd together in Siloe before the tabernacle, with a reſolution the firſt thing they did, to aſſault Gaba. The elders, upon this, put a little check to the firſt heat, by telling them, “That it would not do well, raſhly and unadviſedly thus to make war upon their allies, without a ſtrict enquiry firſt into the merits of the cauſe; a thing, they ſaid, that the laws and practices of the Iſraelites would not allow, even toward ſtrangers, without ſome previous embaſſy, or treaty to bring the matter itſelf, if poſſible, to ſome reaſonable terms of ſatisfaction, or compoſition: Wherefore the beſt way would be, in purſuance of this legal method, to ſend to the Gibeonites to demand the criminals that committed this inſolence; who, in caſe they give them up, ought in their own perſons to bear the puniſhment due to their crimes; but if they refuſe, you are then at liberty to do yourſelves right by force of arms.”

The Iſraelites demand the perſons of the criminals, Judg. xx. 13.

Upon this motion they ſent to the Gibeonites, to deliver up the profligate malefactors that had committed this brutal violence upon the Levite's wife, that juſtice might be done upon them. They demanded thoſe individual men, they ſaid, becauſe they would not involve the publick in a particular cauſe. Upon the reſult, the Gibeonites would not give up the raviſhers, nor did they think it honourable, for fear of a war, to ſubmit to rules of other people's preſcribing. They wanted neither courage, ſkill, nor numbers, they ſaid; the whole tribe declaring themſelves to be all of a-piece, and all of a mind, and reſolved to ſtand by one another to the laſt man in the cauſe of a common defence.

The Gibeonites refuſe to deliver up the raviſhers, ibid.

The Iſraelites make an oath not to intermarry with the Benjamites, Judg. xxi. 1. And march againſt them with four hundred thouſand fighting men, Judg. xx. 17.

The Iſraelites were ſo diſguſted upon the report of this anſwer, that they preſently entered into an oath not to intermarry with the tribe of Benjamin, and to carry on a fiercer war againſt the Benjamites than ever their forefathers did againſt the Chanaanites. Upon this occaſion they took the field, with an army of four hundred thouſand fighting men. The ſtrength of the Benjamites was twenty five thouſand and ſix hundred, in which number there were five hundred left-handed ſlingers, who were all excellent markſmen. The two armies fought near Gaba, where the Iſraelites were routed by the Benjamites, with the loſs of two and twenty thouſand upon the place; and the ſlaughter had been much greater, if the night had not parted them; the Iſraelites returning to the body of their army in a confuſion, upon the ſenſe of this diſaſter, while the Benjamites went back again to the city in triumph. It came again to a ſecond battle the next day, when the Iſraelites loſt eighteen thouſand men more; and theſe two defeats ſtruck them with ſuch a terror, that they quitted their camp, and moved a little way off to Bethel, where they ſpent the next day in faſting and prayer, beſeeching Almighty God, by the mouth of Phinees the high-prieſt, that he would be pleaſed, after the judgment of two ſuch overthrows, to put a ſtop to the courſe of his high diſpleaſure, and grant them victory over their enemies.

The Iſraelites routed, and loſe two and twenty thouſand upon the place, Ver. 21.

The Iſraelites loſe eighteen thouſand more upon a ſecond battle, Ver. 25.

Their prayers being heard, and a favourable anſwer return'd to them by the ſame prophet, they divided their army into two bodies; one half they planted in certain ambuſhes about the city, while the other ſtood drawn up in readineſs to give the enemy battle. The Iſraelites, upon the firſt charge, gave way, not that they were not able to ſtand the ſhock, but, in truth, with a deſign to draw the Benjamites farther off from the town; ſo that the Iſraelites by little and little loſt ground; and ſtill as they retreated, the other, in proportion, preſſed ſo much the harder upon them; inſomuch, that the people of the town looked upon it as an abſolute defeat, and came trooping out, young and old, without any doubt of a victory, to take part of the ſpoil. When the Benjamites were gotten far enough from home, and within reach of the ambuſh, the Iſraelites faced about, rallied and charged, giving the ſignal at the ſame time to their companions, to fall upon the rear. This ſurprize put the Benjamites into ſo deſperate a ſtreight, that they were forced to retire into a bottom, where they were ſurrounded and kill'd with darts at a diſtance, like ſo many beaſts in a toil; only a ſelect body of ſix hundred reſolute men cut their way through the middle of the enemies troops, up to a mountain there at hand, where they poſted themſelves for the preſent, and ſo eſcaped. All the reſt periſhed, to the number of about five and twenty thouſand men. The Iſraelites, after this, burnt Gaba, ſparing neither men, women, nor male children; and they did the like too in ſeveral other of the Benjamite cities. Nay, to ſuch a degree did the rage they had conceived in this quarrel tranſport them, that they ſent twelve thouſand men againſt * Jabes, a city of Gilead, who took the town, and put all in it to the ſword, men, women, and children, ſave only four hundred virgins; and all this barely for refuſing to join with the Iſraelites againſt the Benjamites.

The Iſraelites draw the Benjamites into an ambuſh, Ver. 31--33.

Only ſix hundred of them eſcape to the mountains, Ver. 47.

Five and twenty thouſand Benjamites cut off, Ver. 44--45.

Jabes taken, and all put to the ſword, except four hundred virgins, Judg. xxi. 10, 11, 12.

This was the bloody event of the reſentment and revenge that the Iſraelites executed upon the Benjamites for the abuſe of a woman, carried to a more outrageous height by the loſs they ſuſtained in the two firſt days engagements. But when they came in cold blood to reflect on the calamities they had brought upon their brethren the Benjamites, they, in ſome degree, repented of what they had done, that tribe being in a manner cut off from the main body. Upon the whole matter, they propoſed a faſt, but not as conſcious of having done an unjuſt thing in puniſhing the breach of the law. In this tenderneſs of thought they ſent commiſſioners to invite the ſix hundred men back again, who were fled into the mountains, where they found them upon a rock called Rhoa, in the deſart. Theſe miniſters condoled with them, not for their own miſery alone, but for that of their relations and friends, adviſing them to bear their lot like men, returning to their community, and as much as in

Six hundred Benjamites invited back again from the mountains, V. 14.

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* Scrip. Jabeſh-Gilead. See Holſtenius's notes upon Steph. Byzant, p. 141.

them lay to prevent the utter extermination of that tribe, which would be the conſequence of withdrawing themſelves from the fellowſhip. Theſe commiſſioners told them withal, that for their lands and cattle, every thing ſhould be reſtored, and themſelves put in poſſeſſion as before. Theſe men could not but confeſs themſelves to have been in the wrong, and acknowledged the righteous judgment of God in what they had ſuffered, and ſo returned to their obedience, and to their tribe, upon this invitation.

The next queſtion was, how to provide them wives, the Iſraelites having bound themſelves by an oath, before the war, not to marry any of their daughters into the tribe of Benjamin. Some would have the oath to be a nullity, as being made raſhly in a fit of paſſion, without any previous conſideration or judgment. Others were of opinion, that the very neceſſity diſcharged the oath, and that it would not be ſo pleaſing to God to hazard a whole tribe, as to diſpenſe with ſuch an obligation; alledging perjury, in caſes of extraordinary neceſſity, without malice prepenſe, to be no ſin; but the elders would not endure any thought of perjury, under what cover or countenance ſoever: they had provided wives already for four hundred of the ſix, out of the virgins that were taken at Jabes; and for the remaining two hundred, one of the ſenators offered this expedient for the doing of the buſineſs, without ſtraining an oath.

The four hundred virgins given in marriage to four hundred Benjamites, Judg. xxi. 14.

" Here is, ſays he, a cuſtomary ſolemnity
" of a publick feſtival that is celebrated thrice
" a year in Siloe, and our wives and daugh-
" ters are commonly part of the company.
" Leave the Benjamites upon this occaſion at
" liberty to ſeize, and take to wife as many
" of the virgins as they can catch, without
" your interpoſing your authority, either for
" or againſt it. If the fathers ſhall complain,
" and appeal for juſtice, the anſwer will be
" ſhort, that they ſhould have took more care
" of their daughters, and that the Iſraelites
" ought not to proſecute their reſentment
" againſt their brethren the Benjamites any
" farther, having taken too ſevere a revenge
" on them already." Upon this motion it was agreed, that the Benjamites ſhould be connived at, in providing themſelves of wives after this manner by force. The ſolemnity being now at hand, the two hundred men that wanted wives, planted themſelves about the town in vineyards, and corners out of ſight, by two and three, and ſuch numbers as they thought fit, to watch for the coming of the virgins. As the virgins came ſporting along, not appris'd of any deſign againſt them, the Benjamites took their opportunity, and ſallied out amongſt them; every man ſeizing one for his wife, and carrying her off to his own inheritance, where they made it their buſineſs, by induſtry and good huſbandry, to eſtabliſh themſelves happily in the world yet once again. By this means, and by the prudence of the Iſraelites, was the tribe of Benjamin recovered out of a hopeleſs condition, and came ſoon after into a flouriſhing eſtate, both for wealth, people, and power.

Wives provided for the other two hundred Benjamites by a ſurprize, Ver. 20, 21, 22.

Ver. 23.

The end of the Benjamites war.

This was the end of the war with the Benjamites; nor were the affairs of the children of Dan in a much better poſture. The Iſraelites being now quite gone over from the ſtudy and practice of arms, to the rural employments of tillage and agriculture, the Chanaanites made advantage of this degenerate change of humour, and in contempt of the people entered into a formed confederacy againſt them; not that they were apprehenſive of any danger from them, or hurt they could do them at preſent, but in hopes of reducing them ſo low, that they ſhould never be able to give them any farther trouble for the time to come. They made mighty levies of men, and proviſions of chariots; trained up their people to martial diſcipline; beſides that, they had already drawn over to them, Aſcaloe and Accaron, from the tribe of Judah, and ſeveral cities of the plains; inſomuch, that the Danites were forced up to the mountains for ſanctuary, and not one foot of ground in the campaign that they could call their own. Their circumſtances, briefly, were ſuch, that they were neither ſtrong enough to do themſelves right by war, nor had they land enough for their people to ſubſiſt upon in a ſtate of peace; wherefore they ſent five of their people into the inland countries to find out ſome commodious place of reſidence, where they might plant and ſettle. When theſe commiſſioners had travelled a matter of a day's journey from the great plain of Sidon, and were advanced as far as Mount Libanus, and the head of the leſſer Jordan, they found themſelves in a fruitful and well-conditioned country, and gave their tribe an account of their opinion of the place, who forthwith march'd with their army directly thither; building a city there, by the name of Dan, ſo called from one of the ſons of Jacob of that name, from whence the whole tribe alſo had its appellation.

The Danites forced for ſanctuary to the mountains.

The Danites plant at the head of the Jordan.

The Iſraelites were at this time ſo abandoned to ſloth and luxury, and ſo unconcerned about religion and buſineſs, that all their affairs went to wreck upon it; the government looſe, and out of frame; men lived without any reſtraint either of ſhame or of law; the corruptions of the Chanaanites, like a ſtrong inundation, overwhelming them every where without controul.

The Iſraelites degenerated both in religion and manners, Judg. iii. 4--7.

CHAP. III.

Chuſarth ſubdues the Iſraelites, and keeps them eight years in ſubjection.

THIS general defection was ſo provoking in the ſight of God, that the Iſraelites, being left to themſelves by a total diſſolution of piety, diſcipline, and good manners, put a ſhort end to all the hopes and pretences of happineſs, that with much toil and induſtry they had been ſo long a raiſing. While they were in this abandon'd ſtate of looſeneſs and debauchery, Chuſarth[*], the king of the Aſſyrians made war upon them; kill'd them a great many men in battle, ſeiz'd their towns, ſome by force, others by treaty, and laid heavy taxes upon the people; plaguing them, in fine, with all kinds of indignities whatſoever. This was the wretched ſtate they were in for eight years; after which time they were deliver'd out of the hands of their oppreſſors after the following manner.

The juſt judgment of God upon the Iſraelites for their corruptions in manners and worſhip, Ver. 8.

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[*] Scrip. Chuſhan Riſhathaim, king of Meſopotamia.

CHAP. IV.

Kenaz delivers the Iſraelites out of their bondage.

Kenaz, a great man of the tribe of Judah. Othniel the ſon of Kenaz, Judg. iii. 9.

THERE was one Kenaz, of the tribe of Judah; a man of ſenſe, buſineſs, and courage. This perſon being animated by a ſecret impulſe from heaven to make ſome bold and generous attempt, for the relief of the Hebrews in this extremity of their diſtreſs, communicated the privacy to ſome few of his particular friends, whom he knew to be men of honour and reſolution, and diſſatisfied with the preſent ſtate of things. Upon concerting the matter they came to this concluſion, that the firſt thing to be done toward the eaſing of the Hebrews, muſt be the ſurprizal of the king's guards, and putting the garriſon to the ſword. This was agreed upon, and accordingly executed: and the ſucceſs of this exploit gave ſuch a reputation, and brought ſo many over to his intereſt and party, that in a ſhort time he gave the Aſſyrians a fair battle; routed, and beat them over the Euphrates, and conſequently ſet the people at liberty; who in acknowledgment of the obligation they had to Kenaz for their deliverance, by the means of his bravery and conduct, made him a preſent of the government, which he accepted of, and when he had ruled them forty years in the quality of a judge, he ended his life in the ſame ſtation.

Kenaz deſtroys the king's guards, and cuts the gariſon to pieces. Kenaz routs the Aſſyrians in a fair battle, Ver. 10.

The people chuſe him for their governor, ibid.

CHAP. V.

The Iſraelites oppreſs'd by Eglon, and deliver'd by Ehud.

BY the death of Kenaz, the Iſraelites were left once again without a head; and then as they fell more and more off from their duty to God, and the laws, they were ſtill more and more expoſed to freſh and greater afflictions. Their converſation was ſuch, that Eglon himſelf, the king of the Moabites, had them in contempt for their want even of policy and order, and this very conſideration encourag'd him to make war upon them. In one word, he worſted them upon ſeveral encounters, and humbled them to that degree, that he made them his tributaries: after which, he remov'd his court to Jericho, and for eighteen years ſucceſſively omitted nothing of rigour or oppreſſion that might make the people miſerable, even to the degree almoſt of ſtarving them. But it pleaſed God at laſt, in compaſſion to their ſufferings, and in mercy to their prayers, to deliver them from the tyranny of the Moabites, by this means:

Eglon worſts the Iſraelites in ſeveral encounters, and makes them his tributaries, Ver. 13.

THERE was a certain young man that dwelt at Jericho; the ſon of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin, and his name Jodes*. He was a vigorous and a daring man, of a robuſt force of body, and had both hands at command, if not the left the better of the two. He was of a make, in fine, for any bold and hazardous undertaking. This Jodes order'd the matter ſo as to make himſelf familiarly known to Eglon, by the means of preſents, and other court-offices; inſomuch that his particular favour with the king had made him a great many friends at court. Being one day to make the king a preſent, he came attended with two ſervants, having girded a ſhort poniard upon his right thigh, which he concealed under his clothes, out of ſight; and in this manner of addreſs he was admitted to the king. This was in the heat of the ſummer, and the middle of the day; none of the guards ſtirring, and moſt people being retir'd to dinner. When this young man had made his preſent, the king being withdrawn into a cool place of refreſhment, Jodes ſignify'd to him that he had ſomething of importance that required privacy to communicate to him; whereupon the king ſent away his ſervants out of the preſence, being himſelf ſeated upon his throne. Jodes was all this while in pain, for fear of miſſing his aim when he came to do the execution. So that to give the king occaſion to riſe, that he might have the fairer opportunity to diſpatch him, he told him that he had ſomewhat to ſay to him from God Almighty, about a certain dream of his. The king had a kind of impatient curioſity upon him, to hear what it was, and ſo ſtanding up to hearken to it, Jodes in that very inſtant plung'd a dagger into his heart, and forthwith went his way, ſhutting the doors after him, and leaving the dagger in the wound. The king's ſervants were ſtill and ſilent all this while, for fear of waking the king, who they ſuppoſed might be aſleep.

Jodes a Benjamite, curries favour with Eglon king of the Moabites, Ver. 17.

Jodes ſtabs Eglon, V. 21.

JODES upon this, immediately gave private intelligence to the inhabitants of Jericho, that he had kill'd the king, in order to the ſetting of the people at liberty. The news was ſo welcome to them, that they ſent their trumpets immediately upon it all over the whole country; this being their way of calling the people together. It was a long time before the king's ſervants diſcover'd the matter; but toward evening ſome of them apprehending ſome accident more than ordinary, enter'd the ſummer-parlour, and there lay the king dead, which was ſo ſurprizing a ſpectacle, that it ſtruck them all dumb and ſenſeleſs. The guards were preſently ſent for; but the Iſraelites, in great bodies broke in upon the palace, before they could be drawn together. Some they kill'd in the firſt heat; others, to the number of ten thouſand, made away to the river, toward the country of Moab; but the Iſraelites having prepoſſeſſed themſelves of all the fords and paſſes, intercepted them in their flight; ſo that they were wholly cut off, without ſo much as one man of them getting over. By this means the Hebrews ſhook off the yoke of the Moabites; and Jodes, for an acknowledgment, had the honour of the government conferr'd upon him by the people; in which office, at the end of eighty years adminiſtration, he died. He was a perſon, that over and above the merit of this generous exploit, deſerv'd upon ſeveral other accounts to have his name and memory celebrated to poſterity. Sangar†, the ſon of Anath, ſucceeded him, who died within the firſt year of his government.

And makes his eſcape to Jericho.

The Hebrews ſhake off the yoke of the Moabites, Ver. 29. 30. The death of Jodes, after eighty years adminiſtration.

Sangar ſucceeds him, and dies in the firſt year of his government, V. 31.

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* Scrip. Ehud. † Scrip. Shamgar.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Iſraelites paſs from one ſlavery to another, and are deliver'd in the concluſion by Deborah and Barak.

The Iſraelites harden'd in their iniquities, Judg. iv. 1.

Only changing their maſter from Eglon to Jabin, Ver. 2.

Jabin's army of three hundred thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and three thouſand chariots, under the command of Siſera.

The Iſraelites abſolute ſlaves to the Chanaanites, Ver. 3.

Deborah, a propheteſs, conſulted, Ver. 4.

Barak made general, Ver. 6--9.

The armies engage, and the wind turning in the face of the Chanaanites, deſtroys them.

The Chanaanites cut to pieces, Ver. 16.

Siſera flies, and takes ſanctuary in the houſe of Jael, Ver. 17, 18.

He lays himſelf down to ſleep, and Jael drives a nail into his temples, Ver. 21.

Barak purſues Jabin to Azor, and kills him, Ver. 24.

Barak deſtroys Azor, and reigns about forty years.

THE Iſraelites, notwithſtanding the calamities they had ſuffered, were not thereby reclaim'd, but continuing in the evil of their ways, added iniquity to iniquity, intirely forſaking the worſhip of God, and altogether acting in diſobedience to his laws and commandments; inſomuch, that before they were well quit of one ſlavery, they fell into another; as upon this revolution they only exchang'd the tyranny of Eglon, the king of the Moabites, for that of Jabin, king of the Chanaanites, who was their next maſter. This Jabin kept his court at Azor, upon the lake Samachonitis, having an army in pay of [*] three hundred thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and three thouſand chariots [†], under the command of Siſera, a great favourite of the king's, for the ſervices he had done in reducing the Iſraelites, whom he worſted upon ſeveral encounters from time to time, and would never give over the purſuit, till he brought them at laſt to be abſolute ſlaves and tributaries to his maſter. When they had languiſhed out a matter of twenty years in this ſcandalous ſervitude, without daring ſo much as to open their mouths againſt their oppreſſors, (God in his providence having thought fit to continue theſe judgments upon them for their impiety and ingratitude,) they came at laſt to ſome ſort of repentance, and to a conviction, that theſe miſeries had befallen them as a juſt puniſhment for their contempt of the laws of their forefathers. Under this ſenſe of their condition, they went to a famous propheteſs called Deborah, (in Hebrew a bee,) deſiring her interceſſion on their behalf, that God would be pleaſed in mercy to forgive them, and reſcue them out of the hands of their cruel Chanaanitiſh perſecutors. At her mediation, God was prevailed upon to promiſe them a deliverance, and made choice of Barak, of the tribe of Nephthali, for the inſtrument, as general of the army, to work their deliverance. So Deborah ſent for Barak, (which word in Hebrew ſignifies lightening,) and order'd him to march directly toward the enemy, with a body of ten thouſand choice men, that number, though ſmall, being ſufficient, ſo long as providence had undertaken for the ſucceſs. Barak expoſtulated the matter with Deborah, flatly refuſing to meddle with the command, unleſs ſhe herſelf would go along with him. To which Deborah replying with ſome heat and reſentment, ſaid, "And are not you a doughty captain now, to transfer the honour of a command to a woman, when God has given it to yourſelf! But however, ſays ſhe, I ſhall not decline the office." So they drew out their number, and pitched their tents upon Mount Tabor, Siſera, by the king's order, marching out to meet them. The two armies lay encamped one within ſight of another; but the Iſraelites were ſtruck with ſuch a terror at the infinite odds of the enemy in number, that both general and ſoldiers were once upon the very point of retreating, without ſo much as ſtriking a blow; but upon Deborah's aſſurance that it was the cauſe of God, and that he himſelf would aſſiſt and bring them off, they were prevail'd upon to ſtand the ſhock of a battle. The armies were no ſooner engag'd, but there aroſe a violent wind, with a moſt impetuous tempeſt of rain and hail along with it [‖]. This ſtorm driving juſt in the face of the Chanaanites, made their bows and their ſlings uſeleſs to them, and ſo for other weapons for a cloſe fight; for they could not ſo much as open their eyes againſt the weather, and their fingers were ſo benumb'd with cold too, that they could not handle their ſwords. Now the Iſraelites, with this tempeſt at their backs, had all advantages on the one hand, without the inconveniencies on the other; beſide the encouragements given them by ſo ſignal a manifeſtation of God's eſpouſing their cauſe. It came to this in the concluſion, that the Chanaanites army was broken, diſpers'd, and cut to pieces; ſo that betwixt thoſe that fell by the ſword, thoſe that were trampled to death under the horſes feet, thoſe that were torn to pieces by the chariots, and thoſe that fled away, and fell into the hands of the Iſraelites in their flight, this prodigious army was in effect totally deſtroy'd. Siſera finding the day irrecoverably loſt, and his men flying every where before the enemy, he leap'd from his chariot, and betook himſelf to the houſe of one Jael a Kenite, for ſanctuary; who receiv'd him with a countenance of readineſs to do him a good office. Siſera was quite ſpent with the toil and fatigue of the day, and calling for ſomewhat to drink, Jael brought him a draught of ſour milk, which he drank very heartily, and ſo fell aſleep. When Jael found that ſhe had him faſt and ſure, ſhe took a hammer, with an iron nail, and drove it into his temples, ſhewing him for a ſpectacle to the Iſraelites that came to look after him, where ſhe had pinn'd him to the ground. This made good Deborah's preſage, when ſhe told Barak that a woman ſhould have the honour of a title to the victory. Barak after this march'd with the army toward Azor, where he encounter'd Jabin by the way, and ſlew him. The king being kill'd, Barak laid the city level with the ground, and afterward govern'd Iſrael for a matter of forty years.

CHAP. VII.

The Madianites, with the Amalekites and Arabians, harraſs the Iſraelites for ſeven years.

The death of Deborah and Barak.

The Madianites join the Amalekites and Arabians againſt the Iſraelites, forcing them to the mountains for refuge, Judg. vi. 2.

DEBORAH and Barak died much about a time, and it was not long after, when the Madianites enter'd into an aſſociation with the Amalekites and the Arabians againſt the Iſraelites; marched with an army againſt them, fought, and overcame them, deſtroying the fruits of the ground, and carrying away their cattle, with a great booty. At this rate they harraſs'd them for full ſeven years together, forcing them from the plains to the mountains for refuge, where they digg'd themſelves vaults and caves, partly for the ſecurity of their perſons, and partly for the concealment of what ſtores and proviſions they were able to ſave from the hands of the enemy. Now the Madianites were well enough content to let the Iſraelites till the ground in the winter, when they themſelves were ſure to reap the fruits of their labours in the following ſummer. By theſe means the Iſraelites were reduced to the utmoſt penury, and no hope of relief left them in this their ſtarving extremity, but prayers and ſupplications to God Almighty, which were ſtill their laſt refuge.

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[*] See Bochart's Hierozoic, Part I. lib. ii. c. 9. p. 156. Ed. Lond.

[†] The Scripture, Judg. iv. 3. maketh mention of no more than nine hundred chariots of iron.

[‖] The Scripture does not recite this circumſtance, but only ſays, Judg. iv. 15. And the Lord diſcomfited Siſera, and all his chariots, and all his hoſt, with the edge of the ſword before Barak, &c.

The Iſraelites brought to great diſtreſs, Judg. vi. 6. Prayers and ſupplications their laſt refuge, Ver. 7.

CHAP. VIII.

Gideon reſcues the Iſraelites out of the hands of the Madianites.

Ver. 1.

IT happen'd one time, that as Gideon the ſon of Jaſus, * and a principal man in the tribe of Manaſſes, was threſhing a little corn by ſtealth, at a wine-preſs, which he durſt not venture to do in a publick place, for fear of diſcovery, there appeared a viſion to him in the figure of a young man, who greeted him as a happy perſon, and exceedingly in God's favour. "One would hardly think ſo, ſays Gideon, of a man under my circumſtances, that is oblig'd to make a preſs to do the office of a floor." The apparition bad him have a good heart, and immediately ſet his thoughts to work how he might deliver his country. "Alas, ſays Gideon, it is impoſſible for me to do any thing towards it; our tribe is the leaſt of any, and not able to furniſh a ſufficient number of men for ſuch an attempt; beſides I am but a young man, and not of practice and experience enough to manage ſuch a deſign." The apparition made him anſwer, "That whatever he fell ſhort in, God would ſupply; and that if he would but frankly take upon him the command of a body of men, the Iſraelites ſhould gain a victory under his conduct." Gideon communicated this affair, with all the circumſtances, to ſome young men of his acquaintance, who aſcribed ſo much to the authority and credit of this revelation, that they had preſently an army of ten thouſand choice men in readineſs to run any hazard for the common cauſe.

A viſion appears to Gideon as he was threſhing of corn at a wine-preſs, ibid.

A voice bids him bethink himſelf how he may deliver his country, Ver. 12, 13.

Aſſuring him of a divine aſſiſtance, Ver. 16.

Gideon draws an army together of ten thouſand men, Judg. vii. 3.

Ver. 2.

WHILE this was in agitation, the voice of God ſpoke to Gideon again in a dream, in words to this effect: "It is but natural for fleſh and blood to overween, and for men to value themſelves, upon the providential operations of an Almighty power, as the effects of their own force and wiſdom, eſpecially when the work may ſeem to be brought about purely by the mediation of common cauſes. But to ſhew you now, ſays the voice, that victory is influenced from above, and that the arm of fleſh is not able to do any thing without a divine aſſiſtance, take your army to the river Jordan, in the parching heat of the ſun at mid-day, and make your obſervations upon the manner of the ſoldiers drinking. Thoſe who lie down upon the bank, and compoſe themſelves to drink at leiſure, you may depend upon to be for your purpoſe, and men of courage; but for them who ſcoop up the water in their hands, and drink in a hurry, they have the fear of an enemy in their hearts, and there's no truſting to them." Gideon did as he was order'd, and found but bare three hundred of the former ſort in the whole army, who drank out of the hollow of their hands †, without ſtaring about them. With this ſmall detachment of three hundred men, God commanded Gideon to attack the enemy in the night; to which end he poſted himſelf upon the ſide of the river, the day before the exploit was to be put in execution, and not without great apprehenſions what might be the iſſue of that enterprize. The voice, upon this diffidence, bad him take a ſoldier with him, and ſteal over that night to the camp of the Madianites, where he ſhould learn ſomewhat that ſhould put him in heart again. He went as he was bid, and taking a ſoldier along with him, they ſtole ſoftly to one of the enemy's tents, (where they were yet waking,) and there over-heard a ſoldier telling his comrade of a ſtrange dream he had. "Methought, ſays he, I ſaw a barley loaf, (the coarſeſt of all grains, and not fit for a man to eat,) come tumbling into the camp, where it over-ran all the tents that ſtood in the way; the king's tent in the firſt place, and ſo the reſt indifferently one after another." "Well, ſays this dreamer's fellow-ſoldier, and what can this overturning of all the tents ſignify, but the total deſtruction of our army? Barley is, as you ſay, the coarſeſt of grains; and ſo are the Iſraelites the vileſt and the moſt abject of all the people in Aſia. Gideon is now at the head of an army againſt us, and I am afraid that the barley loaf overthrowing our tents, prognoſticates Gideon's overrunning us with his Iſraelitiſh army." Upon the good omen of this dream, Gideon returned preſently to his people, full of hope and comfort at the preſage; and his men were no leſs animated upon the hearing of it; for they put themſelves immediately in readineſs for the word of command, toward any hazardous adventure whatſoever.

Victory is from above.

Only three hundred of the ten thouſand ſtand the teſt, Ver. 6.

Gideon ſteals over to the enemy's camp, V. 11.

He over-hears two ſoldiers talking of a ſtrange dream, V. 13.

Ver. 14.

Gideon draws a good omen from the interpretation of it, Ver. 15.

ABOUT the fourth watch Gideon advanced toward the enemy, with his little army in three diviſions, a hundred men in each, and every man carrying an empty pitcher, with a burning lamp in it, to the end that they might fall upon them at unawares, before they could be diſcover'd; and they carried likewiſe in their right-hands, rams horns, which ſerved them for trumpets. The enemy had ſuch a multitude of camels, and ſo many ſeveral nations in their diſtinct lodgments, that the camp muſt needs take up a huge content of ground, but ſtill one common line encloſing the whole. Upon the Hebrews approach toward the enemy, it was given them in command, that upon the ſignal of ſounding trumpets, and breaking pitchers, they ſhould make a ſally with ſhouts, and their lamps in their hands, as to an aſſured victory, by the bleſſing of God upon Gideon ‡. They acted according to their order, and by

And advances againſt them that night in three diviſions, of a hundred in each, with pitchers and horns in their hands, V. 16.

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* Scrip. Joaſh.

† The Scripture, Judg. vii. 5, 6, and 7. calleth it lapping of the water with his tongue, as a dog lappeth.

‡ The word given was, The ſword of the Lord and of Gideon, Judg. vii. 20.

In the fright of the ſurpriſe they fall foul upon their own people, Judg. vii. 22.

this ſtratagem the enemy were ſtruck with ſo judicial a conſternation, betwixt ſleeping and waking, (the horror of the night affrighting the imagination too) that being in the dark, in a medley of ſeveral languages, and under a terror that knows no difference betwixt friend and foe, they fell foul in the confuſion, upon one another; every man taking him who was next him for an enemy. There was, in fine, a prodigious ſlaughter; but the greateſt execution incomparably was done by them one upon another.

The Iſraelites put all to the ſword, Oreb and Zeb among the reſt, Ver. 25.

So ſoon as the fame of this notable defeat came to the ears of the reſt of the Iſraelites, they preſently ſent out armed troops to all the difficult paſſes upon the mountains, rivers, and torrents, to obſtruct and cut off their retreat, putting all to the ſword they could lay hand on, and two kings, Oreb and Zeb, among the reſt. But for the remainder, to the number of ſome eighteen thouſand men, that had made a ſhift to get off in a body under the command of their proper officers, thoſe troops poſted themſelves as far from the Iſraelites camp as they could. Gideon's troops had been extremely harraſs'd in the late action, but this did not yet hinder him from preſſing this party of the enemy upon the rear, and engaging them ſoon after with his whole army. In this encounter, he put them to an abſolute rout, deſtroying the whole body of them to a man, and taking their two leaders, the princes, Zebin † and Hezarbon, priſoners. There were ſlain of the Madianites and their aſſociates, in theſe encounters, near one hundred and twenty thouſand men; to ſay nothing of the booty in gold, ſilver, rich ſtuffs, camels, aſſes, &c. that fell to the Hebrews. When Gideon came afterward into his own native country of Ephraim, he put to death the two kings of the Madianites above mentioned: but the tribe of Ephraim, out of an envy to the glory of his atchievements, had a great mind to pick a quarrel with him for engaging in a publick act of hoſtility, being a member of that tribe, without their privity and conſent: inſomuch that they were juſt upon the point of making war upon him. But Gideon, who being a man of modeſty and prudence, as well as bravery, diverted the ſtorm by telling them that this was God's war, and not Gideon's; for what he did he was commanded to do, and that the honour of the victory was theirs ſtill, though the labouring part of the action fell by providence to his lot. The ſoftneſs and diſcretion of theſe words was more worth to the Hebrews than the defeat; for it prevented the great miſchief of a civil war, which was then ready to break out. But this invidious ſpiteful cavil coſt them dear in the concluſion, as we ſhall ſee hereafter in its proper place.

Slain of the Madianites, and their confederates near one hundred and twenty thouſand men, Judg. viii. 10.

Gideon puts to death two kings, Zebin and Hezarbon, Ver. 21.

The tribe of Ephraim pick a quarrel with Gideon an Ephraimite for fighting without their privity and conſent, Ver. 1.

Gideon pleads that it was God's war, not his, Ver. 2, 3.

Gideon offers to lay down his commiſſion, but the people preſs him to continue it, Ver. 22, 23.

He governed forty years with great honour, conduct and juſtice, Ver. 28.

When Gideon had ſet his country at liberty, he would fain have diſcharged himſelf of his commiſſion; but the people were ſo unanimouſly reſolved not to part with him, that he was forced to continue it; which he did for the ſpace of forty years, exerciſing all the parts of a careful ruler over them, in preſcribing laws, adminiſtring juſtice, deciding controverſies, and doing right betwixt man and man; acquitting himſelf upon the whole, with the character of this reputation, that no man ever complained of, or appealed from his ſentence. He lived to a great age, and was buried in his own country at Ephraim.

His death, Ver. 32.

CHAP. IX.

The tyranny and death of Abimelech. Iſrael enſlaved by the Ammonites and Philiſtines. Jephtha ſets them free; overthrows the Ephraimites; and after the death of Jothan, Aſpan, Elon, and Abdon, govern Iſrael.

Gideon had ſeventy legitimate ſons, and Abimelech by his concubine, Ver. 30, 31.

GIDEON had ſeventy legitimate ſons by ſeveral wives; and by Druma, his concubine, one natural ſon, whoſe name was Abimelech. This Abimelech, after the death of his father, went to Sichem, to the relations of his mother, who was born there. They ſupplied him with money; and Abimelech finding them to be men for his turn, and lewd and deſperate enough to adventure upon any thing, let it be never ſo hazardous or wicked, he ſtraight returned to his father's houſe, taking a cabal of theſe profligate wretches along with him. His firſt exploit there was to murder all his brothers, ſave only Jothan *, who ſlipt out of the way, ſo that they could not find him. When Abimelech had once by this means poſſeſſed himſelf of the government, he knew no other law than that of his own will and pleaſure, profeſſing an open enmity to juſtice itſelf, and all its abettors; neither was he himſelf leſs hateful to all good men than they were to him.

Abimelech killed all his brothers but Jothan; who makes his eſcape, Judg. ix. 5.

He ſeizes the government, Ver. 6.

He makes his will his law.

Jothan upon a feſtival gets up to the top of the mountain Garizim, and thence ſpeaks to the people, Ver. 7--20.

It happened one time, upon a great day of ſolemnity in Sichem, and a vaſt number of people gathered together there, that Jothan, (who had made an eſcape, as we ſaid,) upon this feſtival, was got up to the top of the mountain Garizim which overlooks Sichem: and thence called out aloud to the multitude, deſiring only their patience for a few words he had to ſay. They put themſelves preſently into a poſture of attention; and the ſpeech was to this effect.

The fable of the trees chuſing a king, Ver. 7--17.

"There was a time (ſays he) when the "trees had their meetings and conferences, "and talked after the manner of men. In thoſe "days, and in a great council, upon the ſubject of who ſhould command, the major "part of the plants made their addreſs to the "fig-tree, to take care of the government; "but the fig-tree modeſtly declined the honour, as being amply ſatisfied with the eſteem it had in the world for the fruit it bore, "ſaying alſo, that it had no ambition to be "greater, or other than it was. The trees, "after this refuſal, made the ſame requeſt to "the olive-tree, and to the vine, and they "both agreed in returning the very ſame anſwer. They went next to the bramble, being an excellent ſort of fuel, with the ſame "propoſals. Well, ſays the bramble, if you "are in earneſt, I'll take the government upon me; but then you muſt reſolve to reſt "quietly under my ſhadow: for if you offer "to be unruly, there ſhall come a fire out of "me that ſhall deſtroy you". This is no tale told, ſays Jothan, to make you merry, but to move you to bethink yourſelves what you are now a doing; that after ſo many ſacred obligations to Gideon, can yet ſuffer Abimelech, the murderer of the children of your deliverer,

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† Scrip Zebah and Zalmunnah.

* Scrip. Jotham.

rer, to uſurp, and reign over you. This Abimelech is the very fire in the fable I have told you.

UPON theſe words he withdrew, and was forced, for three years after, to live concealed in the mountains, and keep out of the way of Abimelech's rage and revenge. The Sichemites came, however, in a ſhort time to be ſenſible of the wickedneſs of that horrid barbarity upon the ſons of Gideon, and ſo forced Abimelech out of the city and tribe; who, upon this indignity, ſet his wits at work how to be revenged on them.

Abimelech driven out of Sichem, Judg. ix. 23.

THE ſeaſon of the vintage was now at hand, and the people durſt not venture out of town to gather the grapes, for fear of ſome ſurprize or miſchief from Abimelech. There happened to come to Sichem, juſt at that time, a certain prince of the country, whoſe name was Gales,* with a band of ſoldiers, and ſeveral of his relations. The towns-men petitioned him for a guard, only to ſecure them during the time of the vintage, and he allowed it them. They entered upon the work, and brought off their grapes at firſt ſecurely enough, and without interruption, inveighing againſt Abimelech, in the liberty of their cups, with all the bitterneſs that could be thought of; and cutting off ſeveral of his men that fell into their ambuſhes. While matters were in this ſtate, Zebel,† one of the chief of the Sichemites, and Abimelech's hoſt, gave him intelligence by an expreſs, how buſy Gales was to irritate the people againſt him; but, ſays he, if you can but diſpoſe of an ambuſh, in ſome convenient place near the city, I will undertake to put Gales into your power to requite him as he deſerves: Beſide, that when all this is done, I will become anſwerable to ſettle a fair underſtanding betwixt you and the people. Abimelech followed Zebel's advice, and planted his ambuſh; Gales unwarily ſtaying longer in the ſuburbs with Zebel than he ſhould have done, ſome of Abimelech's troops being by this time within ſight of the town, Gales called out to Zebel, that the enemy was there upon their march. No, no, ſays Zebel, that's only the ſhadow of the mountains. “Well, but I tell “you again (ſays Gales) upon their coming “nearer, that they are bands of men and not “ſhadows.” Nay, ſays Zebel again, and if it be as you ſay, how comes it that you, who will have Abimelech to be a coward, do not now prove yourſelf to be the braver man of the two, and go out and fight him? Gales preſently advanced toward the enemy (though in ſome little diſorder) and receiv'd the firſt ſhock: But finding himſelf too weak, and having loſt ſeveral of his men, he fled into the town. Zebel laid hold of this occaſion to calumniate Gales with cowardice, and ſo got him expelled the city. Abimelech, in the mean time, being informed from very good hands, that the Sichemites would come out again to gather the remainder of their vintage, hid ſeveral ambuſcades ready to ſurprize them. And accordingly, upon their firſt coming out, he ſent a third part of his army to take poſſeſſion of the city gates, and by that means, to cut off the retreat of thoſe that were come out of the town; who were ſo hard preſſed, and ſcattered up and down, that there was a very great ſlaughter made upon the purſuit; the city itſelf, in this interim, being taken upon the firſt aſſault, levelled with the earth, and finally ſowed with ſalt, as the laſt inſult of a triumphing enemy. This was the end of this miſerable place and people. There were yet remaining conſiderable numbers of ſtragglers and fugitives, that had hitherto eſcaped the edge of the ſword, and theſe having gathered themſelves into a body fled to a rock for ſanctuary. The place was naturally ſtrong, beſide that they ordered the running up of a wall about it, to make it impregnable. This they deſigned for a retreat of refuge; but Abimelech, appriz'd of their deſign, came upon them with his army before they could fortify it, and ſurrounding it with a mighty pile of dry wood and faggots, ſet fire to it; ſo that men, women, and children were all burnt to aſhes, without ſo much as one individual perſon eſcaping. The calamitous fate of this wretched people would have deſerved compaſſion, if it had not been a juſt judgment upon them for their inhuman ingratitude to a perſon who had deſerved ſo well at their hands.

The Sichemites petition Gales for a guard againſt Abimelech, Ver. 26.

Abimelech's men taken in ambuſhes, Ver. 25.

Gales charged with cowardice, and expelled the city, Ver. 41.

Gales defeated with a great ſlaughter, and Sichem levelled to the ground, Ver. 40–45.

The fugitive Sichemites fly to a rock;

Where they are all deſtroy'd by fire, Ver. 49.

THIS cruelty of Abimelech to the Sichemites was ſo far inſtructive and exemplary to the Iſraelites, as to ſhew them what they were to truſt to, if ever it ſhould be their lot to fall into the ſame hands: the uſurper being reſolved never to be quiet till he ſhould have brought all to a thorough devaſtation.

IT was not long after this, when he marched with his army againſt Thebes,‖ where he took the out-town by aſſault, but the garriſon made their retreat into a ſtrong caſtle belonging to it; Abimelech puſhing the attack up to the very gates, with a reſolution either to force or put fire to it. As he was gotten juſt under the wall, a woman from above dropt a heavy piece of a mill-ſtone upon his head, which ſtruck him to the ground. Upon coming a little to his ſenſes, and finding that the wound was mortal, he called for his armour-bearer, and bad him kill him immediately, that it might not be ſaid Abimelech fell by the hand of a woman. The officer did according to his order; ſo that Abimelech paid dear for his inhuman outrages againſt his brothers and the Sichemites, as Jothan had foretold he ſhould. Upon Abimelech's death, the army diſbanded, and returned every man to his own home.

Abimelech takes Thebes by aſſault; but the caſtle ſtands out, Ver. 5.

Abimelech mortally wounded with a piece of a mill-ſtone from a wall by a woman, Ver. 53.

His armour-bearer kills him, Ver. 54.

THE government of Iſrael, after this, fell to Jair, a Gileadite, of the tribe of Manaſſes; a man every way happy, but moſt of all in the bleſſing of a numerous and a virtuous iſſue. He was the father of thirty ſons, men of courage and reſolution every one of them, and of eminent authority and reputation in their country. He held the government two and twenty years, died in a good old age, and his body was interred at Camon, a city in Gilead.

The government comes to Jair a Gileadite, Judg. x. 3.

THE Hebrews were by this time exceedingly degenerated in their manners and religion; for they had neither moral honeſty, nor a ſenſe of civil obedience, religion, law, or common juſtice left them. The Ammonites and the Philiſtines having them in contempt upon this account, made ſuch advantage of their weakneſs, that they broke into their country with a vaſt army, and laid it waſte: And not

The Iſraelites corrupted in religion, government, and manners, V. 6.

The Ammonites and Philiſtines break in upon the Iſraelites, Ver. 7.

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* Scrip. Gaal. † Scrip. Zebul. ‖ Scrip. Thebez.

contenting themſelves to ſpoil, harraſs, and take poſſeſſion of all beyond Jordan, they were preparing alſo to croſs the river, and make a thorough conqueſt of it on both ſides.

Affliction brings the Iſraelites to a ſenſe of their duty, Judg. x. 15.

These afflictions brought the Iſraelites to their prayers and ſacrifices again; which they ſtill made uſe of as the laſt reſort they had, upon all their miſdoings. By theſe ſupplications, and penitent addreſſes, God was, however, prevailed upon for a grant and promiſe of mercy and relief. The Ammonites being now entered with an army into the country of Gilead, the inhabitants put themſelves in arms with a reſolution to oppoſe them: but wanting a head, there was one Jephtha propoſed; a perſon in high eſteem with the people for conduct and valour, both upon his father's account and his own; for he had at that time a conſiderable army of his own which he kept in pay. Upon theſe conſiderations, they applied themſelves to him by conſent, with the preſent ſtate of their caſe, and an humble deſire that he would be pleaſed to join forces with them, and accept of a commiſſion from them, as general for life of the whole army. Jephtha refuſed at firſt, not without ſome admiration, that they ſhould apply to him for help now when they themſelves were in diſtreſs, who had formerly deny'd their aſſiſtance to him when he ſtood in need of them; and was to their knowledge ſo palpably wronged by his brothers. "I was, ſays he, the ſon of a "ſtrange woman, you told me, who came into the family you knew not how, and you "would have nothing to do with me. Upon "this pretence was I driven out from among "you, and forced into the land of Gilead, "where I have continued ever ſince, liſting all "people who voluntarily offered themſelves "to my ſervice." The Iſraelites would not take this for an anſwer; but continued to preſs him with further importunities and intreaties, till at laſt he was wrought upon to eſpouſe their cauſe, and to take charge of the army, upon their oaths of fidelity to him as their general.

The Ammonites and Philiſtines fall into Gilead with an army, Ver. 17.

who apply themſelves to Jephtha for aid and protection, Judg. xi. 5, 6.

Jephtha takes charge of the Army, V. 11.

And marches to Mizpeh, ibid.

Upon this agreement, the two bodies were immediately incorporated; and ſo ſoon as ever Jephtha had given the neceſſary orders for what was firſt to be done, he marched away with the army to Mizpeh: and from thence ſent an expoſtulatory embaſſy to the king of the Ammonites; taxing him with an unjuſt invaſion of a country where he had nothing to do. The anſwer was only a retort of the ſame charge upon the Iſraelites, who being no more than fugitives out of Egypt, took poſſeſſion by arms of the land and territories of other people; and therefore warned them to depart out of the country of the Ammonites, as belonging to them in the right of their fathers. Jephtha on the other hand replied, that inſtead of charging the Iſraelites with taking away Amorrhæea from them, they ſhould rather have acknowledged the obligation of giving them Ammon; and Moſes might have had that too: but the laſt reſult was this; that as for the lands which they had been now three hundred years poſſeſſed of, they would not part with them, but by God's aſſiſtance defend them with their ſwords. This peremptory declaration put a ſhort end to the treaty, and the embaſſadors were diſmiſſed.

Jephtha charges the king of the Ammonites with injuſtice, Ver. 12.

The king recriminates, Ver. 13.

The matter being brought to this point, that the controverſy was to be decided by arms, Jephtha made a vow, that if ever he returned alive and victorious from the battle, he would offer up to God in ſacrifice the firſt living creature he ſhould meet with after he came home again. Shortly after this he came to an engagement with the enemy, gave them a total overthrow, and had the chace of them to the city of Maniath; forcing his paſſage alſo into the country of Ammon; where he laid ſeveral cities waſte, and gave the ſoldiers the ſpoil. This action, in fine, ſet the people at liberty, after a ſlaviſh ſervitude of eighteen years continuance.

Jephtha's raſh vow, Ver. 30.

Jephtha overthrows the Ammonites, V. 33.

Jephtha acquitted himſelf in this war with great honour; but upon returning home again, there happened to him ſo grievous a calamity in his own family, that it took off the reliſh of all his publick ſatisfactions. For the firſt living creature he ſet his eye upon was an only virgin daughter he had, juſt coming out of the door, big with joy to receive, and bid him welcome. This encounter ſtruck him to the very heart, and exceedingly troubled he was at her officiouſneſs to come out to meet him, telling her the ſtory of the vow, by which he had oblig'd himſelf, upon ſuch terms, to offer her to God for a ſacrifice. She was not at all dejected at the tidings, but told her father with a generous conſtancy, "That ſhe ſhould "never think much to part with her life upon the condition of ſecuring her father's honour and ſucceſs, and the liberty of her "country; only ſhe begg'd two months time "firſt, for a parting lamentation with her companions, and after that he might be pleaſed "to perform his vow." Her requeſt was granted, and at the end of the two months, this innocent devotee was offered up for a burnt-offering, without any reverence, either to religion, law, or common fame; ſo far was Jephtha tranſported with a blind zeal into a contempt of all other conſiderations. †

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† The ſcripture no where, in expreſs words, condemns this act of Jephtha's ſacrificing his daughter, as contrary to the laws of his country, or diſpleaſing to God; for which reaſon a great many chriſtian writers have rejected this opinion, though vouch'd by the authority of Joſephus, and a great many other antient and learned writers; conceiving in this oblation not a natural but a civil kind of death, and a ſeparation only unto the Lord: for that he purſued not his vow to a literal oblation, there want not arguments both from the text and reaſon.

For firſt, it is evident that ſhe deplored her virginity, and not her death; "Let me go up and down the mountains, and bewail my virginity, I and my fellows" Secondly, when it is ſaid, that Jephtha did unto her according unto his vow, it is immediately ſubjoin'd, "And ſhe knew no man;" which, as immediate in words, was moſt probably neareſt in ſenſe unto the vow. Thirdly, it is ſaid in the text, that "The daughters of Iſrael went yearly [to talk with] the daughter of Jephtha four days in the year," which had ſhe been ſacrificed in a literal ſenſe, they could not have done. For whereas the word is ſometimes tranſlated [to lament] yet doth it alſo ſignify [to talk, or have conference with one] and it is in this ſenſe tranſlated: "Ibant filiæ Iſraelitarum ad confabulandum cum filia Jephthæ, quatuor diebus quotannis:" and ſo it is alſo ſet down in the marginal notes of our tranſlation.

It is alſo repugnant to reaſon; for the offering mankind was againſt the law of God; and therefore the ſcripture with indignation often makes mention of human ſacrifices among the Gentiles. It being therefore a ſacrifice ſo abominable unto God, although he had purſued it, it is not probable the prieſts and wiſdom of Iſrael would have permitted it.

The Ephraimites pick a quarrel with Jephtha, Judg. xii. 1.

After Jephtha's victory over the Ammonites, and the ſettling of the people in a ſtate, or at leaſt in a fair proſpect of peace and freedom, the envious Ephraimites ſtarted a freſh cauſe of quarrel. “Why ſhould he engage “in ſuch an expedition without them, they “cried, but only out of an ambitious and co- “vetous deſign of engroſſing the honour and “profit of the adventure wholly to himſelf, “and not allowing them any ſhare or part in “it?” Jephtha made anſwer in his own defence, “That they knew very well their allies “were oppreſs'd; nay, and that they them- “ſelves were ſolicited to come into their aſ- “ſiſtance, but never came; though men of ho- “nour, in ſuch a caſe, would not have ſtaid “for an invitation.” And then he charged them farther, with a moſt ſcandalous piece of injuſtice, for men that durſt not look the common enemy in the face, now when the work was done without them, to fall ſo inſolently foul upon their friends; concluding with a menace, that if they went on in that way of clamour and outrage, he would make them ſmart for it. But there was no good to be done, he ſaw, with arguing and reaſoning the matter; ſo that he preſently betook himſelf to the more convincing argument of a powerful army, with which he advanced towards the enemy's main body, which they had brought from Gilead; charg'd, and utterly defeated them; prepoſſeſſed himſelf of all the fords and paſſes upon the river Jordan; and, in ſhort, follow'd the purſuit ſo hard, that betwixt the battle and the chace, he cut them off near two and forty thouſand men.

Jephtha cuts off near two and forty thouſand of the enemy, Ver. 6.

Jephtha govern'd ſix years, and died at Sebeth, Ver. 7.

Apſan, Ver. 8.

Ver. 11.

Abdon ſucceeds Elon, Ver. 13.

Jephtha, after theſe exploits, departed this life, having held the government ſix years, and was buried at Sebeth, the place of his nativity, in the land of Gilead. Apſan *, of the city of Bethlem, in the tribe of Judah, ſucceeded him, and ruled for the ſpace of ſeven years, without doing any thing worth taking notice of. He had ninety children, ſixty males, and the reſt daughters, which he left all living and married. He died ancient, and was buried in his own country. Elon, of the tribe of Zebulon, had the government for ten years after him, and there paſs'd nothing memorable in his reign neither. Abdon, the ſon of Heliel, ſucceeded Elon, of the tribe of Ephraim, and a native of the city of Pharathon; a man of a numerous iſſue, and remarkable for little elſe. But the times being eaſy and peaceable, gave him little or no occaſion for the exerciſe of his bravery and courage. He had forty ſons, and thirty grandchildren, all excellent horſemen; and theſe ſeventy were his conſtant guard. He left them all behind him, died in an advanc'd age, and was buried at Pharathon with great magnificence and ſtate.

CHAP. X.

The prediction and birth of Samſon. His amours and encounters.

The Iſraelites tributaries to the Philiſtines for forty years, Judg. xiii. 1.

After the deceaſe of Abdon, the Philiſtines prevail'd againſt the Iſraelites, and kept them tributaries for about forty years; but in the end, they were ſet at liberty in this manner.

Manoah, an uxorious and a jealous huſband, troubled for want of children, Ver. 2.

The woman foretold in a viſion, that ſhe ſhall have a male child, Ver. 3.

She tells her huſband the ſtory, and puts him into a jealouſy, Ver. 6, 7.

There was one Manoah of the tribe of Dan, and the firſt man of quality and diſtinction in his country, beyond all diſpute. This Manoah had for his wife a lovely woman, and one that was look'd upon to be the moſt complete beauty of that age; but to Manoah's unſpeakable affliction he had no children by her. In this uneaſineſs he would frequently be taking his wife to a country houſe he had in a large plain, in which ſolitude he ſpent almoſt his whole time in prayers to Almighty God for the bleſſing of children. He was paſſionate to the higheſt degree, and in proportion jealous of her. As the woman was there alone once, there appear'd an angel to her in the reſemblance of a tall handſome young man, who told her for her comfort, that God in his providence would give her a male child, who ſhould come in time to be a man of a very graceful preſence, and prodigious ſtrength; and one who ſhould humble the pride and arrogance of the Philiſtines; charging her in the name of God to let his hair grow uncut, and to ſee that he drank nothing but water; the viſion vaniſhing ſo ſoon as it had deliver'd this meſſage. Upon her huſband's coming in, ſhe told him of this apparition of the angel, wonderfully enlarging upon the comely ſtature and lovelineſs of the ſhape it appear'd in; inſomuch, that the huſband grew jealous of ſome unwarrantable love under that pretence †. The

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Secondly, The offering up of his daughter was not only unlawful, and entrenched upon his religion, but had been a courſe that would have much condemn'd his diſcretion; that is, to have puniſh'd himſelf in the ſtricteſt obſervance of his vow, when as the law of God had allow'd an evaſion; that is, by way of commutation or redemption, according as is determin'd Levit. xxvii. 4–7. whereby, if ſhe were between the age of five and twenty, ſhe was to be eſtimated but at ten ſhekels; and if between twenty and ſixty, not above thirty; a ſum that could never diſcourage an indulgent parent, it being but the value of a ſervant ſlain, the inconſiderable ſalary of Judas, and will make no greater noiſe than three pounds ſeventeen ſhillings and ſix pence with us.

Laſtly, although his vow run generally for the words, “Whatſoever ſhall come forth, &c.” yet might it be reſtrain'd in the ſenſe, for whatſoever was ſacrifiſable, and juſtly ſubject to lawful immolation; and ſo might have exempted him from ſacrificing either horſe or dog, if they had happen'd to come out upon him firſt. Nor was he oblig'd by oath unto a ſtrict obſervation of that, which promiſſorily was unlawful; or could he be qualified by vow to commit a fact which naturally was abominable. Now the ground at leaſt which promoted the opinion of Joſephus and others, who have expounded this paſſage in a literal ſenſe, might be the dubious words of the text, which contain the ſenſe of his vow, moſt men adhering unto their common and obvious acceptation. “Whatſoever ſhall come forth of the doors of my houſe ſhall ſurely be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a burnt- “offering.” Now whereas it is ſaid, “Erit Jehovæ, & offeram illud holocauſtum.” The word ſignifying both Et and Aut, it may be taken disjunctively; aut offeram, that is, it ſhall either be the Lord's by ſeparation, or elſe an holocauſt by common oblation, even as our marginal tranſlation advertiſeth; and as Tremellius rendereth it, “Erit inquam Jehovæ, aut offeram illud holocauſtum;” and for the vulgar Latin, it often uſeth Et where Aut muſt be preſumed, as Exod. xxi. 15. “Si quis percuſſerit patrem & matrem,” that is, not both, but either. There being therefore two ways to diſpoſe of her, either to ſeparate her unto the Lord, or offer her as a ſacrifice, it is of no neceſſity the latter ſhould be neceſſary; and ſurely leſs derogatory unto the ſacred text and hiſtory of the people of God, muſt be the former.

* Scrip. Ibzan.

† This is Joſephus's comment; the ſcripture makes no mention of Manoah's jealouſy.

The husband ſees the apparition, and is ſtill jealous.

The angel diſappears, Ver. 20.

poor woman was in great perplexity how to cure him of this anxious and unreaſonable ſuſpicion, and in the anguiſh of her ſoul, made it her ſupplication to Almighty God to ſend his angel yet once again, and in ſuch a manner, that her huſband might be convinc'd of the authority of the revelation as well as herſelf. Upon this prayer of her's, the angel, a while after, preſented itſelf a ſecond time to the woman alone, in the ſame place as before; who immediately, upon the appearance, beſought the angel's patience till ſhe might fetch her huſband. Her requeſt was granted, and ſo Manoah was fetch'd; but ſuch was the force of his jealouſy, that, though he actually ſaw the angel, he would hardly be brought to believe his own eyes; preſſing to have the ſame thing ſaid to them over again, that had been ſpoken to his wife. "Let it ſuffice, ſays the "angel, that it is known to your wife." Manoah then deſir'd him to declare who he was; to the end, that when God ſhould ſend him a child, he might know who to thank for it, and where to pay his acknowledgments for the bleſſing. The angel told him, "That he had "no need of rewards, neither did he expect "any for his news." "Why then, ſays Ma-"noah, be pleaſed to accept of a hoſpitable "homely treat." The angel declin'd it at firſt; but by prayer and importunity he was over-perſuaded to ſtay till ſomewhat might be provided. Manoah immediately kill'd a kid, and gave it his wife to dreſs; and when every thing was ready, the angel commanded the bread and the fleſh to be laid looſe upon a rock there, without diſhes. This being done, he touch'd the fleſh with a rod he had, and preſently there ſtarted a fire from it that conſumed fleſh, bread and all; and as the ſmoke mounted, the angel was ſeen to aſcend to Heaven in the vehicle of that cloud. Manoah lay under a ſuperſtitious dread of ſome great miſchief that might betide them upon this viſion; but his wife diſpell'd his fears by a confident aſſurance, that it would turn to their comfort, and prove the greateſt bleſſing imaginable to them both in the concluſion. She found herſelf ſoon after to be big, and from that time forward kept punctually in her mind the orders the angel had given her.

Samſon born, Ver. 24.

The child, when born, prov'd to be a ſon, and they gave him the name of Samſon, that is to ſay, robuſt. He improv'd every day wonderfully as he grew up, in the advantages both of his body and mind; inſomuch, that betwixt the comelineſs of his looſe flowing hair, and the ſobriety of his way of living, in the government of his appetite, he ſeem'd to have ſomewhat in him that was more than human.

Samſon falls in love with a damſel at Thamna, Judg. xiv. 1.

He contracts himſelf to her, Ver. 8.

Samſon encounters a lion, and ſtrangles him, Ver. 6.

A ſwarm of bees in the breaſt of the lion, Ver. 9.

Samſon propounds a riddle, Ver. 12, 13, 14.

His miſtreſs gets the meaning of it out of him, and ſo betrays him, Ver. 17.

The Philiſtines reſolve the riddle, Ver. 18.

It was his hap once upon a ſolemn feſtival-day at Thamna*, a city belonging to the Philiſtines, being there with his parents upon that occaſion, to fall in love with a damſel of the country, whom he ſaw at that meeting; and upon the ſight of her, he was very earneſt with his father and mother to procure her for him in marriage. His parents told him, that it was againſt the rules of their religion to marry with ſtrangers, and that there was choice enough of matches among the Hebrew women, who were fitter for him. But the will and humour of the ſon prevailed over the reaſon and authority of the father, and the love proceeded to a contract. It was Samſon's fortune, as he was once upon the way on a viſit to his miſtreſs, to meet a lion directly in his road. He never gave way, or boggled for the matter, but advanced up to the very throat of him; and unarm'd as he was, with his naked hands ſtrangled him, caſting the body into a thicket afterwards, by the way ſide. As he was upon the ſame journey ſome few days after, and on the ſame errand, he ſtept aſide to look at the carcaſs of the lion, and there he found a ſwarm of bees working their wax and honey in the breaſt of him. He took out three honeycombs; and with ſome curioſities that he had gotten together, made a preſent of them to his ſweet-heart. The nuptials being now to be ſolemniz'd, his wife's relations, and the people of the place who were invited, aſſign'd him thirty of their ſtouteſt young fellows to wait upon him, as an inſtance, in pretence, of the great honour and reſpect they had for him; but in truth, as ſo many ſpies and guards upon him, in caſe he ſhould be troubleſome in his cups, being a man of ſo prodigious and incredible a ſtrength. As the gueſts grew warm and chearful, and paſſing from one merriment to another, Samſon told the company that he had a riddle to propound; and if any of them ſhould reſolve it in ſeven days, he would be bound to give them every man a ſhirt and a coat, as a reſpect and a reward; ſo that they ſhould have both honour and profit. Now betwixt thoſe who had a mind to be thought wiſe, and others who had an eye upon the benefit, they accepted the propoſal by conſent, and bad him put the queſtion. "Why then, "ſays he, the parable is this. [Out of the "eater came forth meat, and out of the ſtrong "came forth ſweetneſs."] In ſhort, the Philiſtines laid their heads together about it, till after three days puzzling, to no purpoſe, they were at laſt obliged to make their application to the new bride, and intreat her to get the ſecret out of her huſband; threatening moreover, that unleſs ſhe therein prevailed, and made a full diſcovery of it to them, they would burn her without any more ado. Samſon for a good while refuſed to gratify her requeſt; but in the end, betwixt tears, importunities, and reproaches, (for ſhe imputed his refuſal to his want of love,) he was prevail'd upon to give her the whole ſtory, of his killing the lion, and of the three honeycombs he brought her; and ſo expounded the riddle from end to end, without ſo much as ſuſpecting any treacherous intrigue betwixt her and the Philiſtines. But ſtill, whatever he told her, ſhe told it again to them. The ſeventh day was now come, which was the preciſe time appointed for the ſolution of this difficulty; ſo that the Philiſtines met before ſun-ſet, and told Samſon, by way of anſwer to his queſtion, "That nothing is ſtronger than a "lion, or ſweeter than honey." "No, ſays "Samſon, nor falſer than the woman that has "put my words in your mouths." This did not hinder Samſon yet from making good what he had promiſed; for happening to meet thirty men of Askalon †, he ſtripp'd them, and made payment of the ſhirts and coats he had undertaken

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* Scrip. Timnah.

† Askalon at that time belong'd to the Philiſtines.

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Samſon puts away his wife, Judg. xiv. 20.

Judg. xv. 4.

Samſon burns the Philiſtines corn, Ver. 5.

Samſon's wife and relations burnt alive, Ver. 6.

taken for. He caſt off his wife upon it however, and ſhe in ſpite married his friend who ſolicited the match, which Samſon took for ſo unpardonable an affront, that he determin'd a revenge, not only upon the woman, but upon the whole nation for it, having at that time alſo a fair opportunity before him of putting it in ſome meaſure in execution. It was then towards harveſt-time, and the corn being ripe upon the ground, Samſon got three hundred foxes, and tying them tail to tail, with firebrands between them, turn'd them looſe into the corn-fields of the Philiſtines. In the hurry of this fright they carried the fire from place to place, all over the grounds; and wherever they came, they ſpoiled all the fruits of the earth in an inſtant. So ſoon as the Philiſtines came to underſtand that it was Samſon's doing, and what it was provoked him to it, they ſent the princes of the country to Thamna, who took up the wife of Samſon, and all her relations, and burnt them alive, as the authors of this calamity.

Samſon withdraws to Etam, a ſtrong rock in the tribe of Judah, Ver. 8.

The Philiſtines demand Samſon's perſon, Ver. 9, 10.

Three thouſand armed Philiſtines treat with Samſon, V. 11.

Samſon renders himſelf upon conditions, Ver. 12, 13.

Samſon's exploit with the jaw-bone of an aſs, V. 15.

The vanity of Samſon in aſſuming all to himſelf, Ver. 16.

Samſon ſeiz'd with a parching thirſt to humble him, Ver. 18.

His repentance and prayer, ibid.

A fountain guſhes out of a rock to quench Samſon's thirſt, Ver. 19.

They coop him up in Gaza, and he carries away the gates upon his ſhoulders to Mount Hebron, Judg. xvi. 3.

SAMSON made ſeveral bloody inroads into the land of the Philiſtines, and took up his habitation at Etam, a rock of great ſtrength, and in the tribe of Judah; againſt which tribe the Philiſtines were now upon the point of declaring war. The people pleaded for themſelves, that they liv'd quietly, and paid their taxes, and they hoped they ſhould not be puniſhed for Samſon's fault; but they were anſwered, that nothing could diſcharge them of Samſon's guilt, but the delivering up of Samſon's perſon. They were ſo much concern'd to clear themſelves of this ſuſpicion, that they drew together three thouſand arm'd men, and marched to the place of his retreat, where they enter'd into expoſtulations with him, what a miſchief his violence had drawn upon the Hebrews, in ſtirring up an enemy againſt them, who might bring a ruin perhaps upon the whole race. Their coming, they ſaid, was only to take poſſeſſion of his perſon, and give him up to the Philiſtines, which they deſired him to ſubmit to, both for their ſakes and his, as his own voluntary act. Upon this overture Samſon came down from the rock, and upon their ſolemn oath that they would do him no farther hurt, than barely to deliver him up into the hands of the enemy, he rendered up his perſon to his countrymen, who led him away, bound with two ropes, in order to deliver him to the Philiſtines, according to agreement; when they came to a place that was formerly obſcure, but ſince made famous by a memorable exploit of Samſon's there, and was not far from the enemy's camp; the people came out in troops to meet them, with ſhouts of joy and exultation, for the good fortune that had befallen them. Samſon in the mean while broke his cords to pieces, and with the jawbone of an aſs that lay there upon the ground, fell upon the Philiſtines, and defeated them; killed a matter of a thouſand upon the place, and routed all the reſt. Samſon was ſo tranſported upon the thought of this victory, that he had the vanity to aſſume the honour of the action to himſelf, without aſcribing the glory of it to God's power and providence, as he ought to have done. But while this arrogant and overweening humour was yet upon him, he found himſelf ſeized with a violent parching * thirſt, which gave him to underſtand, that after all his ſucceſſes, he was but fleſh and blood ſtill, and liable to human infirmities. The ſenſe of this diſorder brought him to the knowledge of himſelf, and to a penitent confeſſion that the victory was God's, and that he was able to do nothing of himſelf, without the divine aſſiſtance. He begged pardon for his paſt vanity and preſumption, and ſo caſt himſelf wholly upon God's infinite power and goodneſs, as his only dependance for deliverance out of all his diſtreſſes. His prayers were not in vain, for there guſhed immediately out of a rock near at hand there, a ſtream of delicious water to relieve him in his raging drought; which rock, from the exploit of Samſon, bears the name of the Jaw unto this very day. After this combat, Samſon made nothing of the Philiſtines, but went publickly to Gaza, and took up his lodging there in a common inn. The governor of the town having intelligence of it, had guards and ſpies ſet at the gates to watch him, that he ſhould not give them the ſlip; but Samſon having ſome hint of the deſign, got up at midnight, and taking the gates off the hinges, carried them away upon his ſhoulders, frames, bolts, locks, and every thing that belonged to them, to Mount Hebron, and there he left them.

Samſon hankers after innovations.

He falls in love with Dalilah, a Philiſtine and a proſtitute, Ver. 4.

Dalilah is employed to diſcover where his ſtrength lies, Ver. 5.

He puts her off with three abuſes, Ver. 7, 11, 13.

SAMSON ſoon after this begun by degrees to forſake the laws of his country, and conſequently to a hankering after the laws and cuſtoms of other nations, which proved in time the foundation of his ruin. It was his hap to fall paſſionately in love with a common proſtitute of the Philiſtines, whoſe name was Dalilah †; and the amour was gone ſo far, that they lived and accompanied together. The Lords of the Philiſtines finding how great a power this mercenary woman had over him, made uſe of her intereſt, by flattery and corruption, toward the betraying of him. It was their buſineſs upon the main, ſome way or other to deſtroy Samſon; and the part ſhe had to play, was to find out his weak ſide, and to diſcover where that invincible ſtrength of his lay. This was the ſtate and condition of affairs betwixt the Philiſtines and the harlot; and as there wanted not either art or bribery on the one ſide, ſo neither was there any failing in the matter of treachery and deceit on the other. For the bringing of it about, ſhe took all occaſions in his cups and dalliances, to extol his exploits, admiring his prodigious ſtrength and vigour; uſing all her artifice to get out of him wherein that excellency lay, that put ſuch an unaccountable difference betwixt him and all other men. Now Samſon, as yet maſter of his reaſon, had prudence enough to defeat the artifice of his miſtreſs by counter-cunning; and ſo he told her, that if his hands were but bound with ſeven green withs, or creepers of a vine, it would be with him as it is with other men. Dalilah ſaid no more, but went away preſently to the magiſtrates with the ſtory. Upon this report there were ſoldiers ordered privately into the houſe, who upon the firſt opportunity of finding Samſon drunk and drowſy, laid hold of him, and

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* See Bochart's Hierozicon, Part I. lib. ii. c. 15. p. 201. Ed. Lond.

† Scrip. Delilah.

bound him according to their inſtructions: but Dalilah awaked him immediately with an outcry, that the Philiſtines were upon him. Samſon upon the very inſtant took the alarm, and ſnapping the withs in pieces, put himſelf in poſture, as for an encounter of an enemy. There followed a heavy quarrel a little while after, betwixt Dalilah and and Samſon. "If he had loved her, ſhe ſaid, he could never have denied her a thing her heart was ſet upon; but ſhe found he durſt not truſt her, and ſo deluded her with a lye; as if ſhe could not keep a ſecret as well as another woman." At this rate ſhe went on, importuning him with the ſame queſtion over again; and over again he fooled her too, with a mock-ſtory, that if he were tied up with a band of ſeven cords it would do the work; but upon trial, that experiment failed them likewiſe; and ſo did a third alſo, of filleting and twiſting up his locks. Dalilah having been now thrice impoſed upon, was not at all diſcouraged yet, but betwixt ſpite and wilfulneſs, preſſed him ſo hard with freſh charms and importunities, that he was now brought to the laſt fatal neceſſity of yielding up what he could hold no longer; and ſo he diſcover'd to her the deſired ſecret, in this manner: "That God, ſays he, who gave me my being, hath been pleaſed in his goodneſs, to take me into his particular care, and to give me in ſpecial charge not to ſuffer my hair to be cut, for that in the preſervation of that hair conſiſted my ſecurity and ſtrength." Upon this diſcovery, ſhe cut off his locks in his ſleep, and when he was no longer able to defend himſelf, delivered him up to his enemies, who put out his eyes, and carried him up and down in bonds, for a ſpectacle. Some conſiderable time after this, when Samſon's hair was pretty much grown again, there was a great meeting of the princes and nobility of the Philiſtines: the feaſt was held in a building which had only two large pillars to ſupport its roof. While they were together at this feſtival, in their jollity blind Samſon was ſent for to make ſport for the company in their cups. It was the moſt ſenſible part of his afflictions to find himſelf not in a condition to revenge the inſolence of his enemies; but he ſpoke to the boy, however, who led him, to let him lean againſt one of the pillars, for he was weary he ſaid of ſtanding. The boy did ſo; and Samſon, with all his might gave the pillar ſuch a ſhake, that he brought down the houſe upon the heads of three thouſand men, beſides himſelf, and they were all cruſh'd to death under the ruins.

After three abuſes, he tells her the truth at laſt, that his ſtrength lay in his hair, Judg. xvi. 17. She cuts off his locks, and delivers him up to his enemies, Ver. 19. who put out his eyes, and expoſe him for a ſpectacle, Ver. 21.

Samſon brings down the houſe upon his own, and the heads of three thouſand Philiſtines, V. 30. Samſon ruled twenty years, Ver. 31.

This was Samſon's end, in the twentieth year of his government. He was a man of wonderful ſtrength and courage, and to his immortal honour, he employed his utmoſt force to the confuſion of his enemies. It is true that it was his hap to be inveigled by a woman; and where is he that has not been ſo more or leſs, who carries fleſh and blood, and human frailty about him? to ſay nothing of his other excellent qualities, which deſerve eternal memory. His dead body was under the care of his kindred, who cauſed it to be tranſported to Saraſa, and there interr'd amongſt his anceſtors.

CHAP. XI.

Of Naamis, Ruth, and Booz. The birth of Samuel. The Hebrews defeated by the Philiſtines.

Eli the high-prieſt ſucceeded Samſon in the government of the Iſraelites; and in his time there happened a miſerable famine. Abimelech *, a citizen of Bethlehem, in the tribe of Judah, unwilling to bear the miſeries of it, took Naamis † his wife, and two ſons that he had by her, Mallon and Chellion ‖, and ſo withdrew into the land of Moab, where every thing went proſperouſly with him, and there he married his ſons to two Moabitiſh women, Chellion to Orpha, and Mallon to Ruth. Within the compaſs of ten years Abimelech and his two ſons died, in a ſhort time one after another. Upon their deceaſe, Naamis who had now to her inconſolable affliction, loſt thoſe dear friends and relations, for whoſe only ſake ſhe was prevailed upon to quit her country, with this change of affairs changed counſels too, and reſolved to go back again; eſpecially being informed that affairs at home were now in a better ſtate than ſhe left them. Her ſons widows could not endure to think of parting with her, but preſſed her with importunities, even whether ſhe would or no, to bear her company. She wiſhed them all manner of good fortune, and that they might be happier in their next huſbands than they had been with her ſons; but alas! ſhe was not in condition, ſhe ſaid, to be any way helpful to them; and for them to venture a certainty for an uncertainty, in the riſque of ſuch a journey, only to condole with a miſerable mother-in-law, to no ſort of purpoſe, was, ſhe ſaid, utterly againſt her mind. Upon this reaſoning of the matter, Orpha was over-ruled; but for Ruth's part, "Come life, come death, nothing ſhould ever make her forſake her mother," ſhe ſaid: ſo that Naamis, without any more ceremony, went her way, and took Ruth along with her.

Eli ſucceeds Samſon. A famine in his days, Ruth i. 1. Abimelech and Naamis his wife withdraw to Moab, Ver. 1, 2. Abimelech's two ſons, Mallon and Chellion, marry Orpha and Ruth, Ver. 4. The father and his two ſons die not long after, Ver. 5.

Naamis and Ruth go back again to Bethlehem; but Orpha ſtays behind, Ver. 6, 7.

When they came to Bethlehem, they were received by Booz †‖†, a kinſman of Abimelech's, and the people calling Naamis by her name, nay, ſays Naamis, let it be rather Mara; the former in Hebrew ſignifying felicity, the other ſorrow. It was now harveſt-time, and Ruth, with her mother's leave, being gone out a gleaning for ſomewhat to eat, ſhe happened into a field of Booz, who, a while after, came himſelf, and upon the ſight of this young woman, enquired more particularly of his head-ſervant what he knew concerning her. So he told his maſter what he had heard from her but a little before. Booz was wonderfully pleaſed with the tenderneſs of her affection for her mother-in-law, and for the memory of her dead huſband; and therefore ordered his ſervant, not only to ſuffer her to glean what ſhe could, but to let her reap, and carry away whatever ſhe had a mind to, and to ſupply her with meat and drink ſufficient, in common with his own people. Ruth ſaved part of the bread and proviſions they gave her for her mother-in-law, and at night carried it to her, with her gleanings, all together; Naamis doing the like for Ruth, in what ſhe had received

Booz receives them at Bethlehem, and treats them kindly, Ruth ii. 8, &c.

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* Scrip. Elimelech. † Scrip. Naomi. ‖ Scrip. Malon and Chilion. †‖† Scrip. Boaz.

Ruth, by the advice of Naamis, lay herſelf in the night at the feet of Booz, Ruth iii. 7.

that day from her charitable neighbours. As they were together in the evening, Ruth gave her mother the whole hiſtory of what paſſed betwixt her and Booz, the mother giving her to underſtand that Booz was her near relation, and that being a conſiderable perſon, and a man of great piety, ſhe did not know but he might take his poor kindred into his care. So that Ruth went on ſtill, day after day, into fields a gleaning, with the maid-ſervants of Booz, till barley-harveſt was over; and then after ſome few days, when the corn was threſhed out, Booz took up his lodging in his own barn, which coming to the knowledge of Naamis, put her upon a contrivance how ſhe might bring him and Ruth to lie together, to the advantage of them both: which was, that Ruth ſhould convey herſelf into the barn to the feet of Booz, and there lie down to take her reſt. Ruth making a conſcience of obeying her mother, did as ſhe was commanded. But Booz, being faſt aſleep, knew nothing at all of the matter, till waking about midnight, he found that he had gotten a companion; and calling out to know who it was, Ruth told him her name, and begged his permiſſion, in the quality of his ſervant, that ſhe might ſtill lie at his feet. There paſſed no more words at preſent, but early in the morning before any of the ſervants were gotten up to their work, he called to Ruth, and bad her take as much corn as ſhe could carry, and be gone immediately to her mother with it, before any notice could be taken where ſhe had been that night; for, ſays he, in caſes of this nature people cannot be too cautious, let them be never ſo innocent. "But "in one word, ſays he, before you go; there "is a perſon nearer to you in blood than my"ſelf. My advice is, that you demand him "for your husband. If he agrees to it, you "are bound to follow him: if he refuſes, I "can lawfully take you to wife myſelf." Ruth at her return, gave her mother-in-law a relation of all that had paſſed, who was mightily overjoy'd to find that their affairs were in ſo promiſing a ſituation, as to become the care of Booz.

Booz takes Ruth to wife, Ruth iv. 13.

The birth of Obed, from whom came Jeſſe, and from Jeſſe David, Ver. 17, 22.

ABOUT the noon-time of the day, Booz was back again at the city, where he called a court, and ſummoned Ruth and her kinſman to make their appearance. Well, ſays Booz to the kinſman, "If I am not miſtaken, you are at "preſent poſſeſſed of the eſtate of Abimelech, "and his ſons." I am ſo, ſays t'other, and the law has put me in poſſeſſion of it by virtue of a right I have to it by nearneſs of blood. pray, ſays Booz, do not talk of the law by halves; but whether it be for you, or againſt you, take your lot in the one part as well as in the other. Here ſtands before you the widow of Mallon, and you are bound by the law to marry the woman, or to quit the inheritance. The kinſman excuſed himſelf from marrying her, by ſaying that he had a wife and children of his own already; and ſo by a publick declaration in court, rendered both the one and the other to Booz, he being then the next a-kin to the deceaſed. Booz had this declaration recorded, and then commanded the woman to looſen her kinſman's ſhoe, and ſpit in his face, according to a formality of law. This being done he took Ruth for his wife, and within the compaſs of a year, ſhe brought him a ſon, which he committed to the care of Naamis, and by the advice of the women called him Obed, which in Hebrew is as much as ſervice, or aſſiſtance; applying the name to the aſſiſtance they expected from him to Naamis in her old age. From Obed came Jeſſe, and Jeſſe was the father of king David; in whoſe family the government continued for one and twenty generations. I have been the more particular in this hiſtory of Ruth, to ſet forth the power and diſpenſations of God in his providence, who brings the greateſt things to paſs, even by the meaneſt of inſtruments, advancing to the throne, many times, men of the loweſt condition, according to his good pleaſure. This we find verified abundantly in the genealogy of David.

Eli's two ſons, Ophnes and Phinees, notorious libertines, 1 Sam. ii. 12--17.

‡ Scrip. Hophni and Phinehas.

MATTERS at this time went very ill with the Hebrews, having engaged themſelves afreſh in a war with the Philiſtines. Eli the high-prieſt had two ſons, Ophnes and Phinees ‡; who were libertines to the higheſt degree, in contempt of religion and common juſtice. They were men who ſtuck at nothing that was ill. The ordinary way of gratuities and honorary preſents made them by the elders would not ſerve their turn, unleſs every thing were extorted from them by violence and rapine. They made it their buſineſs to debauch women, even at their devotions, and to corrupt them by force or bribes, at the very altar: and all this with an inſolence equal to any tyranny that ever was heard of. The profligate wickedneſs of theſe licentious men was no ſmall affliction to their father, by reaſon of the daily dread and apprehenſion he lived in of ſome terrible judgment that would befal them. To ſay nothing of the groans of the people under a moſt intolerable oppreſſion; but when it came ſoon after to be revealed by God to the father, and to the prophet Samuel, who was at that time but a child, what would be the wretched fate of theſe men, Eli gave them quite over, and mourned for them as already loſt or dead. But for order ſake, I ſhall firſt ſpeak a word of the prophet, and paſs afterward to the wretched end of theſe lewd young men, and ſo to the true cauſe of the miſeries that befel the Hebrews.

1 Sam. i. 2.

† Scr. Peninnah.

Hannah the wife of Elkanah, prays earneſtly for a ſon, and vows him to God, Ver. 11.

THERE was one Elkanah, a Levite, and an inhabitant of Ramath, in the lot of Ephraim, who had two wives, Hannah and Phenannah †: by the latter he had children, but by the former, for a good while, none at all: but this diſappointment, however, did not one jot leſſen his affections to her. Coming one day with his family to Shilo to worſhip, the holy tabernacle being there, as has been ſaid heretofore, Elkanah made a diſtribution of part of his own portion and proviſion, to his wives and children; Phenannah, and her little ones, feeding together. This ſight made ſuch an impreſſion upon Hannah, that ſhe look'd upon it as a tacit reproach of her barrenneſs, and upon that thought, betwixt grief and envy, burſt out a weeping. Her husband and friends did what they could to comfort her; but ſhe rejected all, and in that paſſion went away directly to the tabernacle, where ſhe beſought God with earneſt ſupplications to grant her the comfort of a ſon, vowing, with a moſt religious ſolemnity, to dedicate him wholly, and in a moſt peculiar manner, to his worſhip and ſervice. The length and earneſtneſs of her prayers gave Eli, who was then ſitting before

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Eli comforts Hannah with the promiſe of a ſon, Ver. 17.

The birth of Samuel, Ver. 20.

the tabernacle, an occaſion to ſuſpect ſhe was in drink; inſomuch, that he called out to that drunken woman to be gone. She made anſwer, that ſhe drank nothing but water, only her heart was heavy for want of children, and that ſhe was now imploring God in his mercy to make her a mother. Eli bad her ſet her mind at reſt then, for God would ſend her children. Upon this encouragement ſhe went back chearfully to her huſband, fell to her meat again, (which before went againſt her ſtomach,) and ſo returned with her huſband into the country, where, after a while, ſhe conceived, and in due time brought forth a ſon, whom they called Samuel; that is to ſay, Aſked of God. The parents returning to Shilo, to offer up ſacrifice, and pay their tenths, according to cuſtom, and to give God thanks for the bleſſing of a ſon, the woman was not unmindful of her vow, but delivered the child up to Eli, and dedicated him to God. They let his hair grow; his drink was altogether water, and his ſtation about the temple, where he officiated, and was in time to become a prophet. Hannah, after this, brought Elkanah other ſons, and three daughters.

Samuel begins to prophecy at thirteen years of age, 1 Sam. iii. 4–10.

God foretels the death of Eli's two ſons, and the transferring of the prieſthood from his family to Eleazar, Ver. 11–14.

When Samuel was juſt entered into the thirteenth year of his age, he began to prophecy; and as he lay aſleep one night, God called him by name. He took it for the high-prieſt's voice, and ſo went to him to know his pleaſure; but the high-prieſt had not called him, he ſaid; and ſo he told him over and over again, upon a ſecond, and a third call, after the ſame manner; but Eli finding at laſt where the miſtake lay, told him that it was God who called him; wherefore my ſon, ſays Eli, whenever thou heareſt the voice again, let this be thy anſwer, "Here I am Lord; "ſpeak, for thy ſervant heareth, and is ready "to obey thee." The words that Eli put into his mouth, Samuel made uſe of at the next call, and the voice then went forward, ſaying, "Since thou art here at hand, I will now give "thee to underſtand, that the Iſraelites are at "this inſtant upon the brink of ſo dreadful a "calamity, that it is not to be expreſſed or "believed, and hardly to be conceived. The "two ſons of Eli ſhall be cut off both in a "day; the high-prieſthood taken away for "ever, from himſelf and his family, and tranſ"ferred to Eleazar; for Eli, ſays the voice, "hath had more regard to his ſons than to "my worſhip, though to the common deſtruc"tion of them all." Samuel was not willing to be the reporter of theſe diſmal tidings to Eli and his family; but being adjured by the high-prieſt to give him a faithful account of the whole revelation, he delivered it in order from point to point, and left the old man no place to doubt of the inevitable deſtruction of his ſons. Samuel's reputation for a prophet increaſed daily, the event making good his predictions.

1 Sam iv. 1.
* Scrip. Aphek.

The Hebrews loſe four thouſand men in a battle with the Philiſtines, Ver. 2.

The ark is brought into the army, Ver. 4, 5.

Thirty thouſand Hebrews loſt in another battle, the ſons of Eli being in the number, and the ark taken, Ver. 10, 11.

At the ſame time the Philiſtines marched with an army againſt the Iſraelites, and encamped in Ampheck *; but meeting there with no oppoſition, they advanced farther, and came ſoon after to a battle, wherein the Hebrews were routed; and having loſt four thouſand upon the place, the remainder fled, and were purſued to their very tents. This blow ſtruck the Hebrews with ſo mortal a dread, that they gave all in a manner for as good as loſt, and ſent immediately to the high-prieſt and the elders, to cauſe the ark of God to be brought into the army; that by its preſence they might obtain a victory, little dreaming that they were doomed to deſtruction by a higher power than that of the ark; nay, by that divine original, for whoſe ſake alone the ark itſelf was had in veneration. The ark, however, was brought into the field, the ſons of the high-prieſt attending it with a charge, that if it ſhould happen to be loſt, they ſhould never look their father in the face again. Phinees aſſiſted only as the old man's deputy, who was far gone in years, and out of condition for that ſervice. The preſence of the ark inſpired the Hebrews with new courage, as if the very appearance of it brought victory along with it, while the other ſide looked upon it as a foreboding of their ruin; but upon the event, they both found themſelves miſtaken; for the hopes of the one were diſappointed, and ſo were the fears of the other alſo; if an error to their advantage may be called a diſappointment. But in ſhort, the Hebrews turned their backs upon the firſt encounter, loſt thirty thouſand men upon the ſpot; the two ſons of Eli fell in the number, and the ark itſelf into the enemy's hands.

CHAP. XII.

The death of Eli for the loſs of the ark; and the birth of Ichabod.

Eli falls down dead upon the news of the ark's being taken, Ver. 18.

THE ſad news of this overthrow, and the taking of the ark, being brought to Shilo by a young Benjamite who made his eſcape out of the battle, filled the city with mournful cries and lamentations, which coming to the ear of the high-prieſt, as he ſat mounted upon a high chair at one of the gates, gave him reaſonably to preſume the truth of the matter, and that ſome miſerable diſaſter had befallen the army; ſo he called for the young man to ſpeak with him; from whom he underſtood the particulars, and the event of the battle. As for the loſs of men, and for the death of his ſons, he ſupported that part of the ſtory with conſtancy enough, being, in truth, prepared for it by a revelation, which gave him fore-knowledge of ſo much of the calamity, and he bare it the better, in regard that it was no ſurprize to him. But when he came to the circumſtance of the ark being taken, the ſtroke was ſo unexpected, that he ſunk under the weight of it; dropp'd down out of his chair of ſtate, and gave up the ghoſt, in the ninety eighth year of his age, and the fortieth of his government. The wife of Phinees was ſeven months gone with child, fell in labour upon the news of her huſband's death, and died the ſame day; but the child lived, and was called Joachab †, that is to ſay, ſhame and ignominy, pointing at the diſgrace of that defeat.

† Scrip. Ichabod.
Ver. 21, 22.

The ſucceſſion of the high-prieſthood.

Eli was the firſt of the family of Ithamar, (another of the ſons of Aaron,) that exerciſed the function of high-prieſt; for till then, it paſſed from father to ſon in the line of Eleazar, who left it to Phinees, and he to his ſon Abiezer; from him it went to his ſon Bocejas, and thence to his ſon Ozis, whence afterward to Eli, of whom we are now ſpeaking; and in his family it continued till the reign of king Solomon, after which it returned again to the houſe of Eleazar.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK VI.

From the Year of the World 2850 to 2890.

CHAP. I.

The taking of the ark. Dagon falls down before it. The plagues that attended it till it was brought back again.

The ark carried in triumph to the temple of Dagon, 1 Sam. v. 1, 2.

Dagon falls down before the ark, Ver. 3.

The judgments that follow'd upon the detention of the ark, Ver. 6.

The ark removed to Aſcalon.

The plagues that went along with it, through the five cities of Gath, Ekron, Aſcalon, Gaza, and Azotus, Ver. 5, 6, &c.

AFTER this rout of the Hebrews, and the taking of the ark priſoner, as is ſaid already, the Philiſtines carried it to * Azotus, in triumph, and there lodged it among other donatives and trophies, in the temple of their god Dagon. Upon coming thither next day to their morning devotions, they found Dagon tumbled down from his pedeſtal, and lying flat upon the ground before the ark. This accident put them into a ſuperſtitious confuſion what to think of it; but they preſently helped him up again, and put him in his former place. They continued going and coming as they had occaſion, and ſtill as they ſet him right one day, they were ſure to find him proſtrate upon the floor, and in a poſture of adoring the ark next time they came, which was look'd upon by the people as the worſt of omens. In concluſion, the city and province of Azotus was viſited with a moſt judicial plague of the guts, which rotted them alive, and carried them off by a violent dyſentery, with vomitings and torments not to be expreſs'd. They had another plague in the fields too; that is to ſay, ſuch ſwarms of mice, that they laid all waſte wherever they came; plants, fruit, corn, and in ſhort nothing eſcaped them. While the people of Azotus lay groaning under theſe afflictions, without any hope or proſpect of eaſe or remedy, they came to underſtand that all this had befallen them for their ſacrilegious violence upon the ark; and that at this rate, all things conſider'd, they had paid dear for the victory; ſo that they ſent a meſſenger with a requeſt to the people of Aſcalon, that they would be pleaſed to take the ark into their city; who were ſo far from any difficulty of complying with them, that they moſt thankfully admitted it. After a ſhort time they found that the judgments went along with the ark; for the very plagues of Azotus were now transferr'd to Aſcalon; and it ſtaid not long there neither, but was ſtill ſent away from one place to another, till it had travelled through five of the Philiſtines cities; and wherever it went, the ſame calamities attended it, with ſuch a mortality, as if divine juſtice had impoſed a tribute upon the violators of God's holy worſhip. The ark wander'd, in fine, ſo long, and ſo far, that people were grown ſhy of it, and would have nothing further to do with it; ſo that it was now the queſtion, how to get quit of it for good and all.

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* Scrip. Aſhdod.

A council about the ark, what to do with it, 1 Sam. vi. 1-9.

To this end, there was a council call'd of the principal men of the five cities before ſpoken of; that is to ſay, of * Gitta, Accaron, Aſcalon, Gaza, and Azotus, to adviſe what meaſures to take upon this occaſion. Some were of opinion at firſt, for ſending the ark back to the owners of it; for the God, they ſaw, who had it under his care, would vindicate it, having already upon that account deſtroy'd their people with peſtilential diſeaſes, and laid ſeveral of their cities deſolate. There were ſome again that would not allow their opinion to be well grounded, who would have the ark to be the occaſion of the calamities wherewith they were afflicted. “If God, they cried, had ſuch a kindneſs for it, he would never have ſuffered an enemy to have taken it, and an enemy of another religion too.” So that this party was abſolutely againſt the ſending of it home again; adviſing them rather to bear the common chances of human life with courage and patience; and to conſider, like wiſe men, that there was nothing in all this, but according to the courſe of nature, that has a power over men's bodies, plants, ſeaſons, and the like, to do greater wonders than any thing here amounted to. There remained yet another ſort, and men of gravity and experience too, who adviſed a middle courſe betwixt either ſending it home, or detaining it; and this expedient carried it from the former, as being more congruous to the preſent humour and affair. The propoſal was this, that there ſhould be made five golden images, one for each of the five cities, and dedicated to God, in acknowledgment of his goodneſs in delivering them from a plague by his Almighty power, which was out of the reach of any natural remedy to relieve. They propounded alſo five golden mice, alluding to the vermin that devour'd their plants; all to be put in a box, and laid upon the ark, the ark itſelf to be put into a new waggon, made expreſly for that ſervice, and ſo to be drawn by two milch kine, their calves ſhut up, and left behind to keep them from lingring upon the way: this waggon, with the ark, to be conducted to the parting of three ways, and the cattle there left at liberty to go whither they pleaſed. If they took the Hebrew road, and went forward in it, the calamities they ſuffered might be imputed to the ark; but if they bent their courſe any other way, they might conclude there was nothing of the ark in the caſe. This advice was the ſenſe of every man that was there preſent; and it was ſoon after put in execution; every thing being provided according to the order, the waggon drawn out to the croſs-way, and the company leaving it.

A reſolution taken how to diſpoſe of the ark, Ver. 10, 11.

CHAP. II.

The joy of the Iſraelites at the return of the ark. A miraculous victory obtain'd over the Philiſtines.

The beaſts carry the ark into the Hebrew way, and ſo ſtop at Bethſama, Ver. 14.

THE beaſts being left to themſelves, ſtruck directly into the Hebrew way, and went forward in it as directly as if they had been led or driven; divers Philiſtines following at a diſtance, out of a curioſity to ſee whither they would go, and where they would take up. They went travelling on till they came to Bethſama †, a village in the tribe of Judah; and there they ſtopp'd, notwithſtanding the temptation of a large plain in ſight to invite them further. It was now ſummer-harveſt, and the people all buſy about their corn; but upon this occaſion there came great multitudes thronging in; ſome from their work, others from their houſes in the village, to ſee the ark; and overjoy'd they were at the occaſion. Upon coming to the waggon, they took down the ark and the box, with the images and mice in it, and ſet them down upon a great ſtone that was there in the field. After this they ſacrificed and feaſted, preſenting both the waggon itſelf, and the beaſts that drew it, to God, for a burnt-offering. So ſoon as this ceremony was over, the Philiſtines, who had follow'd them thus far, returned into their own country. Upon this occaſion ſeveral of the Bethſamites, to the number of ſeventy, fell under God's diſpleaſure for the temerity of laying profane hands upon the ark, without the due authority and qualification of the prieſthood. This judgment caſt a terrible damp upon the ſpirits of the multitude in the middle of their rejoicings, to ſee ſo many of their friends and companions taken away from them by ſo judicial a ſtroke. By this calamity they became conſcious to themſelves of their own unworthineſs, to have the ark of God lodged under their care; ſo that they ſent meſſengers up and down to all the Hebrews, with advice, that the Philiſtines had brought it back again. Upon this notice, it was forthwith tranſported to Cariathirim ‡, not far from Bethſama, in the houſe of Aminadab, a Levite; a man of great repute for religion and integrity, and therefore the fitter for the entertainment of ſo ſacred a truſt. It was committed to the charge of himſelf and his ſons, and with them it reſted twenty years, (ſaving only the four months that it was detained by the Philiſtines,) to the great honour of themſelves, and the ſatiſfaction of the people. For the twenty years that the ark continued at Chiriathirim, the people ſpent their whole time almoſt in prayers and ſacrifices, attendances upon God's worſhip, and the exerciſe of holy duties. Samuel took an occaſion from this good diſpoſition of the multitude, to harangue them upon the ſubject of liberty, and the bleſſings which attend it; accommodating his diſcourſe very pertinently, both to the ſeaſon and to his buſineſs.

The people ſacrifice, and feaſt for joy at the ark's coming back, Ver. 15.

The ark tranſported to Cariathirim, into the houſe of Aminadab, a Levite, 1 Sam. vii. 1.

It continued there twenty years, 1 Sam. vii. 2.

“YE men of Iſrael, ſays he, ſince you find by experience that the malice of your enemies is implacable, and that your earneſt ſupplications to God for relief are graciouſly receiv'd, you would do well to conſider, that your wiſhing for the freedom you want, will never do your buſineſs, without exerting your power to the utmoſt, upon the proper means of procuring it; for to do otherwiſe, is but praying one way, and acting another. Wherefore, in the firſt place, be careful not to bring a ſcandal upon your profeſſion by ill manners, but inure your-

Samuel to the multitude, upon the ſubject of religion, liberty, and good manners, Ver. 3.

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* Scrip. Gath, Ekron, Aſcalon, Gaza, and Aſhdod.

† Scrip. Bethſhemeth.

‡ Scrip. Kirjath-Jearim.

" ſelves to the love and practice of juſtice, " without partiality or corruption; purge " your minds of all groſs affections; turn to " God, call upon him, and adore him, and " honour him in your lives and converſations, " as well as with your lips. Do good things, " and good will come of it; that is to ſay, " liberty and victory; for theſe are bleſſings " not to be obtain'd by force of men, ſtrength " of body, or bands of ſoldiers; but God, " who is truth itſelf, hath promiſed them as " the rewards of probity and righteouſneſs; " and you may depend upon it, he will never " diſappoint you." This diſcourſe was follow'd with the acclamation of the whole multitude, who with one voice made a ſolemn profeſſion of their readineſs to do or ſuffer any thing that it ſhould pleaſe God to will and command them.

Samuel calls an aſſembly to Mizpeh, 1 Sam. vii. 5.

The Philiſtines advance with a great army.

The Hebrews in a fright repair to Samuel, Ver. 7, 8.

Samuel offers up prayers and ſacrifices on their behalf, Ver. 9.

A comfortable aſſurance of an entire victory, ibid.

Samuel, after this, ſummoned the people to a congregation in a city call'd Mizpeh, (that is to ſay, conſpicuous,) where they drew water, and ſacrificed; ſpending the whole day in faſting and prayer. The Philiſtines, in the mean time, were not without intelligence of this meeting of the Hebrews; and ſo they advanced toward them with a very great army, deſigning to fall upon them, while they were utterly unprepared for action, and not ſo much as in the leaſt apprehenſive of any occaſion for it. This ſurprize put them in the greateſt terror imaginable; inſomuch, that they went trembling and half dead to Samuel for advice what to do, telling him in plain terms, " That they had neither hearts nor ſtrength " to encounter an enemy, by whom they had " been ſo often worſted. They ſhould be glad " to be quiet, they ſaid, without giving any " farther provocation to ſo powerful an adver- " ſary." They told him that they came thither in obedience only to his order, to offer up prayers and ſacrifices, and to enter into a military oath of fidelity; and " here are we, " they ſaid, naked and unarmed, at mercy, " without any hope or poſſibility of eſcaping, " unleſs you can prevail with God to reſcue " us miraculouſly out of the hands of the Phi- " liſtines." Samuel bad them fear nothing; for God had promiſed them his protection and aſſiſtance, and he would moſt certainly make good his word; ſo Samuel ſacrificed a ſucking lamb to God, in the name of the people, imploring his aid againſt the power of the Philiſtines, in favour of the Hebrews, who put their whole truſt in him, and not to forſake them at preſent, nor ſuffer them to be afflicted with a ſecond and final ruin. God accepted of the ſacrifice, and anſwer'd Samuel's requeſt with the comfortable aſſurance of giving the Hebrews an entire victory. But while the ſacrifice was yet upon the altar, and not wholly conſumed, the Philiſtines drew up in a body, and preſented themſelves in order of battle, in ſuch hopes and aſſurances of a victory, as if the Jews were already taken and ſurpriz'd, without either arms or order, or the leaſt thought or deſign of fighting. The event, however, prov'd ſo contrary to what they expected, that if they had been foretold by an oracle of the iſſue, they would not have believ'd it.

A terrible earthquake, with thunder and lightening, Ver. 10.

The Philiſtines, in a conſternation, fly before the Hebrews, Ver. 11.

Samuel ſets up a ſtone for a monument of the victory, Ver. 12.

Samuel recovers all the country they had loſt betwixt Gath and Accaron, Ver. 14.

In the firſt place, God ſhook the foundations of the earth under the feet of the Philiſtines, ſo that they could not ſtand without ſtaggering. In ſome places it open'd, and ſwallow'd them up alive, before they knew where they were; and all this, accompanied with ſuch dreadful claps of thunder, and flaſhes of lightening, that their very eyes and limbs were ſcorched to ſuch a degree, that they could neither ſee their way before them, nor ſtand to their arms. In this conſternation they fled in as defenceleſs a condition as if they had been ſo many naked men without their arms; Samuel and his people cloſely purſuing them with a terrible ſlaughter, till they came to a place call'd Chore, and there he fixed a kind of monumental ſtone, in the nature of a trophy, for a mark of the bounds, both of the victory and of the chace, calling the place the Strong, in remembrance of God's powerful aſſiſtance to his people in the action. The Philiſtines were ſo cow'd, and caſt down with this diſaſter, that betwixt the dread they had of the Hebrews, and the memory of what they ſuffered, they never had the hearts afterward to lift up their hands againſt them, but contented themſelves to ſit down loſers, and to keep within their bounds. The ancient courage of the Philiſtines was now gone over to the other ſide; and Samuel would not give them over, till by repeated inroads, and frequent executions upon them, he had brought down the ſtomachs of the whole nation to the loweſt degree of deſpondency and abjection. In this courſe of ſucceſſes, he retook the country that lies betwixt Gath and Accaron *, which the Philiſtines had formerly taken from the Jews. But there was peace at this time betwixt the Hebrews and the reſt of the Chanaanites.

* Scr. Ekron.

CHAP. III.

Samuel being now in years, transfers the government to his two ſons.

The excellent polity and method of Samuel's government.

Samuel, now in years, devolves the care of the government upon his two ſons, Joel and Abiah, appointing them their walks and circuits, 1 Sam. viii. 1.

SO ſoon as Samuel had put the people in ſome ſort of order, and re-inſtated them in the poſſeſſion of their lands and cities, he appointed publick meetings at certain times and places, for the hearing of cauſes, and adminiſtration of common juſtice; taking a progreſs twice a year into all thoſe towns of appeal, and law-buſineſs, to ſee right done himſelf; making it his principal care ſtill, not to depart from the laws of his country. This was the polity and method of his management for a long time; but in the end, when old age, and the weakneſſes that attend it, had rendered him unfit for the perſonal performance of theſe publick offices, he devolved the authority and care of the whole upon his two ſons, Joel and Abiah; the former being the elder, and the other the younger; directing them to make a diſtribution of the people into two diviſions, and the two brothers to go ſeveral circuits; the one to have his court of judicature at Bethel, the other at Beerſheba.

We may learn from hence, that ſons do not always tread in their fathers footſteps, either in the ways of good or evil; but many an excellent father has a wicked wretch to his ſon; and ſo on the contrary, a ſober virtuous child may be the ſon of a graceleſs father; as theſe young men for example, without any regard to the doctrine and practice of Samuel, ſteered

The ſons of Samuel degenerate, 1 Sam. viii. 3.

a courſe directly contrary to the prudence and equity of his inſtitutions and meaſures. They proſtituted the ſacred name of juſtice for money, making judgment to be mercenary; and in this ſtate of corruption, controverſies were decided by the value of the bribe, not the righteouſneſs of the cauſe. They were ſtill indulging themſelves in riot and exceſs, when they ſhould have been upon the bench, and ſo abandon'd to their avarice and pleaſure, as if they had deliberately entered into an equal defiance of the will and commands of their God, and of their father; for Samuel laid nothing more to heart, than the care of keeping the people in the train of a dutiful obedience to their ſuperiors, and in the knowledge and obſervance of common juſtice one with another.

CHAP. IV.

The Iſraelites preſs earneſtly for a king, and God in his wrath gives them one.

The people are weary of Samuel's ſons, Ver. 4.

THE people were ſo outrageouſly tranſported againſt the ſons of Samuel, to ſee ſuch abuſes in a frame of government ſo excellent, both in reſpect of policy and of manners, that they gathered themſelves together, and went unanimouſly to the father, who was then at Ramah, with a grievous remonſtrance againſt his ſons for their miſgovernment in general, and the particulars at length of their male adminiſtration; making it their earneſt requeſt to him, in regard of his own infirmity of body, and the intolerable extravagancy of his ſons, that he would ſet ſome king over them, under whoſe conduct they might revenge themſelves upon the Philiſtines, for the injuries they had done them.

And preſs to have a king over them, Ver. 5.

Now theſe words to Samuel, who was naturally a lover of juſtice, and a profeſs'd enemy to tyranny, ſo diſturbed him (being in his judgment alſo for an Ariſtocracy, as a form moſt accommodate to the well-being of the people,) that he could neither eat nor ſleep for the thoughts of it, but lay toſſing and turning himſelf all night, reſtleſs and unquiet. While he was thus labouring under an anxiety of mind, God appeared to him in a viſion; and for his comfort, bad him trouble himſelf no further with this remonſtrance of the people; “For, ſays the voice, they have not put an affront upon thee, but me, in rejecting me for their king; and this is no more than what they have been continually attempting, ſince I firſt brought them out of Egypt; wherefore let them have their own way; but they ſhall dearly rue it e're it be long, and abhor themſelves for their ingratitude, both to me and to my prophet, but it will be then too late, and to no purpoſe; for when the thing is once done, 'tis never to be undone; wherefore I will have thee give them a king, and he ſhall be a king of my deſigning too; but before they go any further, forewarn them of the miſeries they are now drawing upon their own heads. Do as I bid you; but proteſt to them at the ſame time, how much it goes againſt your heart to comply with them, in changing the form of government, which will certainly be for the worſe.”

Samuel could not ſleep all night for the thoughts of this, Ver. 6.

God tells Samuel they have not caſt off thee, but me, Ver. 7.

God orders Samuel to give them a king, Ver. 9.

Samel calls an aſſembly, and promiſes them a king; telling them firſt what kind of king it will be, Ver. 10--18.

Samuel, according to his commiſſion and inſtructions, ſummoned an aſſembly to meet the next day, engaging that he would aſſign them a king, but not without letting them know beforehand what they were to endure under a monarchy. “Your kings, ſays he, ſhall take your ſons to drive their chariots, and to be their horſemen and body-guard, and ſome ſhall be their lacqueys; others they will make tribunes and centurions; ſome again they will ſet to till their ground, reap their harveſt, dig in their vineyards, and make them inſtruments both for war, and for other purpoſes. There is nothing ſo mean or extravagant, but you ſhall be forc'd to do it, like ſlaves bought with their money: they will make your daughters perfumers, cooks, and paſtry-ſervants; compelling them to do all that upon neceſſity, which the meaneſt of your ſlaves are frighted into for fear of correction and blows. They ſhall give away your poſſeſſions to their eunuchs and guards; divide your flocks and herds among their favourites; but to ſay all in a word, you and yours ſhall be as much vaſſals to your king, as his own domeſticks. When you come to find all this to be true, remember what I foretold you. When that day comes, you ſhall beg to be quit of your king, with as much importunity as ever you did to have one: you ſhall then curſe your obſtinacy, and reflecting upon your ſins, cry to God for mercy, in the anguiſh of your ſouls, and not obtain it: you ſhall deſpair under the repulſe, and ſuffer the puniſhments of your wickedneſs in the torment of a guilty conſcience.”

The people are foretold they ſhall repent when it is too late, ibid.

These counſels and premonitions wrought no more upon the multitude than if they had been all deaf; for they ſhut their ears againſt all that could be offer'd them, either of ſobriety, or ſound reaſon; and inſtead of deſiſting, nothing would ſerve them but a king immediately, at all hazards. “They could not defend themſelves, they ſaid, againſt their enemies under any other form of government; and why ſhould not they have a king as well as their neighbours?” When Samuel found them ſo untractably wilful, in deſpite of all counſels and forebodings, he diſmiſs'd them all to their own homes, with this aſſurance, that he would call them together again ſo ſoon as ever he ſhould receive direction from God what king to give them.

CHAP. V.

Saul declared king. Nahaſh beſieges Jabeſh. Saul relieves it, and gives the enemy a total defeat.

Saul, the ſon of Kis, of the tribe of Benjamin, is ſent abroad to look after his father's aſſes, 1 Sam. ix. 2, 3.

THERE was one Kis, of the tribe of Benjamin, a man well born and bred, who had a ſon named Saul; a man of a proper goodly ſtature, and a mind anſwerable to the graces of his body. The father took much pleaſure in a breed of aſſes he had, above all his other beaſts; and ſome of them being miſſing, he ſent his ſon abroad, and one ſervant with him, to look after them. When he had ſought and enquired from one tribe to another, without any tidings of them, he ſteered his courſe homewards, for fear his father ſhould be troubled to think what was become of him. As they were upon the way near Ramah, the ſervant told Saul, that there was a famous prophet liv'd there, and adviſed him to go and enquire of him after the aſſes. Ay, but ſays Saul, I have not wherewithal about me to gratify him for his pains, for the ſtock is all ſpent that I brought out with me. The ſervant told him, that he himſelf had a quarter-ſicle * left yet, and he thought that might be ſufficient; not underſtanding that this was none of the prophets who made a trade of diſcovering things loſt for money. So they went forward, and meeting ſeveral damſels at the gates of the town, going out to fetch water, asked them whereabouts the prophet lived. They ſhew'd them the houſe, and told them, that if they had any buſineſs with him, they would do well to make haſte, and get to him before he went to ſupper; for he had invited a great deal of company that night, and they ſtaid only for his coming, to take his place with the reſt of his gueſts.

He goes to the prophet Samuel, to enquire after them, 1 Sam. ix. 10.

Saul's coming to Samuel was foretold him, Ver. 15, 16.

SAMUEL had been cloſe at his prayers the whole day before, for directions from God who ſhould be king; and he was anſwered, that the next day he ſhould receive his order; for there ſhould come a young man to him of the tribe of Benjamin, at the ſame hour. Samuel ſat waiting in the houſe all this while, in expectation of this Benjamite, 'till the preciſe hour was come, and then going to ſupper, found Saul, whom he knew by an immediate inſpiration to be the perſon deſign'd for the government. Saul advanced toward Samuel, and ſaluting him, told him he was a ſtranger, and ſo deſir'd the favour of him to know where he might find the prophet. Samuel's anſwer was, that he was the man; and ſo taking him to ſupper, he diſcover'd unto him, not only that the aſſes he ſought for were all ſafe, but that he himſelf was upon the point of being exalted from that employment, to the higheſt pitch of ſovereign power. “Alas! my lord, ſays Saul, I have no ſuch hopes in my thoughts, as you do me the honour to imagine; neither am I of a tribe or family that ſets up for kings; it looks as if you were not in earneſt, to put a fancy in my head of a dignity ſo much above my condition.” The ſupper waited, and the prophet took Saul, and placed him above the reſt of his gueſts, (who were ſeventy in number,) and his ſervant next him, giving orders to the waiters to bring Saul a royal meſs; there ſat ~~in conference together till towards bed-time,~~ when the company broke up, and every man went to his own home, ſaving only Saul and his ſervant, who ſtaid with the prophet that night.

Samuel takes Saul to ſupper with him, Ver. 24.

BY break of day next morning, Samuel call'd up his gueſt, and directed him in his way. When they were gotten out of the city, he deſir'd Saul to bid his ſervant go a little before; for he had ſomewhat to ſay to him in private. He did ſo; and when the prophet had him alone, he took out a glaſs of oil, and pouring it on his head, he pronounced and ſaluted him king, upon that anointing; telling him, that this honour was done him in expectation that he would protect the Hebrews, and do them right upon the Philiſtines, for the injuries they had done them. “Now, ſays Samuel, to confirm what I tell you is truth, ſatisfy yourſelf with this token, you ſhall fall into company upon your journey, with three men going to Bethel to worſhip; one of them carrying three loaves, the ſecond a kid, and the third a bottle of wine. They ſhall treat you with reſpect, and give you two of their loaves, which you are to receive. You will then advance to the ſepulchre of Rachel, where you ſhall meet the news of your aſſes being found. After that you will go to Gabatha, and join yourſelf to a congregation of prophets that you ſhall find there, and by the aſſiſtance of the ſpirit of God, you yourſelf ſhall prophecy in company with them, to the aſtoniſhment of all that ſhall ſee and hear you; inſomuch, that the people ſhall ſay among themſelves in admiration, how comes the ſon of Kis to be found among the prophets? When this comes to paſs, you may conclude for a certainty, that the hand of God is in it. You may go then to ſalute your father and kindred; and when I ſend to you, come to me to Gilgal, where we may offer up our prayers to God, with ſacrifices and thankſgivings.” Upon theſe words they parted, and Saul found every circumſtance in his journey to fall out as Samuel had foretold him.

Samuel anoints Saul, and pronounces him king, 1 Sam. x. 1.

Samuel foretels Saul what would befal him in his journey, Ver. 2--8.

UPON coming back to his father's houſe, his kinſman Abner (for whom he had a very great kindneſs and eſteem) was mightily inquiſitive into the ſtory of his late adventure, and Saul very frankly told him the whole buſineſs of his going to the prophet, and how he came to hear of his aſſes again, but not one word of his elevation to the throne, for fear either of drawing an envy upon him, if it ſhould be believ'd, or of incurring the cenſure of a vain whimſical man, if it ſhould be miſtruſted; ſo that though Abner was his ſingular friend, and near relation, yet conſidering that men's affections are changeable, and fleſh and blood frail, he thought it ſafer, and more diſcreet, to reſerve himſelf upon that point; for men do naturally caſt an evil eye upon other people's proſperity, in preference to themſelves, even where the diſtinguiſhing favour of God ſhews itſelf moſt remarkably in the bleſſing. The next thing Samuel had to do, was to call the people together; which he did, and they met at † Mizpeh; where, in a full congregation, he deliver'd himſelf to this effect:

Samuel calls the people together, Ver. 17.

“I AM now, by the command, and in the name of God, to tell you, that it was he who deliver'd you out of your Egyptian bondage, and over and over reſcued you out of the hands of your enemies, when they had you under their feet at mercy: I am likewiſe to mind you of your contumacy and ingratitude toward that God, in return for all thoſe mercies and benefits; how you have, as much as in you lay, depoſed him from his authority over you, and rather choſen a man of your own make and frailty, than the Almighty King of Kings for your governor; as if any ruler would do better for you than he that made you; a king that will treat his ſubjects like beaſts, at will and pleaſure, and uſe them only as inſtruments and miniſters of his paſſions and luſts. But

Samuel's diſcourſe upon the ſubject of God's goodneſs; and the people's ingratitude, in renouncing God for their king, Ver. 18, 19.

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* Viz. about ſeven pence three farthings in our money.

† Μασφαϑά.

“ well, my brethren, ſince you are unalterably “ determin'd to have it ſo, and for the ſake of “ an inconſiderate tranſport of levity, to caſt “ off all manner of reverence for the duties of “ honour, honeſty, and conſcience: Since this, “ I ſay, is your final reſolution, a king you ſhall “ have, and therefore divide yourſelves into “ tribes and families, and put it then to the “ lot who ſhall be the man.” They did ſo, and the lot of the tribe fell upon Benjamin; that of the families upon Matri; and in concluſion, when they came to try it man by man, the perſonal lot fell upon Saul, the ſon of Kis; who being made privy to all this beforehand, ſlipp'd out of the way ſo ſoon as the choice was over, that he might not be thought ambitious of the honour. It was an inſtance of great modeſty and good government in him, that being advanced from a private ſtate to a ſovereign authority over a mighty nation, he was not only, not vain, proud, and forward to ſhew himſelf upon the promotion, but to avoid the pomp and oſtentation of his new dignity, he ſo induſtriouſly withdrew himſelf from the eyes and acclamations of his own ſubjects, that no body knew where to find him; whereas the hundredth part of this ſurprize would have turn'd the brain of a man leſs temperate, with joy and oſtentation.

Samuel puts the choice to the lot, and the lot falls upon Saul, 1 Sam. x. 20, 21.

Upon Saul's not appearing, or rather upon his not being to be found, they were all at a nonplus what to do without him, and how to come at him; till upon the application of the prophet for further light and direction, God was pleaſed to make known to him the place where Saul lay conceal'd; whereupon Samuel caus'd him immediately to be ſent for, and brought into the field, where he was obſerved to be taller by the head and ſhoulders than the reſt of the people, and to have ſomewhat of a natural majeſty in his very perſon.

Saul being thus produced, the prophet preſented him in manner as follows: “ Behold, “ ſays he, the king that God hath given you, “ and you may read in the excellency of his “ perſon how well he is qualified for this ho- “ nour; the people ſeconding this recommen- “ dation with ſhouts and acclamations of, God “ ſave the king.” Samuel had committed to writing the prediction of what would befal this people under a kingly government, and read it over to them in the hearing of Saul himſelf; depoſiting the book at laſt in the tabernacle of God, to remain as a memorial to poſterity of the truth of all he foretold.

Samuel preſents Saul to the people as the king that God had deſign'd them; and they all ſhout, V. 24. Samuel's preſages concerning Saul are read to the people, and recorded in the ſanctuary, Ver. 25.

This ſolemnity being now over, Samuel diſcharged the congregation, and went home himſelf to Ramah *, and Saul to Gibeah †, the place where he was born. He was attended with a great train of very good men, who made their court out of pure loyalty and reſpect, to congratulate his acceſſion to the throne, but not without mutineers and malecontents in abundance, who out of ſpite and envy, made ſport of the whole matter, behaving themſelves contemptuouſly even toward the king himſelf, as well as his dutiful followers, neither offering preſents or congratulations to bid him welcome to his dignity.

Saul had not been inveſted king above a month, but there broke out a war with Nahaſh, the king of the Ammonites, which redounded very much to his honour. This Nahaſh had committed ſeveral outrages upon the Jews beyond Jordan, making inroads into their country, and conquering their cities with a numerous and powerful army; nor was he content to make ſlaves of them at preſent by force, unleſs he alſo put them out of all poſſibility, by ſtratagem and cunning, of ever recovering their freedom. Now the invention was this; they pluck'd out the right eyes of all they got into their power, whether by force, or by treaty; ſo that they muſt either loſe the uſe of the buckler which cover'd the left eye, or the benefit of having any eyes at all.

A war with Nahaſh, king of the Ammonites, 1 Sam. xi. 1.

The Ammonites pluck out the right eyes of all the priſoners they take, Ver. 2.

Nahash having treated the people beyond Jordan after this cruel manner, marched with his army on the ſame deſign to the country of the Gileadites, and ſo to Jabeſh, the capital city of the province, and there encamp'd. From hence he ſent a ſummons to the inhabitants, either to deliver up the town, and ſubmit to the loſs of their right eyes, or otherwiſe to ſtand the uttermoſt peril of fire and ſword; leaving it at their choice, either to compound for a part, or to run the hazard of the whole, life and all. The men of Jabeſh were now at a ſtand, neither daring to give a tame nor a reſolute anſwer; but upon conſideration, they divided the buſineſs, and the return was this: they deſired only ſeven days liberty to ſend to their friends and allies for relief; which if obtain'd, they ſaid they would wage war; but if none came in that compaſs of time, they promiſed to render themſelves up to the enemy upon their own terms. Nahaſh had ſo contemptible an opinion of theſe people, that he made no difficulty at all of complying with their conditions.

A terrible ſummons to Jabeſh, ibid.

And ſeven days allow'd them to conſider of it, Ver. 3.

Upon this criſis they poſted away expreſſes to their friends throughout all the cities of Iſrael, for immediate ſuccour, with an account of the deſperate ſtreights they were in, under the menaces of a powerful enemy. The miſerable diſtreſs of their condition drew tears and pity wherever they came, but not a creature durſt ſo much as attempt to help them; and it was the ſame thing with the inhabitants of the metropolis alſo, where Saul kept his reſidence, as it was in other places; but he having been abroad, and upon coming to town again, finding the people under ſo diſmal a conſternation, he inſtantly enquir'd if all was ſafe, and the reaſon of their ſudden ſadneſs; and from the couriers who brought the news, he got the whole ſtory.

They ſend meſſengers to Saul, and elſewhere, for relief.

While things were in this deſperate extremity, the ſpirit of God came upon Saul; who in the heat of this impulſe, ſent ſome of the meſſengers back again to the men of Jabeſh, with an aſſurance, that on the third day ‖ he himſelf would come to their aſſiſtance, beat the enemy by break of day, and that the riſing ſun ſhould ſee them totally routed and deſtroy'd, and the wretched citizens freed from their fears, and ſecured againſt any farther danger. Some he diſpatch'd away with this meſſage, others he kept for guides, to conduct him the right way upon his march.

Saul anſwers them prophetically, that on the third day they ſhould be reliev'd, and the enemy routed and deſtroy'd.

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* Ἀρμαθᾶ. † Γαβαθὰ, Joſ. See Berkelius upon Steph. Byzant. v. Γαβάθων.

‖ There is a ſmall variation here from the ſcripture, with reſpect to time; for in 1 Sam. xi. 9. 'tis ſaid, “ And “ they ſaid unto the meſſengers that came, thus ſhall ye ſay unto the men of Jabeſh-Gilead, to morrow, by that “ time the ſun be hot, ye ſhall have help.”

CHAP. VI.

Saul raiſes an army, routs Nahaſh, and is a ſecond time anointed and declar'd king.

SAUL being now ſtreighten'd in time, and the people backward enough to the war, bethought himſelf of an invention how he might both quicken and encourage them; making account, that in ſome caſes men will do more for fear of loſs, than for the love of virtue; ſo that he firſt hough'd the * legs of his own oxen, and then publiſh'd a declaration, that whoever ſhould fail of appearing the next day in arms at the river Jordan, and thence to follow him and Samuel, whereſoever they ſhould lead them, he ſhould have his oxen ſerved after the ſame manner. This ſucceeded ſo well, that for fear of incurring the penalty, there came together at the preciſe time, a body of ſeven hundred thouſand fighting men, as appear'd upon a review near the city of Balam, where they had their rendezvous; not reckoning ſeventy thouſand men more of the tribe of Judah. With this army they paſs'd the Jordan, and after a march of about ten ſchœni † that night, they poſſeſs'd themſelves of the ground which Saul had pitch'd upon, before ſun-riſe next morning. From this place they broke in upon the enemy, front, flank, and rear, in three diviſions, by a moſt unexpected ſurprize, cutting them down on all hands with a dreadful ſlaughter. The Ammonites, in fine, were totally routed; and among others Nahaſh their king was ſlain in the battle, the Hebrews remaining maſters of the field, having obtain'd a complete victory. This glorious action gave Saul a mighty reputation, both for his valour and conduct; inſomuch, that it brought his very enemies over to him; and thoſe who betwixt envy, hatred, and contempt, could not before afford him a good word, were now the men that paid him the greateſt honour, and extoll'd him to the skies for the braveſt and the beſt of governors. Nor did Saul content himſelf with having deliver'd the inhabitants of Jabeſh, but he carried the war into the land of the Ammonites; laid waſte their country, enrich'd his army with the ſpoil, and brought off the people ſafe and victorious to their own homes again.

Saul's project of houghing his own oxen.

He gets two prodigious armies together, 1 Sam. xi. 8.

And falls upon the enemy, flank, front, and rear, Ver 11.

A complete victory, and Nahaſh ſlain in the battle.

Saul gets a mighty reputation by this action, V. 12.

NEITHER did the multitude forget to applaud themſelves all this while, for the notable expedient of chuſing a king; for they look'd upon Saul to be the people's king, and conſequently their inſtrument; ſo that whatever he did, they took it virtually to be their own act. "Where are thoſe buſy fellows, they cry'd, that were ſo fierce againſt our having a king? why are not thoſe traitors to their country brought to condign puniſhment, and made examples of?" After this outrageous and extravagant rate they went rambling up and down, (as the humour of the rabble is to judge of every thing by the event,) till Saul interpoſed with an oath, that he would not ſuffer any thing ſo derogatory to the occaſion, as the confounding of God's mercies with human paſſions, by polluting a day of victory over their enemies with the blood of their friends. He put a compliment, however, upon the good intention of their laudable zeal, but ſtill adjur'd them to lay aſide all animoſities and hatred, and to join all as one man in the dedication of that bleſſed day wholly to joy and thankſgiving.

The people make their boaſts that it was done by their king, ibid.

WHEN matters had proceeded thus far, Samuel adviſed the calling of another aſſembly, to ratify and eſtabliſh Saul in the right and poſſeſſion of the throne. So the convention was appointed, and met at Gilgal, where Saul was again anointed by Samuel, and proclaimed king a ſecond time, in the ſight and hearing of all the people. Thus was the republican ſtate of the Hebrews tranſlated to a monarchy: the form of the government, military and civil, under Moſes and his ſucceſſor Joſhua, was an Optimacy or Ariſtocracy; and for a matter of eighteen years after that, it was no better than a direct anarchy, without any order at all; but re-aſſuming their old form of government, which was to chuſe ſome eminent perſon whom they found moſt competent for the function, the ſovereignty was lodged in magiſtrates, under the name of judges, and there it continued ſo long as the adminiſtration laſted.

Samuel calls another aſſembly at Gilgal, V. 14.

Saul a ſecond time anointed, and proclaimed, Ver. 15.

The Hebrews Ariſtocracy turn'd into a monarchy.

THE aſſembly being by this time ready to break up, Samuel applied himſelf in a diſcourſe to them, by way of appeal, to this effect: "I do adjure you, ſays Samuel, in the name of the great God of your forefathers, who gave them thoſe incomparable brothers, Moſes and Aaron, for their rulers and guides, and delivered them out of the bondage of Egypt, to give me a true anſwer now, in the preſence of the king, without any reſtraint or fear, tenderneſs or reſpect, to ſome few queſtions that I ſhall aſk you. Can you, or any of you, charge me with ſo much as one ſingle act of corruption, partiality, or injuſtice, in my whole adminiſtration? Whoſe ox, whoſe ſheep, or whoſe aſs have I taken? not but that preſents of good-will in the matter of neceſſaries for life, may be received, without either crime or ſcandal. Yet give me leave to ſay again, if you can lay any thing of this kind to my charge, ſpeak it before the king's face, and do not ſpare me." Upon this, the whole multitude acquitted him with one voice, declaring unanimouſly, that his government had been faultleſs, and according to the ſtricteſt rules of piety and juſtice.

Samuel juſtifies his adminiſtration, in an appeal to the people, 1 Sam. xii. 2--5.

"WELL, ſays Samuel, I am glad of your acknowledgment here before the king, that you have no cauſe of complaint againſt me. I wiſh I could ſay as much for you too; for to deal freely, you have been mightily to blame. What ſhould you chuſe another king for, after the experience of ſo many ſignal mercies, and miraculous deliverances,

Samuel taxes the people for their ingratitude, in caſting off God to chuſe a king, Ver. 6--15.

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* This fact is alſo ſomewhat differently circumſtanced in Scripture; for ver. 7. of the ſame chapter 'tis ſaid, "And he, Saul, took a yoke of oxen, and hewed them to pieces, and ſent them throughout all the coaſts of Iſrael, ſaying, whoſoever cometh not forth after Saul, and after Samuel, ſo ſhall it be done unto his oxen."

† Admitting, according to ſome, who ſuppoſe the leaſt, a Schœnos to be four miles, ten Schœni muſt be forty miles, which was a prodigious way for one night's march; but there is ſuch a variety of opinions amongſt authors, that nothing certain can be fix'd upon.

“ while you where under God’s protection, and own’d him for your governor. You have forgotten the ſtory of your foreſather Jacob’s coming into Egypt, only with ſeventy men in his train, diſtreſs’d for want of bread; how God provided for them, and by his bleſſing how they increaſed and multiplied. You have forgotten the ſlavery and oppreſſion they groaned under; till upon their cries and ſupplications for relief, God reſcu’d them himſelf without the help of a king, by the hands of Moſes and Aaron, who brought you out of Egypt into the land you are now poſſeſſed of. How can you be ſo ungrateful now, after ſo many bleſſings and benefits received, as to depart from the reverence and allegiance you owe to ſo powerful and ſo merciful a protector? how often have you been deliver’d up into the hands of your enemies for your apoſtaſy and diſobedience; and as often afterward reſtor’d to God’s favour, and your liberty, upon your humiliation and repentance? who was it but God that gave you victory, firſt over the Aſſyrians, and then over the Ammonites, and the Moabites, and laſt of all, over the Philiſtines? not by the influence and direction of kings, but under the conduct of Jephtha and Gideon. What madneſs has poſſeſs’d you then, to abandon a heavenly governour for an earthly! but however, to gratify your asking; a king you would have, and a king you have, whom I have only miniſterially declar’d, according to the overruling order, and appointment of God.

Samuel prays for a tempeſt from heaven, in token of God’s diſpleaſure, 1 Sam. xii. 17, 18.

“ But to ſhew you now, by an infallible token from heaven, that God is highly offended at this importunity of yours, for an alteration of your government, I do now beg from heaven, as a ſign that I ſpeak truth, and that God is infinitely diſpleaſed with you, that ſuch a tempeſt may fall now as in the middle of ſummer never was heard of before in this quarter.” The word was no ſooner out, but there follow’d ſuch an hurricane of thunder, lightening, and hail, that it look’d as if heaven and earth were coming together. The people, ſtruck with conſternation and terror, immediately betook themſelves to prayers, begging that God would forgive them the ſins, both of their iniquity and of their ignorance; deſiring the prophet alſo, out of his fatherly tenderneſs, to join with them in his mediation to God for their pardon, for this laſt, as well as for former tranſgreſſions. Samuel promiſed them his interceſſion, and not without hope of obtaining mercy for them: but at the ſame time gave them “ a ſtrict charge, to lead ſober, virtuous lives, and never to forget the miſeries and calamities that had befallen them for departing from their duties, and to bear likewiſe in perpetual memory, the miracles which God had wrought in their favour, and the laws delivered by him to his ſervant Moſes; and this to do, as they had any conſideration, either for the well-being of their king, or of themſelves; upon the penalty, as he foretold them, of a certain ruin both to the one and to the other, if they acted contrary to what he had preſcribed.” And ſo with this ſecond confirmation of Saul in his government, the aſſembly was diſmiſs’d.

A dreadful ſtorm of thunder, lightening, and hail, ibid.

Samuel’s charge to the people, Ver. 20, &c.

CHAP. VII.

Saul incurs God’s diſpleaſure. Jonathan obtains a glorious victory over the Philiſtines. Saul makes a raſh vow. His children, and his mighty power.

1 Sam. xiii. 2

SAUL being now ſettled, and confirm’d in the poſſeſſion of his royal dignity, made a choice of three thouſand men out of the whole body of his people. Two thirds of them he took with him to Bethel, where he kept his reſidence, for the guard of his perſon; and the other thouſand, he order’d to attend his ſon Jonathan, whom he ſent to Gibeah: with which party, Jonathan reduced a caſtle, not far from thence, belonging to the Philiſtines. Now the Philiſtines thereabouts whenever they got the better of Jews, did not only diſarm them, but forbad them the exerciſe of any trade that wrought in iron: ſo that for the very iron-work of their ploughs, ſpades, mattocks, and other domeſtick neceſſaries, they were fain to have recourſe ſtill to Philiſtine workmen to ſupply them. They took care alſo to ſecure all paſſes; fortify all tenable towns, and to furniſh them with men and munition. The news of this baffle was receiv’d by the Philiſtines with all the indignation and contempt imaginable; and preſently they drew an army into the field of three hundred thouſand foot, thirty thouſand chariots, and ſix thouſand horſe, and pitched their tents at Michmaſh. So ſoon as the tidings of this preparation came to Saul’s ear, he went to Gilgal, and ſent his meſſengers and proclamations, every where up and down to ſummon all his people, that had any regard for the liberties of their country, to take up arms againſt the Philiſtines; making them much leſs conſiderable than in truth they were, both for numbers, and military proweſs. But when Saul’s people came to underſtand, upon the certainty of better intelligence, the full ſtate and ſtrength of the enemy, a panick terror ſeized the whole body of them, to ſuch a degree, that they fled diverſe ways as in a rout; ſome concealing themſelves in vaults and caves, and other hiding-places; but the greater part of them made over the Jordan for ſhelter and concealment, among the tribes of Gad and Reuben.

Jonathan the ſon of Saul takes a caſtle of the Philiſtines, Ver 3.

The Philiſtines forbid the Hebrews meddling in iron-work, Ver. 19, 20.

The Philiſtines draw out a mighty army, in horſe, foot and chariots, Ver. 5.

Saul ſummons the people to join, and make head againſt them, Ver. 3.

The people run away at the ſight of the enemy, and hide themſelves, Ver. 6, 7.

Saul conſults the prophet, Ver. 8.

While things were in this hurry and confuſion, Saul ſent for the prophet to adviſe with upon the preſent juncture: who made him this return, that he ſhould continue where he was; get ſacrifices in readineſs; and that at the end of ſeven days, he himſelf would be with him, when they would offer them up, and ſo advance to give the enemy battle. Saul waited out his time, but moſt unhappily failed in another article of his commiſſion; for the prophet delaying his coming, and his men perpetually deſerting him, he offer’d up the ſacrifice without attending any farther for Samuel. The ceremony was no ſooner over, but word was brought that the prophet was come; and Saul immediately, as upon a point of honour and reſpect, went out to meet him. When Samuel came to underſtand what had paſs’d, he told Saul that he had done very unadviſedly in not keeping to his inſtructions, and in taking ſo raſhly upon himſelf the office of delivering

Samuel bids him have ſacrifices ready, and wait for him ſeven days, ibid.

Saul unhappily ſacrifices before the prophet comes, V. 9.

The prophet reprehends him for it, Ver. 11,–14.

up the prayers and ſacrifices which God had appointed on the behalf of the people in his abſence. Saul excuſed it, that he had attended ſo many days according to his order; but that the enemy's leaving Michmaſh, and marching directly toward Gilgal, had ſo frighted his men, that he was under an abſolute neceſſity in all haſte to offer up the ſacrifice before his people had quite forſaken him. "Well, "ſays the prophet, it would have been better "for you to have follow'd my direction, "which was effectually a meſſage to you from "God himſelf, than ſo heedleſly to incur the "cenſure of ſo dangerous a contempt: For in "ſhort, your obedience would have ſecured "the government to yourſelf, and your poſ"terity." Upon this reproof, the prophet left him, and went his way home again, highly unſatisfy'd with what had been done. Saul, after this, with ſix hundred men only, and his ſon Jonathan, marched to Gibeah, the greater part of his people unarmed too; for there was little iron in that country; and none of the Hebrews permitted to exerciſe the trade of armourers, as we have ſaid already.

Samuel goes back again much unſatisfy'd, 1 Sam. xiii. 15.

Saul marches with 600 men, and his ſon Jonathan to Gibeah, Ver. 16.

The Philiſtines in three bodies break into the country of the Hebrews V. 17,

THE Philiſtines divided their army into three bodies, and ſo marched three ſeveral ways into the country of the Hebrews, where they ravag'd and deſtroyed all the way they went. Saul and his ſon, with Ahiah the high-prieſt (of the houſe of Eli) helpleſly looking on from an eminence near hand, but in no condition (to their infinite affliction) of contributing to their relief.

JONATHAN was ſo tranſported with the ſpectacle of this outrage, that he took his armour-bearer aſide upon it, and put a ſhort queſtion to him how far he would ſtand by him in a bold and generous enterprize, for the ſaving of his country? His anſwer was (and he bound it with an oath too) that let the hazard be what it would, he would die at his feet. Now the plot was this, that Jonathan and his armour-bearer ſhould convey themſelves ſecretly into the enemy's camp, and try what they could do to put them into a tumult and confuſion. So they went away down the hill toward the enemy's quarter, who were poſted in a craggy place that ran out at length into three angles, encompaſſed every where with rocks, that were as good as ramparts, to keep off an enemy. The place was ſo ſtrong of itſelf, that there hardly needed any guard to defend it, the paſſage to it being not only difficult, but dangerous, and almoſt inacceſſible. As they two were upon the way, Jonathan told his armour-bearer, for his comfort and encouragement, "If, (ſays he) they diſcover us, and "call out to us to come up, you may depend "upon it that we ſhall ſucceed; but if they ſay "nothing at all, we muſt content ourſelves "to go back again as we came."

A generous reſolution of Jonathan and his armour-bearer to ſteal privately into the enemy's camp, 1 Sam. xiv. 1.

Jonathan's diſcourſe to his armour-bearer, V. 6.

WHEN they were come within a very little of the enemy's camp, the Philiſtines got ſight of them, and made ſport of it from one to another, how the Hebrews were come creeping out of their holes and burrows; calling out to Jonathan and his companion, to come up to them, and take the reward of their impudence: Theſe words were looked upon by Jonathan as a moſt auſpicious preſage of victory; and ſo they went on from one ſide of the rock to the other, where the very ſituation was look'd upon to be defence ſufficient without a guard. They at laſt however, gain'd the ſummit of the rock, though not without infinite toil and difficulty; and from thence, fell upon the enemy at unawares, cutting off a matter of twenty of them in their ſleep. The alarum the enemy took upon this aſtoniſhing ſurprize, put the whole army into ſuch a terror and conſternation, that ſome threw down their arms, and made the beſt ſhiſt they could to ſave themſelves by flight; others (being of ſeveral nations) fell foul upon one another, not knowing friends and foes aſunder. Some were forced into Rivers, and down precipices, and into the certainty of death, to avoid the very fear of it: Others, as it happens commonly in tumults, were trod to death in the crowd, tumbling one over another.

The Philiſtines ſurprized in their ſleep: And in that fright and confuſion, they ran ſeveral ways, and deſtroy one another, V. 16,

BY this time the king had intelligence brought him by his ſcouts, that the army of the Philiſtines was all in confuſion and diſorder. And the firſt thing he did was to enquire if any of his own people were miſſing, and word was ſoon after brought him, that Jonathan and his armour-bearer were not to be found. Upon this information, he appointed the high-prieſt to put on his ſacerdotal veſtments with his ephod, and to conſult God about the event of this action. He did ſo, and brought him for anſwer, that God would make him victorious, to the utter confuſion of his enemies: Whereupon Saul drew out immediately, and preſs'd in upon the Philiſtines, while they were in diſorder, and deſtroying one another. The rumour of this fatal diſtraction was made publick every where, and came at laſt to the ears of the fugitive Hebrews in their very dens and caverns. Upon this intelligence they ſally'd out from their ſeveral retreats, to the number of about ten thouſand men in the whole, and preſs'd ſo hard upon the Philiſtines, that they had the chace, and the execution of them at pleaſure. But the king, after all this, was ſo unhappy yet as to commit a great overſight in the very courſe of his ſucceſſes, whether out of an impotency of mind under ſo ſurprizing a joy, (as that's a common caſe) or out of inadvertency, is not the queſtion. But ſo it was, that Saul, in the vindictive reſolution of making but one work of a total extirpation of the Philiſtines, pronounc'd a heavy curſe upon that Hebrew, whoever he were, that ſhould preſume, barely to intermit the ſlaughter and purſuit of the enemy, though but by eating or drinking any thing, before the night parted them. Soon after the denouncing of this malediction, Jonathan had the hap, paſſing through a wood of the Ephramites where there were Bees, to find the droppings of ſome honey. He took a comb, and ſuck'd it, knowing nothing as yet of his father's vow, and the ſolemnity of the people's conſent to it; but when they came afterward to admoniſh, and inform him of the malediction, with all the circumſtances, Jonathan gave over eating, and not without ſome reflection upon the temerity of the vow: "For, ſays "he, when men are ſpent and weary, a little "refreſhment would have enabled them to "go through with their work, with more "alacrity and vigour."

Saul hears of the diſorder, and that Jonathan and his armour-bearer are miſſing, Ver. 17.

Saul conſults the high-prieſt, who gives him an aſſurance of victory.

Saul upon this, preſſes in upon the Philiſtines, and cuts them to pieces, Ver. 20.

Saul commits a great overſight, Ver. 24.

A raſh and a heavy curſe, ibid.

Which falls upon Jonathan, Ver. 28.

AFTER the ſlaughter of a great many thouſands of the Philiſtines, upon the place, the Hebrews returned at night to the riſling of the camp;

The Iſraelites get the ſpoil of the Philiſtines camp, 1 Sam. xiv. 32. They eat the fleſh with the blood in it, contrary to the law, Ver. 33.

camp; where, beſide other booty, they took a prodigious quantity of cattle, which they kill'd as they had occaſion; dreſſing and eating them with the blood in them. This being an offence againſt their law, the ſcribes immediately complained of it to the king, who preſently commanded a huge ſtone to be ſet up in the middle of the field; ordering the beaſts to be killed upon that ſtone, and the fleſh not to be eaten till it ſhould be firſt drained and purged of the blood; for that it was an abomination in the ſight of God. This decree was readily obey'd, and ſo Saul erected an altar (the firſt of his ſetting up) and offer'd burnt ſacrifices upon it.

Saul erects an altar, and ſacrifices, Ver. 35.

Now Saul's heart being mightily ſet upon a full and final deſtruction of the Philiſtines, he thought it highly adviſable, without giving the enemy any time for the recovery of their broken ſtrength and courage, to follow his blow againſt the miſerable remainder of thoſe that eſcap'd, that very night; to the executing of which deſign the ſoldiers ſhew'd all the forwardneſs imaginable. But however, before he would attempt any thing farther upon the ruins of the ſcatter'd troops, he appointed the high-prieſt to conſult the will of God upon the iſſue of this enterprize; who returned anſwer to the king upon this application, that the oracle was ſilent. "Well! (ſays Saul) it "is not for nothing that God keeps himſelf "thus upon the reſerve on this occaſion, who "has been formerly ſo gracious as to prevent "our very requeſts by granting them beforehand, "and therefore there muſt be ſome ſecret "myſtery of iniquity in this matter, to "draw his diſpleaſure upon us: So that I am "reſolved to ſift it out; and by that holy "God, I ſwear, if I ſhould find even my ſon "Jonathan himſelf to be the guilty perſon, "his life ſhould anſwer for't, with no more "concern to me than if he were a ſtranger." The multitude unanimouſly agreed to put it to the teſt, and immediately thereupon, Saul order'd the people to keep together as they were, himſelf and his ſon ſtanding apart, and ſo to try the iſſue by lots. The lot falling upon Jonathan, his father bad him bethink himſelf, what ill thing he had done that he could charge upon his conſcience. Truly, ſays he, I know nothing more than this: That yeſterday, upon the purſuit of the enemy, I taſted a little honey, knowing nothing at all of any decree of yours to the contrary. Why then, ſays Saul, with another oath, "you ſhall die for't; "for the reverence I have for my vow, is more "to me than all the kindred and tenderneſs "in nature." The young man was not at all daunted with the apprehenſion of death; but with a brave and generous reſolution, he told his father, that he did not deſire to be forgiven; for "that death, ſays he, ſhall be wel"come to me, that acquits my father of the "obligation of a religious vow, and only be"fals me in conſequence of ſo glorious a vic"tory. I have liv'd long enough, ſince I "have liv'd to ſee the pride and inſolence of "the Philiſtines brought down by the He"brews, which will ſerve me for a conſola"tion in all my other ſufferings." The whole multitude was ſo charm'd with the piety and bravery of the young man, that in a tranſport of tenderneſs and compaſſion, they reſcued him out of the hands of his incenſed father, with an oath, that "they would not ſuffer a hair "of that perſon's head to be touch'd, who "had been ſo inſtrumental in that victory, to "the preſervation of them all; only they be"ſought God to forgive him for what he had "done amiſs."

The high-prieſt conſults God upon the proſecuting of the war, and the oracle is ſilent, Ver. 37. Saul ſuſpects ſome ſecret iniquity, and puts it to the lot to diſcover where it lies, with an oath, that the guilty perſon ſhall die, Ver. 38.

The lot falls upon Jonathan, Ver. 42.

Saul ſwears again that it ſhall coſt him his life, Ver. 44.

Jonathan's modeſt and generous reſignation.

The multitude reſcues Jonathan out of the hands of his father, Ver. 45.

After the ſlaughter of ſixty thouſand Philiſtines, Saul returns to his own home. Saul's exploits, children, and conduct, Ver. 49, &c.

After the ſlaughter of a matter of ſixty thouſand of the enemy*, Saul returned to his own home, and reigned very happily, acquitting himſelf with great reputation in all his military adventures, againſt the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Philiſtines, the Edomites, and the king of Oba†. He had three ſons, Jonathan, Joſhua, and Melchi-ſhui, and two daughters, Merab the elder, and the name of the other was Michaal. Abner, the ſon of Saul's uncle Ner, was the general of his army. Ner and Kis, the father of Saul, were brethren, and the ſons of Abiel. He had a mighty ſtrength in chariots and horſemen, and ſtill came off victorious, what enemy ſoever he had to do withal. He advanced the Hebrews, in fine, to the higheſt degree of glory, for their martial exploits, and made them formidable to all their neighbours, taking particular care in the choice of his guards, not to have any about him, but the goodlieſt perſons for make, ſtature, and vigour of body, that he could pick up out of his dominions.

CHAP. VIII.

God commands Saul to extirpate the Amalekites; but taking king Agag priſoner, and keeping him alive, he is caſt off for his diſobedience.

Samuel brings Saul a meſſage from God, minding him of his duty to his maker, 1 Sam. xv. 1--3.

About this time Samuel came to Saul, by the ſpecial direction and appointment of God, with a certain meſſage to him, which was, "to put him in mind, who it was that "advanced him above his fellows to be a king, "and of his duty to the king of kings who "made him ſo; for though he was a ruler "over the people, it was yet but in ſubordi"nation to the ſovereign ruler of the univerſe." And he had in charge, he ſaid, to tell him farther, that "whereas the Amalekites had been "great perſecutors of the Hebrews in the "wilderneſs, upon their coming out of Egypt "into the land which they then poſſeſs'd, it "was therefore the will of God that he ſhould "declare a war againſt them; and that upon "ſubduing them by arms, he ſhould not ſpare "ſo much as one living ſoul, man, woman, or "child; nay, that he ſhould deſtroy the very "ſheep and oxen, and every thing elſe that "belonged to them, as well as the people, "without making profit of the ſpoil, or ſeiz"ing any part of the booty to himſelf; for "all their goods and poſſeſſions were to be "dedicated to God in one common ſacrifice.

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* The Scripture does not here expreſs any determinate number of enemies ſlain by Saul; only 1 Sam. xiv. 47. 'tis ſaid, "Saul fought againſt all his enemies on every ſide, againſt Moab, and againſt the children of Ammon, "and againſt Edom, and againſt the kings of Zobah, and againſt the Philiſtines; and whitherſoever he turned him"ſelf, he vexed them."

† Scrip. Zobah.

“ The very name of Amalek, according to “ what Moſes had order'd, to be expunged “ from among mankind; and all this as a juſt “ vengeance for former injuries and oppreſ“ ſions, as above.”

SAMUEL's inſtructions were peremptory and ſtrict; and Saul, on the other hand, was as forward of his promiſes to obſerve them all to a tittle, and to ſhew his readineſs, not only to do as he was bid, but to put his orders alſo in execution without delay. The next thing Saul had to do, after this, was the drawing of his men together, which upon a review at Gilgal, he found amounted to about four hundred thouſand *, beſide the tribe of Judah, which muſter'd thirty thouſand men of war itſelf. With this army Saul broke in upon the Amalekites, diſpoſing of his ambuſhes upon the paſſes of the woods and rivers, in ſuch manner, that the enemy could make no motion, without the danger of a ſurprize. But from the inſidiary way of ſkirmiſhing, it came, in a ſhort time, to a capital battle; wherein the Amalekites were routed, and betwixt thoſe that fell in the combat, and thoſe who were cut off upon the purſuit, the whole body was ſo totally deſtroy'd, that there were ſcarce any left to carry the news of the defeat.

Saul muſters four hundred thouſand men, beſide thirty thouſand of the tribe of Judah.

Saul gives the Amalekites a total overthrow, 1 Sam. xv. 7.

AFTER this overthrow of their army, according to what God had foretold, Saul's next work was to attack them in their walled towns and ſtrong holds; ſome they took by ſiege and approach, others by engines, ſtratagem, mines, ſtarving, &c. till in the end, carrying all before them, their rage terminated in an univerſal ſlaughter of men, women, and children; for they look'd upon nothing to be cruel or inhuman that was done either in a juſt war, or in obedience to a divine command, which would have been dangerous to diſpute.

Saul beats them after this out of their walled towns and ſtrong holds.

IN this diſmal calamity, Agag, the king himſelf, was taken priſoner, who was a man of ſo goodly a mien and aſpect, that Saul, even for the ſake of his perſon, reſolved to ſave him; in which unwarrantable diſpenſation, he did but indulge a natural infirmity at his own peril, and in oppoſition to the expreſs command of God; for the Amalekites had made themſelves ſo abominable in the ſight of Heaven, that God's wrath deſcended to their very children, in which caſe nature itſelf would have excus'd a tenderneſs, if there had been any room left for mercy. But ſo it was, that Saul kept Agag alive to gratify his fancy, in contradiction to his duty; and in ſo doing, he laid the foundation of all the miſeries that afterwards enſued to the Hebrews. The people fell into the ſame iniquity alſo with their king, in driving away the Amalekites flocks and herds, and converting to their own uſe the pillage of money and goods, and the beſt of every thing; which was all contrary to God's poſitive order; and in fine, only deſtroying what was not worth the ſaving. In this expedition Saul over-run the whole country, from Peluſium, on the borders of Egypt, to the Red Sea, and laid it all waſte; leaving only the Sichemites in the land of Midian untouch'd; Saul having precaution'd them before the war, not to join intereſts with the Amalekites, but rather to get ſomewhere out of the way, without involving themſelves in the fatality of a judicial ruin that attended them. Now the Hebrews had a particular kindneſs for theſe people, upon the account of ancient affinity; for out of them came Raguel, the father-in-law of Moſes.

Agag taken priſoner, and kept alive, Ver. 8.

The ſoldiers make advantage of the ſpoil, contrary to God's order, Ver. 9.

UPON the credit of this glorious exploit, Saul returned to his own home again, mightily ſatisfied, in appearance, to all manner of purpoſes; both in his honour, and in his conſcience, as if he had not only done the great work of ſubduing the enemy, but kept himſelf to his commiſſion too, in a punctual obedience of his inſtructions. But the king's ſparing of Agag, and the people's making profit of the ſpoil, being two articles ſo expreſly forbidden in Saul's commiſſion, gave great offence; and it would have been look'd upon as an unpardonable contempt, even toward a temporal prince, not to allow him who gives the victory, a right and title to order and diſpoſe the iſſue of it as he pleaſes. Upon this way of proceeding in Saul, according to his own humour, without any regard to the tie of a known duty obliging him to the contrary, God was pleaſed to declare himſelf to the prophet, that it now repented him of ſetting up Saul to be king; for his buſineſs was, he ſaw, to do what he had a mind to do, not what he was commanded to do. This revelation put Samuel in the greateſt confuſion and anxiety of thought imaginable; inſomuch, that he ſpent the whole night following in fervent prayers and interceſſions to God for Saul's pardon; to all which importunities he receiv'd this ſhort and final anſwer, “That it was no longer lenity, but “ facility, and a miſtaken mercy, upon any “ mediation whatſoever, to paſs over faults “ of ſuch a quality, as to make the pardoning “ of one offence a manifeſt encouragement to “ the committing of another.”

God repents that he made Saul king, Ver. 11.

WHEN Samuel found that God was not to be prevail'd withal, on Saul's behalf, he took a journey to him next morning to Gilgal: where the king no ſooner ſaw him approach, but he ran preſently to him, with open arms, embracing and ſaluting him, with a gratulatory thankſgiving in his mouth, for the late victory which God had given them, telling him withal, that for the order of the affair, every thing was done according to his direction. “ If it be ſo, ſays Samuel, what mean“ eth this bleating of the ſheep in my ears, “ and the lowing of the oxen, which I hear “ in the camp? the king told him, thoſe were “ only ſome beaſts the people had reſerv'd for “ ſacrifices: and then for the Amalekites, he “ had deſtroy'd them all but one man, whom “ he kept a priſoner, till he might have ad“ vice what ſhould be done with him. Sa“ muel's anſwer was, that God took no de“ light in ſacrifices, but in the righteouſneſs “ of good and juſt men: that is to ſay, of ſuch “ as obſerve his holy will, and keep his com“ mandments; accounting nothing to be well “ done, but what is done in conformity to his “ ſacred pleaſure. God doth not conſider the “ ſacrifice, but the obedience; and without “ that true and only ſacrifice, the fat of beaſts, “ and the oblations of gold and ſilver, are but “ ſuch oſtentations of a falſe piety, as he nei-

Samuel intercedes to God for Saul, but cannot prevail.

Ver. 14–23.

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* This tranſcends the account in Scripture, 1 Sam. xv. 4. which ſays, “ And Saul gathered the people together, “ and number'd them in Telaim; two hundred thouſand footmen, and ten thouſand men of Judah.”

“ther requires, nor will accept of: but as to them, on the other ſide, who take delight in his commandments, and keep his precepts in mind, and will rather die than depart from them, God exacts no ſacrifices at their hands: but whatever they offer, let it be never ſo mean and poor, the integrity of the heart gives it a recommendation more acceptable than all the pomp and oſtentation of the moſt expenſive ſacrifice.

Samuel pronounces Saul condemn'd to the loſs of his kingdom, 1 Sam. xv. 28.

Saul confeſſes his fault, and turns it upon the ſoldiers, Ver. 24.

Samuel leaves him, Ver. 35.

“I am to tell you now, ſays Samuel, that you are fall'n under God's diſpleaſure for the neglect and contempt of his commandments. What will you be able to ſay for yourſelf, when he ſhall call you to an account for reſerving that for a ſacrifice, which God had expreſly commanded ſhould be wholly deſtroy'd? unleſs you look upon deſtroying and ſacrificing to be one and the ſame thing. For this diſobedience you are now condemn'd to the loſs of your kingdom, and of that power which you have moſt dangerouſly abuſed, to the diſhonour of the ſovereign author of your promotion.” Saul could not in his conſcience but confeſs himſelf guilty, and own that he had done grievouſly amiſs, in tranſgreſſing the prophet's orders, and going beyond his commiſſion. All he had to ſay for himſelf was, that he lay under a ſort of compulſion, and that the common ſoldiers were ſo intent upon the booty, that he durſt not venture either to oppoſe or reſtrain them; but, ſays Saul, “obtain my pardon only this one time, and it ſhall be a warning to me to my life's end, never to do the ſame thing over again.” After this profeſſion of his repentance, he would fain have had Samuel ſtay a little longer, and ſacrifice to God on his behalf: but the prophet foreſeeing that it would be to no manner of purpoſe, left him, and departed.

CHAP. IX.

The tranſlation of the kingdom from Saul to another family; and David proclaim'd king.

The renting of Samuel's mantle, an alluſion to the transferring of Saul's kingdom, Ver. 27.

AS Samuel was preſſing to get away, Saul caught hold of his garment to ſtop him a while, and upon that accident the mantle was rent, betwixt them; which the prophet apply'd by an alluſion to Saul, telling him that his kingdom would be torn from him, and given to a man of piety and juſtice. “The ſentence is paſs'd, ſays he, and it is not with God as it is with men; for his decrees are unchangeable.” Saul confeſs'd his own iniquity, and the juſtice of God's diſpleaſure: but, ſays he, what is done, cannot be undone: Honour me only before the people, and turn again, that I may worſhip the Lord. So Samuel turned back, and they went and worſhipped together. After this, they brought forth Agag, the king of the Amalekites, who being over-heard to ſay ſomething about the bitterneſs of death, had this reflection turn'd upon him by the prophet: “As thy ſword, ſays he, hath made many an Hebrew mother miſerable and comfortleſs in the deſtruction of their children, ſo it is but reaſonable, that thy mother ſhould be left childleſs too.” So the prophet order'd him immediately to be put to death in Gilgal, and he went back himſelf to Ramah.

Agag is put to death in Gilgal, V. 33.

Samuel ſent to Bethlehem to anoint ſuch a ſon of Jeſſe king, as he ſhall be directed to, 1 Sam. xvi. 1.

SAUL was come now to be ſenſible of the calamities he had brought upon himſelf by his diſobedience, and ſo went away to his palace at Gibeah, (or the little hill;) nor had he ever afterwards any perſonal conference with the prophet. Samuel was extremely afflicted at the diſmal circumſtances of this ſeparation; but God commanded him, without troubling himſelf any farther about that matter, to take a cruce of holy oil, and go to Bethlehem with it to Jeſſe, the ſon of Obed, and there to anoint ſuch a ſon of Jeſſe king, in Saul's ſtead, as he ſhould be directed to, and one that ſhould be found worthy of the royal dignity. The prophet objecting, that if ever it ſhould come to Saul's ear, he would certainly be the death of him, one way or other. God told him he had nothing to fear from that quarter; ſo he ſet forward to Bethlehem, and got ſafe to his journey's end; where there was great numbers of people met to receive him: every body enquiring the reaſon of his coming thither, and one anſwer ſerv'd for all, That he came to ſacrifice.

Samuel invites Jeſſe and his ſons after prayers to dinner with him, Ver. 6.

The compoſitions of an excellent prince, V. 7.

Six ſons of Jeſſe produc'd.

The ſeventh ſon, David, is ſent for from his ſheep.

So ſoon as the ſacrifice was over, Samuel invited Jeſſe and his ſons to take a dinner with him. The eldeſt ſon was ſo tall, ſo well made, and ſo graceful a perſon, that Samuel ſaid within himſelf, “This is to be our king.” But providence, it ſeems, look'd another way; for upon the prophet's breaking out into admiration at the graces of his perſon, and how worthy he was to be plac'd upon the throne, and putting it to the queſtion alſo, whether this was the man or not that was to be anointed, anſwer was made him, that God does not ſee with the eyes of men; as if the excellency of an external frame of body were enough to entitle a man to the prerogatives of government: but the qualifications that he requires are piety, juſtice, fortitude, nay, and obedience too; all which together make up, in harmony, the beauty of the mind. The prophet, upon this anſwer, appointed Jeſſe to ſend for the reſt of his ſons, and there were five more produced, as goodly and as well-favour'd men as their eldeſt brother, ſix in all. † Their names according to their ſeniority were Eliab, Aminadab, Samma, Nathanael, Rael, and Aſa. Samuel conſulted God now upon this appearance, which of theſe brethren was to be choſen, and the anſwer was, [none:] which put Samuel upon a farther enquiry to the father, what other ſons he had? only one more, (he told him,) who look'd to his ſheep, and his name was David: whereupon the prophet order'd Jeſſe to ſend immediately for him; for that it was not meet to ſit down to an holy banquet without him. The father ſent for him the ſame inſtant, and the ſon came upon the firſt call: he was a

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† There is a ſmall variation here from the ſcripture account, 1 Sam. xvi. where 'tis ſaid, Ver. 10, 11. “And Jeſſe made ſeven of his ſons to paſs before Samuel; and Samuel ſaid unto Jeſſe, the lord hath not choſen theſe. And Samuel ſaid unto Jeſſe, are here all thy children? and he ſaid there remaineth yet the youngeſt, &c.” Joſephus recounts but ſix, beſides David; all which he mentions by name; but the ſcripture here cited, ſays, there were ſeven; four of which are only named by name, viz. Eliab, Abinadab, Shammah, and David.

David being come, they all ſit down, and Samuel anoints David king, 1 Sam. xvi. 12, 13.

youth of a freſh ruddy complexion, a lively martial mien, and with all this, a great deal of modeſty and good nature in his countenance. Upon the firſt ſight of him, Samuel whiſper'd the father, that this was the perſon God had deſign'd for their king: ſo the prophet ſeated himſelf, with the young man next him; and after them, the father, with the reſt of his ſons. When they were thus diſpoſ'd of in their places, Samuel, in the ſight of David, took out the holy oil, and anointed him; telling him in his ear, "That it was God's will, he ſhould take the kingdom upon him; ſtrictly admoniſhing him to do juſtice to his people, and to keep God's commandments; for in ſo doing, ſays the prophet, you ſhall ſtand firm in your government: the name and honour of your family ſhall be glorious to after-ages: you ſhall triumph over the Philiſtines, and be victorious over your enemies in all encounters: you ſhall live great, and be yet greater in the fame of your memory."

The ſpirit paſſes from Saul to David, and he begins to propheſy, ibid. Saul falls into fits, and his phyſicians preſcribe muſick for his remedy, V. 14, 15, 16.

When Samuel had made an end of his charge, he departed, and the ſpirit of God paſſed from Saul to David; by the power and virtue of which ſpirit, David at that time began to propheſy: when all on a ſudden, Saul was taken with fits and fancies of ſuffocation, and difficulty of breathing, like a Demoniac. The phyſicians could not give any natural or philoſophical account of the diſtemper, but only adviſ'd the having ſome body about him who could ſing, and play upon the harp well, that might be ready at hand to give him the diverſion of an hymn, or ſpiritual ſong, whenever the fit ſeized him. Saul was ſo well ſatisfied with the preſcription, that he preſently order'd ſuch a man, with all care and diligence, to be preſently found out and brought him. One of his domeſticks, upon this hint, told him, that there was one Jeſſe of Bethlehem had a very lovely handſome youth to his ſon, who ſung, and touch'd the harp to admiration. He ſaid he was as brave too as he was beautiful, and every way endowed with ſuitable accompliſhments. Upon this recommendation, Saul ſent a compliment to Jeſſe, giving him to underſtand that he had heard ſo many good things of ſuch a ſon of his, for his courage, lovelineſs, ſkill in muſick, war, and the like, that he had a great mind to ſee him. Jeſſe call'd him out from his flocks, and ſent him to Saul with preſents ſuitable to the occaſion, and the perſon. David, upon his coming to court, was receiv'd with great joy; made one of Saul's life-guard, and treated by him, with remarkable inſtances of eſteem. He was highly acceptable to the king at all times, and upon all accounts; but never more than when he was in his fits; for David was the only phyſician, and his voice and harp the only remedy, that in theſe fits ever had the power to bring him to himſelf again. Saul, in fine, was ſo delighted with him in all reſpects, that with his father's leave and conſent, he took him into his own palace to live with him.

David is ſent for to court, Ver. 19.

CHAP. X.

The Philiſtines advance with an army againſt the Hebrews. Goliah defies the Iſraelites to a ſingle combat; and David accepts the challenge.

The Philiſtine and Hebrew armies are drawn up, 1 Sam. xvii. 1, 2, 3.

IT was not long after this, that the Philiſtines marched againſt the Iſraelites with a prodigious army, and encamped betwixt Shecoth and Azekah; while Saul on the other hand, was at the head of another army, ready to encounter them. He drew out his men upon a mountain, and forced the Philiſtines to quit their camp, and poſt themſelves upon a ſtronger mountain juſt over againſt the Iſraelites, with a valley betwixt the two armies. While they were in this order, there came down from the Philiſtines, one Goliah, a citizen of Gath, a man of a prodigious ſtature, and a ſtrength anſwerable to his height; which was four * cubits and a ſpan; and his armour proportion'd to the ſize and force of his vaſt limbs. His coat of mail weigh'd five thouſand ſhekels; his helmet and greaves of braſs, anſwerable: the head of his ſpear was iron, and weigh'd ſix hundred ſhekels; it was not a ſpear to be carried like a lance, but born upon his ſhoulder. With theſe accoutrements did this mighty man march down the hill, and a troop of armed men at a ſmall diſtance after him, into the middle of the valley, betwixt the two bodies, and there he ſtopp'd, calling out to the Iſraelites with a horrid outcry, after this manner. "I am come hither, ſays he, you men of Iſrael, to do an office of humanity, and to ſave blood. Why ſhould we hazard ſo many thouſand lives upon the uncertain iſſue of a battle, when the cauſe may be more reaſonably decided by two ſingle perſons? My buſineſs here is only to do the part of a champion for the Philiſtines. Do but you ſend out another man with the ſame commiſſion from the Hebrews, and leave it to us two to put an end to the matter in diſpute, for the prevention of a bloody war. If he kill me, then will we be your ſervants; but if I kill him, then ſhall you be our ſervants, and ſubject to us. It is better, in fine, to expoſe one than all." When he had pronounced theſe words, he went back again to his party. He made the ſame challenge again the very next day, and ſo day after day for forty days together, to the great trouble and amazement both of Saul and of his people, who drew themſelves up every day in order of battle, but were hereby hinder'd from coming to an engagement.

Goliah, the Philiſtine, comes down the mountains with a challenge to the Hebrews, Ver. 4.

Goliah makes the ſame challenge for forty days ſucceſſively, Ver. 8–16.

Three of Jeſſe's ſons being with Saul, the father ſends David to the camp to know what news, Ver. 17, 18.

Saul had three of Jeſſe's ſons along with him in this expedition; but David was ſent back again to his father and to his flocks. In ſome ſhort time after this, Jeſſe ſent him to the army with neceſſaries for his brothers, and to learn what news. Upon his coming to the camp, Goliah was ſtill bragging, and reproaching the Hebrews, that they had not a man in their army who durſt engage him in ſingle

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[*] The Scripture ſays, ſix cubits and a ſpan, which is more likely, conſidering the weight of his coat of mail was five thouſand ſhekels; that is, two thouſand two hundred and ſeventy ſix ounces, fifteen grains, and ſeventeen penny weights, or one hundred and eighty eight pounds, fifteen ounces, and ſeventeen penny weights; and the head of his ſpear ſix hundred ſhekels, that is, two hundred and ſeventy three ounces, and four grains; or twenty two pounds, eleven ounces, and four grains, reckoning, as we have before obſerved, a ſhekel to weigh nine penny weights, two grains, and four ſevenths, Engliſh Troy.

David would needs encounter Goliah; but Eliab oppoſes it, 1 Sam. xvii. 28.

Saul ſends for David, and diſcourſes the matter with him, Ver. 31, 32, 33.

David's generoſity and piety, Ver. 34–37.

He tells of an encounter with a lion and a bear, ibid.

combat. It was David's hap, one time, as he was talking with his brothers about his father's buſineſs, to hear Goliah in the height of his inſolent and extravagant boaſtings againſt the Hebrews. This tranſported David to ſuch a pitch of indignation, that he took up a reſolution himſelf of accepting his challenge, and he told his brothers as much: but Eliab reproved him ſharply for his raſhneſs, telling him he was but a boy, and neither qualified with ſtrength, ſkill, or experience ſuitable and ſufficient to ingage in ſuch an undertaking. "No, no, ſays he, e'en go to your father, and to your ſheep again, that is the fitter employment for you of the two." David had a reverence for his brother, but yet could not forbear ſaying the ſame things over again in the hearing of the ſoldiers, who preſently carried the report of it to the king; upon which David was order'd immediately to be ſent for, where when he came before the king, Saul aſk'd him what he had to offer upon that point? "Great prince, ſays he, hope the beſt, and fear nothing, for I myſelf will take down the pride of this boaſting man; and as tall as he is, tread him under my feet. Your army ſhall appear glorious, and your terrible enemy become the more ridiculous, when they ſhall ſee him fall by the hand of a raw and unexperienced ſtripling." The king ſtood in admiration at the firmneſs and magnanimity of the youth; but he could not yet think it ſafe or prudential, to put the main cauſe to an iſſue upon ſo unequal a match. David perceiving that Saul took his meaſures from the common reaſon of other encounters, gave the king to underſtand, "That this was not ſo much a challenge to the army, as a defiance to Heaven itſelf; neither was the combat to be taken, in truth, for a trial of ſkill betwixt Goliah and David, but betwixt Goliah and the Lord of Hoſts; for it is not my arm, ſays David, that fights the battle, but the power of a gracious and an invincible God, that many times brings to paſs, even by the weakeſt of inſtruments, the nobleſt of his divine purpoſes, for his greater glory. In that God is my truſt; and I doubt not but he will ſtill continue to protect, and deliver me in all difficulties, as he hath done formerly. As I was tending my father's ſheep once, there came a lion, and took away a lamb out of the flock; I purſued him, till turning upon me, I took him by the tail, and threw him againſt the ground, and kill'd him. It was my hap to have another encounter with a bear, upon the ſame occaſion, and with the like ſucceſs. Now this blaſpheming foul-mouth'd beaſt, from their army, is no more to me than a lion and a bear out of the foreſt. But divine juſtice will call this audacious wretch to an account, and make me the inſtrument of his vengeance. I do not ſpeak this upon the impulſe of a raſh and ungrounded confidence, but in a full aſſurance of perſuaſion, that God will avenge himſelf upon this audacious wretch; and that even I myſelf ſhall have the honour of having a hand in the execution of that juſtice."

David's bravery had more of a divine impulſe in it, than of any thing of hot blood.

These words were deliver'd with another ſort of ſpirit, than the daring heat of youth and hot blood; ſo that Saul looked upon them rather as an inſpiration, than a propoſal of his own proper motion; and being ſo convinc'd, David eaſily obtained his leave, and his benediction both in one; and then accordingly prepared himſelf for the action. To which end Saul accoutered him in his own armour, coat of mail, ſword, and helmet, and ſo bad God ſpeed him. But David not being accuſtom'd to arms, found them rather a burden than a defence; excuſing himſelf to Saul with modeſty and reſpect, that they were much fitter for a prince than for a ſhepherd; wherefore he put them off again, deſiring only that he might be allow'd to fight after his own way. Upon this he took his ſhepherd's ſtaff, a ſling in his right hand, five ſmooth ſtones out of the brook in his ſcrip, and ſo advanced toward the enemy. When they were come within ſight one of another, and that Goliah ſaw what a diminutive adverſary he had to encounter, with the uncouth appearance of his equipage, he called out to him in deriſion; "Whether he was come into the field now to beat a dog, or to fight a ſoldier?" "To beat worſe than a dog, ſays David." This reproach tranſported the Barbarian into ſo blaſphemous a rage, that he curſed David by his Gods; threatening to give his fleſh for food to the fowls of the air, and to the beaſts of the field. "You come to me, ſays David, with a ſword, a ſpear, and a coat of mail; but I come to you with a commiſſion from the living God, who by my hands will this day deſtroy both yourſelf and your army; divide your head from your body, and carry it away with me, and caſt your carcaſs upon the dunghill for dog's meat, dog as you are yourſelf. By this providence it will be made evident to the whole world, that the God of the Hebrews takes care of his people, and that his protection is both their ſtrength and their armour. As likewiſe on the contrary, that there can be no ſecurity either in arms or in numbers, to thoſe that fall under his diſpleaſure." The Philiſtine, in the mean time, advanced toward David, as faſt as he was able to march, under the weight of his armour; and with all the contempt imaginable, to think of having to do with ſo raw and undiſciplin'd an adverſary.

David prepares for the encounter, Ver. 38, 39, 40.

A ſhepherd's ſtaff, with a ſling, and five ſmall ſtones, are David's arms, ibid.

CHAP. XI.

David kills Goliah. The Philiſtines routed; and Saul conceives a mortal jealouſy againſt David.

David ſtrikes Goliah dead with a ſtone out of a ſling, Ver. 49.

He cuts off his head with his own ſword, V. 51.

The loſs of their champion puts the Philiſtines in a conſternation, ibid.

DAVID, on the other hand, preſſing forward to the combat, under the conduct and protection of his almighty and inviſible ſecond, took out of his ſcrip one of the ſtones of the brook that he had provided for this occaſion, couch'd it in his ſling, and hurl'd it with ſuch a force at the head of his enemy, that it fractur'd his ſkull, and penetrated his very brain, laying the monſter grovelling, with his face upon the ground, in his laſt ſleep. David immediately runs up to him, and beſtrides him, takes his ſword from his ſide, (having none himſelf,) and cuts off the Philiſtine's head with his own weapon. This exploit had ſuch an effect upon their army, that they fled, and ſcatter'd immediately upon the ſight of it. The loſs of their champion put them into ſuch an aſtoniſhment and deſperation, Saul frights and purſues them to Gath and Aſcalon, 1 Sam. xvii. 52.

tion, that all they had to do in the world was by a ſhameful flight, every man of them, to make the beſt ſhift he could for the ſaving of himſelf. Saul and the whole army of the Hebrews, made their advantage of this diſorder, and falling on in the hurry of this terror, with military ſhouts and clamours, had the chace of them to the ſkirts of Gath, and the very gates of Aſcalon. They reckon'd thirty thouſand kill'd outright upon the purſuit, and twice as many wounded. Saul and his army, at their return, took the pillage of the camp, and ſet fire to it. As for the head of Goliah, David carried that to his own tent, and dedicated the ſword to the Lord.

David carries the giant's head to his own tent, and dedicates the ſword to the Lord, Ver. 54. This action drew a dangerous envy upon David, 1 Sam. xviii. 8.

THIS brave and generous atchievement of David's raiſed ſoon after a mortal jealouſy and hatred in Saul, which happen'd particularly on this occaſion.

UPON Saul's returning from the victory, the women and virgins went in throngs out of all the cities, ſinging and dancing, with their cymbals and taborets, to meet him upon the way, and wiſh him joy of his ſucceſſes; the women leading the ſong with [Saul hath ſlain his thouſands;] the virgins following it, [and David his ten thouſands.] This preference of David to Saul, in a ten-fold proportion, rais'd ſuch a jealouſy in his head, that he could not think himſelf ſafe after it, ſo long as David had any command near his perſon; wherefore he advanced him to the charge of a colonel; and in truth, his promoting the young man, and putting him upon ſo many hazardous and glorious enterprizes, was not ſo much to do David honour, as to provide for his own ſecurity, in hopes he might fall by the chance of war in a battle; for after ſuch an inſtance of the people's affections to David, as to aſcribe to him the credit of the victory, their next buſineſs would be to transfer the authority of the government, and for him to take it too. But David had the providence of God along with him, wherever he went, and in whatſoever he did; and he had not only won the hearts of the people by the charms of his courage and behaviour, but ſo far gain'd upon the affections of a virgin daughter of Saul's, that her father himſelf took notice of the paſſion ſhe had for him; and in his ordinary diſcourſes upon that ſubject, he ſeemed well enough content that it ſhould be a match; not out of any true tenderneſs and eſteem that he had for David, but as the moſt plauſible cover for a ſnare, that in a ſhort time might probably coſt him his life; which was the very bottom of his deſign.

A virgin daughter of Saul's hath a great eſteem for David, Ver. 20.

Saul offers David his daughter in marriage, for the heads of ſix hnndred Philiſtines.

WHILE this treaty was in ſpeculation, Saul caſt out a word by the by. “Let him, ſays he, bring me the heads of ſix hundred * Philiſtines, as an acknowledgment; and I conſent he marries my daughter.” He computed within himſelf, that David was not of a temper to decline any generous enterprize, that carried honour and danger along with it; and that his acceptance of this offer would certainly engage him in ſome deſperate action upon the Philiſtines, that might probably coſt him his life in the attempt. This, ſays Saul to himſelf, will be the more decent way of gratifying my jealouſy and revenge; for it will look better to have him taken off by the hands of the Philiſtines, as my inſtruments, than expreſly by my own order.

SAUL, upon this deliberation, ſet ſome of his domeſticks at work to learn how David ſtood affected to the marriage of his daughter; who gave him to underſtand by inſinuations, that he was in ſo great favour both with king and people, that it was reported Saul intended to make him his ſon-in-law. “You may, perhaps, reckon it no great matter, ſays David, to be ſon-in-law to a mighty prince; but under the circumſtances of my quality and extraction, I am not vain enough ſo much as to think on't.”

UPON the return of the commiſſioners with an account of their negotiation, Saul ſent them once more back again with further inſtructions. “Tell the young man, ſays he, that my buſineſs is not either fortune or preſents; and that whenever I part with my daughter, ſhe ſhall be beſtow'd, not ſold. The ſon-in-law that I propoſe to myſelf, muſt be a man juſt ſo qualified with courage and other laudable graces, as I find him to be. Tell him that I expect neither ſilver nor gold from his father; for I do not want either money or honour; let him only bring me ſix hundred Philiſtines heads, which will be far more welcome to me than any thing, and the moſt honourable of preſents to my daughter, in juſtification of her to the whole world, that ſhe has taken a brave man to her huſband.” David apprehended all Saul ſaid, in his propoſal of this affinity, to be ſpoken with ſincerity of heart, without any dilatory conſideration, as to the difficulty of the enterprize he was put upon; and ſo with his companions he immediately ſet about the execution of the conditions, and found God's providence as propitious to him in this, as it had been in former encounters; for his adventure ſucceeded to his wiſh; that is to ſay, he fought the enemy, and, after a great ſlaughter, made a preſent to the king of ſix hundred of their heads, and minded Saul of his promiſe.

David brings the ſix hundred heads, and minds Saul of his promiſe.

CHAP. XII.

Saul gives his daughter Melcha in marriage to David, but deſigns upon his life; and Jonathan from time to time gives him notice of his danger.

Saul, out of pure ſhame, takes David for his ſon-in-law, V. 27.

SAUL found himſelf ſo engaged that there was no receding from his promiſe without making himſelf a liar, or diſcovering the treachery of his heart, in ſo baſe a deſign upon the life of a generous young man, under the pretext of an honourable affinity: ſo that to avoid incurring publick cenſure and ſcandal, he gave his daughter Melcha † in marriage to David. But this nearneſs of relation wrought no change at all upon the king: for Saul obſerving that David grew every day more and more in favour both with God and man, he fancy'd to himſelf, that ſo long as he liv'd, neither his crown nor

his

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* 1 Sam. xviii. 25. 'tis ſaid, “Saul demanded but an hundred foreskins of the Philiſtines.” And Ver. 27. 'tis ſaid, “David aroſe, he and his men, and ſlew of the Philiſtines, two hundred men, and David brought their foreſkins, and they gave them in full tale to the king, that he might be the king's ſon-in-law, &c.”

† Scrip. Michal.

But at the ſame time deſigns upon his life, and tries to bring Jonathan into the plot, 1 Sam. xix. 1.

his life were in ſafety: ſo that he took up a reſolution, for the ſecurity of both, to have David diſpatch'd; deſigning his ſon Jonathan, with ſome of the truſtieſt of his ſervants, for his executioners. This ſtrange inconſtancy of Saul, not only in withdrawing his affection from ſo deſerving a youth, but entering alſo into an impious and perfidious deſign upon his life, ſtuck the ſon with ſuch an amazement and horror, that what with the natural inclination he had for the perſon of David, and likewiſe a profound veneration for his virtue, he went and gave David private notice of Saul's intention; adviſing him, as he lov'd his life, to keep out of the way: and in the mean time, ſays he, I will go to my father, and take my time to mention your name to him; for I have a mind to try if I can learn what it is that has given him ſuch an averſion to you, and bring him to better reaſon; for, ſays Jonathan, I cannot imagine ſo much as any colourable pretence for ſuch an indignation and diſpleaſure, againſt a perſon who has deſerved ſo eminently well, both from his prince and from his country. Or ſuppoſing things at the worſt, and that in truth he might have made a falſe ſtep or two, why are not his ſervices ſet in balance againſt it? for the publick owes him a pardon. Jonathan then told David, that he ſhould be ſure to have intelligence from time to time how his father ſtood affected towards him. So David follow'd Jonathan's counſel, and immediately withdrew out of the way.

Jonathan preſſes David to go out of the way, V. 2.

Jonathan aſſures David of all good offices in his abſence, V. 3.

CHAP. XIII.

Jonathan reconciles Saul to David; and Saul reſtores him to his former poſt.

Jonathan ſolicites Saul on David's behalf, Ver. 4, 5.

JONATHAN accordingly went the next day to his father, and finding him in a pleaſant eaſy humour, lays hold of the critical minute to ſay ſomewhat to him about David. "Father, ſays he, you have taken up a terrible diſpleaſure againſt this young man, and given orders for his death; but upon what provocation, or for what fault, great or little, I cannot comprehend. He is a perſon to whom we ſtand indebted for our ſafety, and the deſtruction of the Philiſtines, for vindicating the honour of our nation from the ſcandal of a forty days affront, in the challenge of the giant; and not a creature, but this innocent youth, that had the heart to encounter him: a perſon that purchas'd my ſiſter for his wife at your own price; to wit, the heads of ſix hundred philiſtines, which were punctually counted according to his agreement: A perſon, in fine, entitled to your eſteem and tenderneſs, both as a brave man, and as a member of your family, which will make up two ſenſible aggravations of the loſs. Be pleas'd to conſider too, the injury you do your own daughter in making her feel the mortification of a widow, before ſhe enjoys the bleſſing of being a mother. Pray be pleas'd to lay theſe things together, and betake yourſelf to moderate counſels. Remember who it was that cur'd you of your ſplenetick fits, and drove the evil ſpirit from you; and conſider the obligation he has laid upon the whole family by that relief; and who it was, next under God, that deliver'd us from our implacable enemies. Theſe are the benefits never to be forgotten, without the infamy of the blackeſt ingratitude." The ſtrength and equity of this way of reaſoning, wrought ſo effectually upon Saul's rage and jealouſy, that he bound himſelf with an oath, never to do any manner of harm or wrong to David, for the time to come. Jonathan carry'd the news of this reconciliation to David, with an aſſurance that Saul was pacify'd, and ready to do him all ſorts of good offices: in which confidence he carry'd him back again to court, reconciled him to his father, and re-inſtated him in the ſame poſt of ſervice and attendance that he was in before.

Saul relents, and promiſes upon his oath that he will never hurt David, V. 6.

David upon this returns, Ver. 7.

CHAP. XIV.

David overthrows the Philiſtines. Saul ſeeks his life, and Melcha ſaves it. A league betwixt David and Jonathan. David flies to Gath. Abimelech relieves him, and Saul puts Abimelech and the whole ſacerdotal race to the ſword; only Abiathar eſcapes. David's miraculous deliverances. The death of Samuel. David marries Abigail. Achiſh entertains him; gives him Zicklag, and engages him in his war againſt the Iſraelites.

ABOUT this time the Philiſtines made war afreſh upon the Hebrews, and David was ſent by Saul at the head of an army to encounter them. They fought a battle, and the Philiſtines were totally broken and cut to pieces, with a terrible execution. So ſoon as the action was over, David returned forthwith to the king with an account of the victory. But his reception was not anſwerable, either to his expectation, or to the merit of his ſervices; for Saul was rather ſad, and caſt down at the ſtory of the ſucceſs, than elevated with it, for fear of the conſequences of David's growing reputation among the people; for Saul turned every thing that contributed to David's honour and advantage, to his own loſs and reproach.

David gives the Philiſtines a total overthrow, with a terrible execution, Ver. 8. which the ill-natur'd envy of Saul could hardly thank him for.

IT happen'd one day, that Saul, being fallen into one of his fits again, ſent for David into his bed-chamber, to ſing, and play upon the harp to him, as he lay there upon the couch with a javelin in his hand. David was in the very act of his obedience, ſinging and playing, as the king had commanded him; when Saul ſtarting up all on a ſudden, darted his javelin at him; but David avoided it by a nimble turn of his body, and fled, as faſt as he could run, to his own houſe; where he continued for the remainder of that day. At night there was a guard ſet upon the houſe by the king's order, to prevent David's eſcape, and to bring him in cuſtody next morning as a criminal, to ſuffer death by a publick ſentence; but Melcha, David's wife, and the king's daughter, having very good intelligence of her father's deſign, ran preſently to her husband, and informed him of the danger he was in, charging him, as he lov'd his life, to be gone before the next morning; "For if you ſhould be taken, ſays ſhe, my father will certainly put you to death; wherefore ſhift for yourſelf now in the dark of the night; and may God lengthen it beyond the ordinary courſe, rather than you want time for your eſcape."

As David was ſinging and playing to Saul in one of his fits, Saul caſts his javelin at him, V. 10. David ſlips away and gets home.

The king orders David to be ſeiz'd, Ver. 11.

Melcha gets an inkling of it and acquaints her husband, and begs him to be gone, ibid.

So after a decent interchange of all thoſe tenderneſſes that naturally occur in ſuch caſes, the royal couple were now upon the very point of parting, with mutual proteſtations, that neither of them either would, or could live without the other. This was the farewel; and ſo Melcha let her huſband down from the window by a rope, committing him to providence.

Melcha lets her huſband down at the window, 1 Sam. xix. 12.

Saul ſends early the next morning to ſeize him, Ver. 14.

Melcha pretends he is ſick in bed, ibid.

By break of day came Saul's meſſengers to the houſe, to apprehend David; but Melcha told them he was ſick in bed, and after a very bad night on't, was now fallen aſleep; ſo ſhe ſhew'd them the bed, which ſhe had dreſs'd up on purpoſe for the fallacy, and ſomewhat panting under the coverlet, which they took for the ſick man. All paſs'd for current with the meſſengers, and ſo they returned to the king, with an account of every thing; but Saul ſent them back again the next morning, with a peremptory command to bring David away as they found him; for die he muſt. Upon the ſecond ſearch, they turn'd up the bed-cloaths, and perceiv'd that Melcha had put a trick upon them; for there was no David to be found. Now the panting under the blankets was only a device of Melcha, who had convey'd into the bed the warm liver of a kid newly kill'd, to repreſent the palpitation. The officers told the king the whole buſineſs, and how his daughter had impos'd upon them. Saul reprimanded her ſeverely for being ſo baſe as to take part with an enemy againſt her father; but ſhe invented this plauſible excuſe to ſave herſelf by, viz. That her huſband ſwore he would kill her if ſhe would not undertake to conceal him, and help him away; and therefore ſhe hoped he would paſs over what ſhe had done under ſuch a force; for ſhe muſt have ſacrificed the life of his daughter, if ſhe had not ſaved the life of his ſuppoſed enemy.

The officers come again next morning for him, dead or alive, Ver. 15.

But Melcha had put a trick upon them, Ver. 16.

Saul rails at Melcha for joining with an enemy againſt her father, V. 17.

Melcha excuſes herſelf to Saul, ibid.

David with Samuel at Ramah, V. 18.

Melcha had now obtained her pardon, and David was eſcaped ſafe to Samuel at Ramah, where he gave the prophet the hiſtory at large of the ſnares which had been laid for him; the adventure of the javelin, &c. without any pretence all this while of the leaſt failing in matter of duty and reſpect, or of any miſcarriage in his commiſſions; for God had ſtill proſper'd him in whatſoever he undertook; and it muſt be added now for a farther aggravation, that God's peculiar favour toward him, was the very ground of all the hatred and envy that was ſtirr'd up againſt him.

The more God favours David, the more Saul envies him.

Samuel takes David with him from Ramah to Galbaah. Ver. 19--22.

When Samuel came to underſtand the extravagance and iniquity of Saul's way of proceeding, he took David along with him from Ramah to Galbaah *, and there they continued a while together; but ſo ſoon as Saul had gotten intelligence of David's being with the prophet, he ſent a party of ſoldiers to take him up, and bring him away a priſoner; but the meſſengers, upon their arrival, found Samuel in the congregation of the prophets; and after a while, by the ſame ſpirit, they began to propheſy themſelves too. Saul having notice of this, ſent others, and then others, again and again ſtill, upon the ſame errand, and it fared with them as with the former. Upon the third diſappointment, all in a rage, Saul went himſelf, and when he was come almoſt to the place where Samuel was, the ſpirit of prophecy ſeized him alſo; and going a little farther, the impulſe was ſo ſtrong upon him, that he ſtripp'd himſelf ſtark naked, and propheſied a whole day and night ſo, in the ſight of David and Samuel.

Jonathan and David reaſon the matter together, 1 Sam. xx. 1--10.

David all this while thought himſelf very ill us'd by the king, conſidering how dutiful and uſeful he had been to him; but upon making his complaint to Jonathan, of the hard meaſure he had receiv'd, he adviſ'd him not to judge, or to ſuſpect raſhly, nor to be led away with private tales and ſuggeſtions, but rather to depend upon himſelf, that there was no miſchief intended him by his father, who ſeldom did any thing of conſequence without making him privy to it; or if any ſuch thing had been, he himſelf would certainly have diſcloſed it to him. David on the other hand, affirmed with an oath the truth of the whole matter as he had ſet it forth, and beſought Jonathan to venture rather to be a little credulous, where the life of his friend was at ſtake, than to ſuſpend his belief, upon the hazard of coming to be convinc'd of his error by the loſs of his friend. Neither is it to be imagined, ſays he, that the king, who knows you and me to be ſo particular friends, ſhould ever communicate to either of us, a deſign he has upon the life of the other. David's diſcourſe had more weight in it than Jonathan could have wiſh'd; ſo that being half convinc'd, and in ſome trouble at it, he only deſir'd David to make uſe of his ſervice, if there was any thing in the world wherein he might be uſeful to him. "I am ſenſible, "ſays David, of your good-will and readineſs to oblige me, and in that confidence I "am to mind you, that we are to have a "new moon to-morrow, and a feſtival in "courſe. The king will be there; and while "I was in waiting, I had the honour to be "one of the number myſelf. Now, if you "pleaſe, I can go out of the city, and privately wait your leiſure ſomewhere about "the fields, where you may find me out. "If the king ſhould aſk for me, you may tell "him, that I am gone to Bethlehem, to celebrate the day with my own tribe, and that "I had your leave to go. If he ſhall ſpeak "any thing kindly upon it, as a good journey to him, or a God ſpeed him, take that "for a certain token that he has no malice in "his heart againſt me; but if otherwiſe, you "are to take it for granted that he bears me a "grudge. Pray let me hear how you find "him, as you will be juſt to that ſacred and "mutual league of friendſhip that is ſtruck "betwixt us, and as you deſire to make me "eaſy under my preſent calamity. If you "can think me unworthy of your affection, "or any way guilty toward your father, e'en "ſheath your ſword in the heart of me, "without waiting for further orders." Jonathan took theſe laſt words a little unkindly, but yet promis'd to do every thing as he was deſir'd; and that if ever he ſhould find his father in any plot or practice againſt David, he would be ſure to give him timely notice of it; ſealing this promiſſory declaration of his with the ſolemnity of an oath, that he would leave nothing unattempted that might conduce to his preſervation. "That God,

Jonathan promiſes David to do all he can to ſerve him, ibid.

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* 1 Sam. xix. 19. 'tis ſaid, "At Naboth in Ramah."

"ſays

A ſolemn league betwixt Jonathan and David, 1 Sam. xx. 12--17.

“ ſays he, who fills and governs the univerſe, and who knows the thoughts of my heart in the very conception of them; let that God, ſays he, be a witneſs to the faith that is vow'd and promis'd betwixt us; and that I will never give over ſearching into, and ſifting the private deliberations and purpoſes of my father, till I ſhall have diſcovered the bottom of his heart, and whether there be any ſecret rancour in his thoughts or not, that may work to your prejudice; and if I ſhall be able to make any thing out at laſt, whether it be for you, or againſt you, it ſhall be the firſt thing I do to inform you of it. The ſearcher of hearts will bear me witneſs that this is true, and that I have ever made it my earneſt prayer to Almighty God to bleſs and proſper you in your perſon and deſigns; and you may aſſure yourſelf, that he will be as gracious to you for the future, as he hath been hitherto, and lay all your enemies at your feet; which he will moſt certainly do, even though my father and myſelf ſhould be found in the party againſt you. In the mean while, pray be ſure to keep theſe things in memory; and if it ſhould be my fate to die before you, remember to take care of my children.”

Jonathan and David agree upon a private way of intelligence, Ver. 18--23.

JONATHAN having now paſs'd his oath, appointed David to withdraw into a certain part or corner of the field, which they two had agreed upon. “For, ſays Jonathan, I will firſt go to my father, and when I have ſounded him as far as I can, I will come back again to your hiding-place, as if I were a ſhooting, and bring a boy along with me. I ſhall then ſhoot three arrows, and if I bid the lad take them up and bring them to me, ſet your heart at reſt, that all is well with my father; but if I ſay any thing elſe, take it for granted that you are in danger; but aſſure yourſelf, however, happen what will, it ſhall be my particular care that you come to no harm. Only once again I ſay, let not this friendſhip be forgot in the days of your proſperity, but let it extend to my children.” David having received theſe aſſurances from Jonathan, went to the place according to appointment.

THE day following was the feaſt of the New Moon, where the king, according to cuſtom, having duly prepar'd himſelf, ſat down to ſupper, with Jonathan on his right hand, and his general Abner on the left, David's place being empty all this while. But Saul took no publick notice of it the firſt day, ſuppoſing that his abſence might poſſibly be matter of ſcruple, for want of a regular and cuſtomary purification, after the company of his wife. But Saul miſſing him again the next day, enquired of Jonathan, how it came to paſs, that the ſon of Jeſſe ſhould now abſent himſelf from the feſtival two days together? Jonathan told his father, that he had given him leave to go into the country, and feaſt with his own tribe, upon the ſame occaſion. “He would fain have had me along with him, ſays Jonathan, and truly I have ſo great a friendſhip for him, that, if you pleaſe, I ſhould be well enough content yet to go to him.” This expreſſion of Jonathan's provok'd Saul not a little, ſo that he was no longer able to conceal the mortal hatred he had for David, but broke out into an extravagant paſſion againſt his ſon upon it, calling him a traitor, and an enemy to his father; an abettor of, and a confederate with David, and a ſhameleſs conſpirator with the common adverſary of the family; for he muſt be wilfully blind, ſays he, that cannot ſee the abſolute impoſſibility of Saul's ever being ſafe, ſo long as David is living; commanding him alſo at the ſame time to ſend for him, and deliver him up to juſtice. Jonathan, upon this, deſir'd of his father very reſpectfully, to know what capital crime was objected againſt David. This queſtion tranſported Saul into ſuch a rage, that he ſnatch'd up a javelin there within reach, and had certainly kill'd his ſon with it, if ſome of his friends then preſent had not interpoſed, and prevented it. There needed no other evidence of Saul's deadly malice to David, when the father had like to have murder'd his own ſon for his ſon-in-law's ſake.

Saul enquires for David at a feſtival, Ver. 27.

Jonathan excuſes him, Ver. 28, 29.

Saul calls Jonathan a traitor to his father, Ver. 30.

And ſtrikes at him with his javelin, Ver. 33.

THIS furious outrage made Jonathan quit both the company and the feaſt; and what with the trouble he had upon him for his friend's danger, and what for his own, he paſs'd that night without any reſt either of body or mind; ſo that early the next morning, he took his bow and arrows, and a boy along with him, into the fields, under the pretext of going a ſhooting, but in truth, to give David the neceſſary information of what had paſſed. The firſt thing he did was to convey his intelligence by his arrows, as he ſaid he would; after which he ſent the boy away to the city upon an errand, for the better opportunity of a private conference with his friend. They were no ſooner within ſight one of another, but David caſt himſelf down at the feet of his preſerver, and in that poſture ſaluted him; the other immediately taking him up, and both joining in one another's arms, to curſe the malignity of the age, and their own hard fortune, that was now forcing them upon a ſeparation, worſe than the worſt of deaths. When they had condoled their time out, and indulged all the ſoftneſſes of dear and parting friends, they took their final leave, with freſh vows and aſſurances never to depart from the conditions of their league, and ſo ſubmitted at laſt to the neceſſity of going their ſeveral ways.

Jonathan informs David of the whole matter, Ver. 35, &c.

David goes to Ahimelech in the city of Nob, 1 Sam. xxi. 1.

DAVID being now in great diſtreſs by the perſecution of a watchful and an implacable enemy, and under the conſideration of a certain death if he ſhould be taken, went in his wanderings to Ahimelech the high-prieſt, in the city of Nob. He had no company with him, either friends or ſervants, which Ahimelech took notice of; and, not without ſome admiration, ask'd him the reaſon of it. He came by ſpecial order, he ſaid, upon a piece of ſecret ſervice from the king; and that for privacy ſake, he had for the preſent diſcharg'd his train, and appointed them a ſet time and place, when and where they ſhould attend him. He told Ahimelech likewiſe, that it would be a very friendly office, and a great furtherance to his buſineſs, if he would but ſupply him with neceſſaries for his journey. This being granted, he told him once again, that if he could but furniſh him with a ſword,

Ahimelech gives David a viaticum, Ver. 6.

Doeg overhears them, 1 Sam. xxi. 7. Ahimelech gives him alſo the ſword of Goliah the Philiſtine, Ver. 9.

or a ſpear, or any ſort of arms, it would lay yet another obligation upon him. It ſo happened that a certain ſervant belonging to Saul, and a Syrian by nation, was all this while within hearing. His office was that of a groom, and his name Doeg. The high-prieſt, ſaid he, had no arms, but the ſword that kill'd Goliah the Philiſtine, which was hung up and dedicated to God; and that ſword he might have if he pleas'd. David accepted of it; and with this ſword, making what haſte he could out of the juriſdiction of the Hebrews, he fled to the city of Gath in the land of the Philiſtines. This was in the reign of king Anchus.* David had no ſooner made his appearance there, but ſeveral of the king's ſervants call'd him to mind, and immediately acquainted the king, their maſter, that this was the man who had deſtroy'd ſo many thouſands of the Philiſtines. David therefore finding himſelf in as much danger of Anchus now, as he had been of Saul before, fell immediately to foaming at the mouth, and driveling like a mad-man, in order to induce the people of Gath to think him really mad: inſomuch that Anchus ſeverely reprimanded his ſervants, for troubling him with a perſon, who was not in his right ſenſes; and accordingly order'd him inſtantly to be turn'd out of his preſence and houſe.

David goes thence to Gath among the Philiſtines, Ver. 10.

* Scrip. Achiſh.

where he is known by the ſervants of Anchus, Ver. 11. David acts the part of an Idiot, and ſo they let him go, Ver. 13, &c.

He goes from Gath to the cave of Adullam, in the tribe of Judah, 1 Sam. xxii. 1.

By this artifice he got clear of Gath, and from thence eſcaped into the tribe of Judah, where he took up his reſting-place for ſome time in a cave in the field of Adullam, from whence he ſent to his brethren, to let them know where he was. His friends and relations, (and in truth other people promiſcuouſly) being advertis'd of the place of his preſent abode, came flocking in to him: ſome for the love and reſpect they bore to himſelf; others out of fear or hatred of Saul: ſome in fine, who were uneaſy in their fortunes, others in their minds, being unſatisfy'd with the preſent ſtate of things; ſo that upon the whole there were a matter of four hundred of them gotten together, and every man devoted to the ſervice of David with life and fortune.

People come flocking to him, to the number of four hundred, V. 2. David marches with his little party to the king of Moab, V. 4.

In the ſtrength and confidence of this little body, David remov'd and march'd directly away to the king of Moab, with an addreſs to him for leave to himſelf, with his friends and relations there, being under ſome difficulties, to take ſanctuary in ſome part of his dominions, only till the ſtorm might blow over, and their affairs be put into ſome ſort of ſettlement at home. The Moabite king received David and his company very generouſly, and treated them with great honour and hoſpitality for the time they were there: that is to ſay, till by the order and direction of the prophet Samuel, David marched away with his people out of the deſart into the land of Judah, and ſo to Saris †.

The king gives him entertainment and protection. ibid.

† Hareth.

Saul hears of David's march, V. 6.

When Saul came to underſtand (and it was not long firſt) that David had been ſeen upon his march in the head of a body of armed men, he was not a little terrify'd and troubled at the intelligence; for he had ſeen ſo many experimental proofs of the greatneſs of David's ſoul and courage, that he could not but reaſonably expect ſome mighty matter from him; which he apprehended would tend at leaſt to the perplexing and diſordering of his counſels, if not to the endangering of the very government itſelf. Upon this occaſion, he convened all his friends and captains, the people of his own tribe, and all his officers, civil and military, at his royal city of Gibeah; and there enthroning himſelf, at a place they called the Field, with his men of war, honour and buſineſs, about him, he ſpake to them from his poſt of ſtate, after this manner:

He calls a great council, Ver. 7.

A bitter ſpeech of Saul's, V. 7, 8.

“ Taking for granted, my friends and “ fellow-tribeſmen, that the good offices I have “ done you, the poſſeſſions I have beſtow'd upon “ you, the honourable and profitable “ commiſſions that I have given you, are not as yet “ ſo abſolutely ſunk and bury'd, as to be quite “ out of your memory; I ſhall now put this “ ſhort queſtion to you; whether or no do you “ expect greater benefits and advantages from “ the ſon of Jeſſe, than you have received “ from me? for I find it manifeſtly, that all “ your inclinations biaſs that way; and that “ my ſon Jonathan miniſters both an example “ and an authority for your ſo doing: for I “ am no ſtranger to the ſolemnity of a ſtrict “ league and confederacy betwixt him and “ David; nor of his abetting the cauſe of my “ adverſaries with his power, intereſt, and “ counſels. Now this is a matter that you “ never trouble your heads about; but ſit “ looking on as idle ſpectators, in a careleſs “ indifference for the event.”

Doeg's information of what paſs'd at Nob, Ver. 9, 10.

These words of the king were follow'd with a general ſilence, till Doeg the groom, a Syrian, deliver'd what he had to ſay upon the point then in queſtion. The account he gave was this: “ When I came, ſays he, to “ the city of Nob, to the high-prieſt “ Ahimelech, I ſaw David there to conſult the “ oracle. Ahimelech gave him conveniencies for “ his journey, and the ſword of Goliah, and “ ſo helped him forward to go whither he “ pleaſed.” After this declaration of Doeg, Saul order'd the high-prieſt to be ſent for with all his relations; to whom the king ſaid as follows:

Saul ſends for Ahimelech and his relations, Ver. 11. Saul charges them for being in a conſpiracy againſt him, with David, Ver. 13.

“ What have I done to make you give this “ encouragement to a traytor to his prince? “ for the ſon of Jeſſe is no better. And yet “ who but you to entertain him; furniſh him “ with proviſions and arms, and give him “ anſwers from the oracle, of the ſucceſs of his “ deſigns! you cannot be ignorant that he is “ now run away, in the conſcience of the “ malice he has for my family, and in the fear of “ being ſeized and puniſh'd for't.”

Ahimelech's defence, Ver. 14, 15.

The high prieſt made no oppoſition to the truth of the charge; but frankly confeſs'd that the reſpect he had ſhewn David, was not done ſo much out of regard to him, as to the king himſelf; for, ſays he, “ I did not receive him “ as your enemy, but as the faithfulleſt of your “ friends and officers; and, which is more, in “ the quality of your ſon too, and a relation “ in ſo tender a degree of affinity and alliance: “ For how ſhould any body imagine that man “ to be your enemy, upon whom you have “ conferr'd ſo many honours? or why ſhould “ not I rather preſume ſuch a perſon, without “ any farther enquiry, to be your ſingular “ friend? If he conſulted me about the will of “ God, it is not the firſt time that he has “ done it, nor the firſt time that I have given “ him an anſwer: neither has it been always “ alike. He told me that he was ſent in haſte “ by yourſelf, about earneſt buſineſs, and if I

“ had not ſupplied him with what he wanted, it would have reflected an indignity upon yourſelf, rather than upon him; wherefore I hope the blame ſhall not be laid at my door, even if you ſhould find David to be as guilty at laſt as you ſuſpect him to be, unleſs an act purely of compaſſion and humanity, abſtracted from the leaſt thought, knowledge, or imagination of any evil intention, ſhall be underſtood to make me a party to a conſpiracy; for the ſervice I render'd him was matter of reſpect to the king's ſon-in-law, and the king's military officer, not to the perſon or intereſt of David.” This was all plauſible and fair; but the fear of the danger wrought more upon Saul than the apology, though never ſo juſt; ſo that without giving any credit to the excuſe, he commanded the guards about him to ſeize Ahimelech and his family, and put them all to the ſword. The Hebrews flatly refus'd to execute ſo ſacrilegious a commiſſion; for it was no leſs, in the conſtruction of their religion, than to put any man to death who ſerv'd at the altar. Upon this ſcruple and denial, the charge was committed to Doeg the Syrian, who with an impious band of ruffians and aſſaſſins, like himſelf, began with the high-prieſt, and went through his whole family, to the number of three hundred and eighty five perſons *. This barbarous maſſacre was no ſooner over, but the ſame helliſh crew was diſpatch'd away to Nob, the ſeat and reſidence of the prieſthood, on the ſame errand; where they kill'd all the inhabitants they could find, to a ſingle perſon, ſparing neither age nor ſex; and, in concluſion, they laid the whole town in aſhes. Abiathar, the ſon of Ahimelech, was the only perſon that eſcap'd in this butchery, to verify an ancient revelation from God to the high-prieſt Eli, foretelling him, that the iniquity of his two ſons would in time to come be puniſh'd with the rooting out of the family. This execrable cruelty of Saul, in the extirpation of the ſacerdotal race, the putting of old men, women, and children to the ſword, without either pity for the one, or reverence for the other; the deſtroying of a city which God himſelf had honour'd with a peculiar privilege, by ſetting it apart as a nurſery for prieſts and prophets: this barbarous courſe, I ſay, of inhuman violences, ſhews us the licentious corruptions of fleſh and blood, when unbridled nature is left to itſelf, without any external check upon it. While men are low, poor, and impotent, in fear of laws and penalties; and in truth, under ſome ſort of neceſſity to appear honeſt, for want of power to be wicked, how temperate, juſt, and gentle; nay, how religious do they pretend to be? They live as if they own'd a providence, and believ'd the omnipreſence of an Almighty and an All-ſeeing God. But ſo ſoon as ever they come to be deliver'd from the clogs and impediments of theſe inabilities, and advanced to the authority of prerogative and government, they are no longer the ſame men, but ſhift like ſtage-players, and lay by their old manners with their dreſs, changing both the ſcene and the perſon. They grow bold, proud, and inſolent, quitting all reverence, either for God or man; and inſtead of exerciſing that piety and juſtice which can only ſecure men in that eminent ſtation from the ſtroke of detraction and envy, (for their very thoughts, as well as actions, in that height of elevation are expos'd to common cenſure:) they live and act, as if either God knew not what they did, or as if their greatneſs had tranſported them out of the reach of divine juſtice. When this arrogant vanity is once upon the wing, what havock does it make of men, and of things! what hurly-burlies and confuſions in the world! they govern by their paſſion, not their reaſon. Vain fears and groundleſs averſions toward ſome, and partial prepoſſeſſions of favour toward others, are the only counſellors they adviſe with. Now the reſult of theſe dictates is that which they impoſe upon the world for no leſs than a decree ratified in Heaven; and all this while, not one word or thought of the future. As for thoſe, in fine, who have done them ſignal ſervices, they commonly make them early acknowledgments, by honours and rewards; but then it is in every informer's power, by ſubornation or calumny, to ſtrip them for a word ſpeaking, not only of their dignities, but of their lives too; and all this without proof, probability, trial, nay, or ſo much as examination. And this tyranny exerciſes itſelf not ſo much upon the guilty, who deſerve to be puniſh'd, as upon the innocent, who may be oppreſs'd without danger.

Saul commands his ſervants to fall upon Ahimelech, which they refuſe, 1 Sam. xxii. 17.

Doeg puts Ahimelech and the prieſts to the ſword.

Nob laid in aſhes, and only Abiathar, the ſon of Ahimelech eſcapes the butchery, Ver. 20.

Saul extirpates the ſacerdotal race, ibid.

And the very nurſery of prieſts and prophets, ibid.

We find all this to be punctually made good in the preſent inſtance of Saul, the ſon of Kis, who was the firſt king of the Hebrews after the diſſolution of the Ariſtocracy, and the taking of the adminiſtration out of the hands of the judges. He put to death three hundred prieſts and prophets, upon the caprice of a bare jealouſy of Ahimelech. He laid their city in rubbiſh, kill'd all that were in it, and buried the dead under the ruins of it; doing all that in him lay toward the utter extinction of the ſacerdotal order and race, without leaving ſo much as one prieſt alive to ſerve at the altar, or any habitation to receive them. Abiathar, the ſon of Ahimelech, was the only man that eſcaped; and he carried the diſmal tidings of the deſtruction of his father and his family to David; which was no more, he ſaid, than he expected, when he ſaw Doeg there; who, he was ſure, would put the worſt comment of his having been with his father, to the king; and, in fine, he told Abiathar, that it was a very bitter affliction to him, to find himſelf any way the occaſion of ſo dreadful a calamity. But, ſays he, ſince it is ſo, keep you where you are, and ſtay with me, for you can be no where ſafer.

Three hundred prieſts and prophets put to death, ibid.

The Philiſtines enter the country of Keilah, 1 Sam. xxiii. 1.

About this time there was word brought to David, that the Philiſtines were enter'd with an army into the province of Keilah, burning and deſtroying all before them, wherever they came. David had a mind to attack them, but not without conſulting the prophet

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* The Scripture reckons a much leſs number; for 1 Sam. xxii. 18. 'tis ſaid, “And Doeg the Edomite turned, and fell upon the prieſts, and ſlew on that day fourſcore and five perſons that did wear a linnen Ephod.” But as it is added in the next verſe, “And Nob, the city of the prieſts, ſmote he with the edge of the ſword, both men and women, children and ſucklings, &c.” The determinate number not being expreſs'd, 'tis probable Joſephus includes thoſe prieſts that were alſo ſlain in the city of Nob, in the three hundred and eighty five; otherwiſe, the diſparity is ſo great, we cannot reconcile him with the Scripture.

David conſults the prophet, draws out, fights, and overcomes them, 1 Sam. xxiii. 2—5.

David in Keilah, and Saul orders him to be beſieg'd there, Ver. 7, 8.

David is precaution'd by a revelation, Ver. 11.

And removes his camp to Engelaïs.

Jonathan comes to David at Cæna, Ver. 16.

They renew their league, Ver. 18.

firſt, for encouragement and direction. The prophet bad him go on and proſper; whereupon he preſently drew out, fought the enemy, and routed them with a very great ſlaughter, and carried off a conſiderable booty. After this, he ſtaid a while in Keilah, for a guard to ſecure them whilſt they got in their harveſt. Saul ſoon received a particular account of David's abode, and likewiſe of the action, as it was too conſiderable to lie long conceal'd. It was alſo obſervable, that the relation was deliver'd much to David's honour. Upon the intelligence of David's ſhutting himſelf up in a walled town, Saul look'd upon his buſineſs to be as good as done, and as the favour of a ſingular providence that had put his enemy into his hands; ſo that he gave out orders immediately for the beſieging of Keilah, and not to quit the place till David ſhould be brought to juſtice. But David being premoniſhed by a revelation, that if he did not ſeaſonably provide for himſelf, the people of Keilah would deliver him up to the king to ſave themſelves, he quitted the city, and betook himſelf with his four hundred men into the deſart, where he encamped upon a hill that was well fortified, by the name of Engelaïs *; but Saul underſtanding that David had left Keilah, countermanded his orders for the ſiege too; while David, with his people, removed out of the wilderneſs to Cæna, a place belonging to Ziphe, where Jonathan, the king's ſon, came to him, and ſaluted him with an intent to have ſome conference with him about things to come. He bad him deſpond of nothing; for all thoſe preſent difficulties would vaniſh; for the time, he ſaid, was at hand, when the whole nation of the Hebrews ſhould be his ſubjects; adviſing him to conſider, that bleſſings of that quality were not to be compaſs'd without toil and hazard. So they renewed their league of friendſhip over again, confirming it with a ſanction of moſt dreadful imprecations upon him who ſhould firſt act contrary to covenants; the obligation to be for life, and God to be a witneſs to it. This ſolemnity being performed, Jonathan left David there, much eaſier, and better ſatisfied than he found him, and ſo returned to his own home.

The Ziphites give Saul intelligence where to find David, V. 19.

The Ziphites officiouſneſs to find out David, V. 24.

While this was a doing, the men of Ziphe, to curry favour with the king, gave him to underſtand that David lay ſkulking about their grounds, and undertook, if Saul would be pleaſed to come to their aſſiſtance, to deliver him up; for it was but the ſecuring of ſome narrow paſſes, and it would be impoſſible for him to eſcape. Saul highly extoll'd the zeal and good-will of the Ziphites, with very gracious acknowledgments of the obligation they had laid upon him, in telling him where he might find his enemy, and promiſ'd them large requitals alſo for the ſervice they had done him; ſo he preſently ſent away his agents, if poſſible, to find out David, and to ſearch all the hiding-places in the deſart for him, promiſing to follow them himſelf in a very ſhort time with his army. The people of Ziphe were wonderfully forward and officious, not only to ſerve as guides toward the diſcovery of David in his haunts, but for the very ſeizure of his perſon, and the delivering of him up into the king's power. But after all the villainy of this pragmatical zeal, their malicious purpoſe was at laſt diſappointed. Now they might have held their tongues in the caſe, with all the ſecurity imaginable; ſo that the baſeneſs of their thruſting themſelves into the treachery of betraying a pious and an innocent perſon to ruin and deſtruction, contrary to law and juſtice, was only a ſcandalous wicked office, undertaken for the very wickedneſs ſake; but mercenaries and paraſites will ſtick at nothing.

David withdraws to a rock in the wilderneſs of Maon, ibid.

Saul follows him, Ver. 25.

The Philiſtines breaking in upon the Hebrews diverts him, Ver. 28.

His next retreat is to Engelaïs, Ver. 29.

David being ſeaſonably advertiſ'd of the malicious conſpiracy of the Ziphites, and of the king's being upon his march in proſecution and in favour of it, he quitted the place where he was before, and made away, as faſt as he could, to a great rock in the wilderneſs of Maon. Saul having gotten intelligence upon the way, of David's removal, and what courſe he took, cloſely purſued him, and was come ſo near him, that Saul was on one ſide of the rock, and David on the other, and juſt ready to be hemm'd in, beyond all poſſibility of eſcaping; but by great providence, juſt in this preciſe inſtant, came the ſad news to Saul, that the Philiſtines had broken in upon the Hebrews, and were ravaging their country. This intelligence diverted Saul from his purſuit of David, chuſing rather to turn his arms upon the ſworn enemies of the nation, and to redeem his country, than run the riſque of loſing all to gratify a particular pique againſt one ſingle perſon. By this bleſſed providence was David deliver'd beyond all expectation; and his next retreat was to the ſtreights of Engelaïs.

Saul marches after him, and happen'd into the ſame cave where David and his people were, 1 Sam. xxiv. 3.

David cuts off the skirt of Saul's garment, Ver. 4.

When Saul had encounter'd and beaten back the Philiſtines, word was brought to him once again in his return, where he might find David; for that he had been ſeen ſomewhere about Engelaïs. Upon this advice, Saul drew out three thouſand choice men to march immediately after him. As they were upon the way, and within a little of the place, there was a deep, dark, ſpacious cave, and Saul ſtepp'd aſide into it alone, as a place of privacy, upon a neceſſary occaſion to eaſe himſelf. Now this cave happen'd to be the very place where David and his four hundred followers had hid themſelves. One of David's people, who knew Saul very well, had the fortune to diſcover him, and preſently went up to David with the good news, that now was his time to put an end to all his troubles, by taking the opportunity of a glorious revenge, in cutting off the head of his mortal enemy; for God had now deliver'd Saul up into his hands. But it neither ſuited with David's greatneſs of mind, nor with the ſenſe and conſcience of his duty and allegiance, to lay violent hands upon his anointed lord and maſter, whom God himſelf had ſet over him, and to return evil for evil; ſo that David only cut off a piece of the ſkirt of his garment, and ſo let him go, but repented in the very inſtant even of that too.

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* Scrip. Engedi; but 1 Sam. xxiii. 13. from whence this is taken, 'tis only ſaid, “ Then David and his men, “ which were about ſix hundred, aroſe and departed out of Keilah, and went whitherſoever they could go,” not making any mention of Engedi, or, as Joſephus calls it in the Greek, Engelaïs; the name of that place not occurring till the laſt verſe of the ſame chapter, “ Whither, 'tis ſaid, he retreated, after Saul had given over perſuing “ him;” as Joſephus alſo obſerves a little lower.

UPON Saul's departing out of the cave, David follow'd into the open air, calling out after him. The king, upon the hearing of a voice he was ſo well acquainted with, turned preſently about; and David, with all decency of reverence and reſpect both to the perſon and the occaſion, addreſs'd himſelf to him in words to this effect:

David reaſons the caſe to Saul, in a moſt excellent ſpeech, 1 Sam. xxiv. 9–15.

IT is a very unhappy thing, ſir, with your majeſty's gracious leave for this freedom, when a great prince has his ears ſo open to calumniators and detractors, as to ſuſpect the integrity of his try'd and moſt faithful friends, upon the credit of the vaineſt and falſeſt of men; that is to ſay, of pick-thank flatterers and under-hand informers. Were it not, under favour, a much more laudable way to put every man to the trial of his honeſty by his works? for words may be falſe as well as true; but demonſtration by fact is infallible. You may be pleaſed now, upon the force of this ſingle inſtance at preſent before you, to conſult your reaſon, upon ſecond thoughts; whether or no I have not had hard meaſure, in being taken for a criminal, upon the ſuggeſtion of an evil intention that never ſo much as enter'd into my thought; and yet it has (moſt unhappily to me) ſo far gain'd belief with your majeſty, that I go in danger of my life every hour of the day and night, upon a bare and ungrounded jealouſy of my guilt. Can any thing, with pardon, be clearer than the evidence of your majeſty's miſtake, when you ſuſpect me for malicious practices upon your life, as well as on your family? How will your majeſty look God in the face with this guilt upon your conſcience, that you are ſtill practiſing upon the life of a perſon who had you wholly at mercy, and the opportunity of gratifying his revenge, which, had you had the like againſt me, you would not have let ſlip out of your hands; and yet ſpar'd you out of good-nature, juſtice, and reſpect. Look you ſir, ſays he, I could as eaſily have taken your head from your ſhoulders, as this piece of ſtuff from your mantle, [ſhewing the ſkirt that he had cut off, to confirm the truth of what he ſaid;] and yet I had not the heart to indulge a revenge, though never ſo juſt; while you at the ſame time, without any difficulty or ſcruple, purſue me with a moſt injurious perſecution. But let God judge betwixt us, who will determine, in the concluſion, which of the two was in the right."

Saul acknowledges David's generoſity, and his own injuſtice, Ver. 17–20.

SAUL was ſo confounded at the modeſty of the young man, and in ſuch admiration at the good-nature and humanity of David, in ſparing his life after ſo many bitter provocations, that he could not forbear groaning upon the thought of it; and upon David's anſwering his ſigh with another, "No, no, ſays Saul, theſe lamentations will better become me; for as you, on the one hand, have been the cauſe and the author to me of a great deal of good; ſo have I, on the other ſide, made you a return only of cruelty and miſery for all your obligations and benefits. You have in this, ſays he, given viſible demonſtration that you are not degenerated from the generoſity and goodneſs of the antients; who, when they had their enemies at mercy, choſe rather to diſmiſs them ſafe and free, than to make an ill uſe of the advantage they had over them. Now do I manifeſtly perceive by the paſſages of this day, that God has ſet you apart for this kingdom, and that the whole nation of the Hebrews is to be ſubjected to your government; wherefore I have this requeſt to make of you, that you give me your promiſe, upon oath, to forgive all the injuries I have done you; and that when you come to be poſſeſs'd of your government, you will be merciful to my family." David paſs'd his promiſe upon oath to do as he was deſir'd, and ſo diſmiſs'd the king, and departed himſelf with his train to the ſtreights of Mizpeh.

And asks David forgiveneſs, Ver. 21, 22.

The death of the prophet Samuel, 1 Sam. xxv. 1.

AT or about this time died the prophet Samuel, a perſon in great reputation among the Hebrews, for his probity and virtue; and the people gave an eminent proof of the eſteem they had for him, in the magnificence and expence of his funeral. They buried him at Ramah, in his own country, and mourned for him afterward a long time, not with the ceremony of a formal publick ſorrow, but every individual had a diſtinct and a particular ſhare in the loſs; for he was a man of a natural benignity and juſtice, and moſt remarkably in God's favour for his virtues. After the death of Eli, he govern'd twelve years alone; and then in the reign of Saul, eighteen years more, ending his days according to the relation that is here ſet forth.

Samuel's character.

The hiſtory of Nabal, Ver. 2.

THERE lived at that time near the place where David frequented, a certain man of Ziphe, of the city of Emma *, who was very wealthy in herds and poſſeſſions; for he had in his grounds three thouſand ſheep, and a thouſand goats. David was ſo much his friend, that he ſet his own people to aſſiſt in looking after his flocks; forbidding them upon their uttermoſt peril, either for avarice, or for hunger, or upon any other pretence whatever, to touch ſo much as one hair of them; no, though they were abſolutely ſure of not being detected; continually inculcating to them the duty and obligation they lay under of living according to the rules of juſtice, and in conformity to the will of God, who was never pleaſed with any man that coveted, or laid violent hands on the goods of his neighbour. By this good diſcipline, David reſtrained thoſe about him from violences, and kept them within bounds; imagining all this while, that the kindneſs he had ſhewn, and the good and generous offices he had done, were conferr'd on a perſon of worth and honeſty, who would be ſure to make him grateful acknowledgments, and a ſuitable return.

The character of Nabal, Ver. 3.

BUT Nabal (for that was the man's name) was a brutal ill-natur'd wretch; yet the huſband of a notable, diſcreet, prudent and agreeable woman. One day as he was ſhearing his ſheep, David ſent ten of his people to Nabal with the compliment of a thouſand good wiſhes to him, and deſiring only ſome moderate ſupply of proviſions out of his abundance; for his ſhepherds could inform him, that all the while they had been together in the deſart, they had been ſo far from doing him any injury, that they had rather kept and preſerved his

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* Epiphanius Scholaſticus has Maon for Emma, which is alſo the Scripture name.

Nabal's churliſhneſs and ribaldry againſt David, 1 Sam. xxv. 10, 11.

David vows a revenge upon Nabal, V 12.

ſheep for him; cloſing the diſcourſe with an aſſurance, that what friendſhip ſoever he ſhould do for David upon this occaſion, ſhould be abundantly acknowledg'd. The anſwer that Nabal returned them was rude and churliſh, like himſelf. “David! ſays Nabal, why who's that ſame David, I wonder?” They told him he was one of the ſons of Jeſſe. “Yes, yes, ſays Nabal, your runaway-ſervants look upon themſelves to be brave fellows, I warrant ye.” This contemptuous affront enraged David to that degree, that he immediately put himſelf at the head of four hundred men, leaving two hundred more behind with the baggage, (his number being now encreaſed to ſix hundred) with a vow and determination that very night to cut off Nabal, with his houſe and family. Now David's indignation againſt him, was not ſo much for his barbarity and ingratitude, where he had been ſo frankly obliged, but for the virulence of ſo inſolent an outrage againſt a man that never did him an injury.

Nabal's wife, Abigail, meets David, and pacifies him, V. 23—32.

David pardons Nabal for Abigail's ſake, V. 35. but foretels a judgment to attend him.

Nabal dies, as David had foretold, Ver. 38.

While matters were in this poſture, one of Nabal's ſhepherds and ſervants carry'd the ſtory of this encounter to the miſtreſs; telling her, how David being diſtreſs'd for proviſions, and having ſent to her huſband to deſire ſome ſmall relief of him, was not only refuſed by him, but anſwered with unſufferable and opprobrious revilings; though David had ever dealt honourably and reſpectfully by him in guarding and ſecuring his flocks from injuries and violence; telling her further, what apprehenſions they had of the miſchief that the ſenſe of this indignity might bring upon herſelf and her huſband. So ſoon as Abigail, (for ſo ſhe was called) the wife of Nabal, had heard their ſtory, ſhe preſently call'd for the aſſes out; cauſed them to be laden with preſents, and, unknown to her huſband, (who was at that time fuddled, and ſenſeleſs) ſhe put herſelf upon the way to find out David; whom ſhe met coming down the ſtraits of the mountain, and four hundred men following him, with an intent to take vengeance upon Nabal. Abigail no ſooner ſaw him approach, but leaping from her aſs, ſhe threw herſelf proſtrate upon the ground, and “humbly beſought David to paſs over the words of her huſband, as one whoſe name was ſuited to his nature; Nabal in Hebrew ſignifying a fool and a madman. She pleaded for herſelf, that ſhe ſaw none of the meſſengers that were ſent to her huſband; begged pardon, and deſir'd David to give God thanks for ſending her as the inſtrument to keep his hands from blood: and, ſir, ſays ſhe, may you ſtill preſerve yourſelf clear of that pollution, that God may turn the vengeance that threatens Nabal upon the heads of your enemies. Be pleaſed, I beſeech you, to accept of the good-will of your poor ſervant, with theſe ſmall preſents; and upon my humble requeſt, to paſs over the offence of my huſband, who had ſo juſtly incurr'd your diſpleaſure; for there is nothing ſo well becoming the character of the perſon, that Providence deſigns for a crown, as clemency and compaſſion. David was pleaſed to receive the preſents, telling her that ſhe had reaſon to bleſs God that put it into her heart to come hither this day; otherwiſe ſays he, you ſhould never have liv'd to have ſeen another; for I had ſworn to myſelf to lay your houſe in ruins this very night, and not to leave one ſoul alive in the family of that ungrateful man, who had caſt ſo many indignities upon me, and thoſe that belong to me. You are now come in a bleſſed hour to allay my rage, and put a ſtop to my reſolution; but yet after all, though I am content for your ſake, to forgive Nabal's fault againſt me, there is a judgment ſtill behind that attends him; and his ill-manners will be his ruin ſome other way.” With theſe words, David diſcharged Abigail, who went directly home, and found her huſband carouſing among his companions, and ſo ſottiſhly drunk with wine, that there was no ſpeaking to him that night; but the next morning, when he was become ſober, ſhe told him the whole ſtory from beginning to end; which ſtruck him with ſuch an aſtoniſhment, that he was ſeized with a dead palſey upon it, and died in ten days. David, upon the news of his death, was heard to ſay, that the judgment was righteous, and that God had avenged his cauſe, while he that receiv'd the injury came off with clean hands. The world may gather from this example, that there's no avoiding the ſtroke of divine juſtice; and that it is Providence that governs the world, not paſſion or chance; but that both good and wicked men are either rewarded or puniſhed in their own kind.

David marries Abigail, Nabal's widow, V. 42.

David had a former wife Ahinoam, Ver. 43.

Saul having given away Melcha to Phalti, V. 44.

1 Sam. xxvi. 1.

* Scrip. Laiſh and Gallim.

† Scrip. Hachilah.

Saul being poſted near Sicella, David goes with Abiſhai, and Ahimelech, into his camp, V. 3, 4, 5.

Saul, with his general and guards faſt aſleep in his tent, V. 7.

After the deceaſe of the huſband, David ſent a meſſage, and an invitation to the widow; deſiring her to come over to him; for he would take her to his bed as his lawful wife. Her anſwer was, that ſhe was not worthy ſo much as to waſh the feet of David; but ſhe went to him, however, with all her equipage, and became his wife; an honour that ſhe was indebted to for the graces both of her mind and perſon; for it was her prudence, modeſty, and beauty, that recommended her to this preferment. David had alſo a former wife, [Ahinoam] a native of Abeſar; but as for his late wife Melcha, the daughter of Saul, her father gave her away to Phalti, the ſon of Liſus * of Gethla. It was not long after this, when the men of Ziphe brought a freſh account to Saul, that David was come into their quarters again, and that with a little help he might be eaſily taken. Upon this intelligence, Saul immediately marched thither with three thouſand men; and the night coming on, he pitched his tents at a place called Sicella †. When David came to underſtand that Saul was moving that way, he ſent out his ſcouts for a particular information where the enemy lay; and word being brought that they had poſted themſelves near a place call'd Sicella, David got up in the night, and with only Abiſhai, the ſon of his ſiſter Zeruiah, and Ahimelech the Hittite, went directly, without the privity of any other perſon, into the camp of the enemy; where they found the king in his tent, with his general Abner, and his guards about him, all faſt aſleep.

Abishai, ſeeing the king in his bed, and his launce by him, would needs have nailed him immediately to the ground; but David held his hands, and told him, “Abiſhai, ſays he, Saul is God's king, and his perſon ſacred, let the man be never ſo wicked; and he is only accountable for the ill management of his power to him who gave him the power itſelf.

David carries away Saul's launce and pitcher from his bed-ſide, 1 Sam. xxvi. 12.

He croſſes the river, and chides Abner and the guards, for looking no better to their maſter, Ver. 15, 16.

“ itſelf. But for a proof, however, that I had him at mercy, though I would not make a bad uſe of the advantage, I will now take away his launce and pitcher of water from his bed-ſide.” David leaving the camp as ſilently and unperceiv'd as he came into it, and betwixt the darkneſs of the night, and the ſtrength of his own reſolution, he went his way, without any apprehenſion of danger upon the adventure. He paſs'd the river, and then getting up to the top of a mountain near at hand, within hearing of the camp, he called out from thence to Abner and the guards, as loud as he could, to wake them: Abner ſtarted upon this clamour; and hearing himſelf call'd upon by name, cry'd out aloud to know, who it was that would ſpeak with Abner? anſwer was made, it was David, the ſon of Jeſſe, one of your fugitives. “Are you a fit man, ſays David, to be a great prince's favourite; a general of his army, and to take upon you the guard of his royal perſon, and under all theſe honourable obligations, to lie dozing and ſtretching your ſelf at eaſe, when your maſter's life is in danger? can you tell me what is become of the king's launce, and the pitcher of water that were this night taken by the enemy out of his tent, and from his very bed-ſide? and you, in the mean time, and your guards, all faſt aſleep about him, without knowing any thing of the matter? whether this were neglect, or treachery, 'tis equally the ſame; for whether it was the one, or the other, you do certainly deſerve to loſe your head for it.”

Saul finding it to be David's voice, Ver. 17.

Gives him publick thanks for his life, and bids him return home in peace, V. 25.

When Saul came to find this to be David's voice, and himſelf now a ſecond time betray'd, betwixt the frailty of his own drowſineſs and the neglect of the guards, into the hands of the very perſon, whoſe life he himſelf was now about to take away; miſtaking the beſt friend he had for the moſt mortal of his enemies: Saul, I ſay, was ſo ſenſible of David's goodneſs and reſpect, under the greateſt of provocations, and not without ſome ſort of right to be ſevere upon him, that “he gave him publick thanks for his life: bidding him ſet his heart at reſt for the future, and fear nothing, but return in peace to his own habitation; for he found by experience, he ſaid, that his life was not dearer to himſelf than it was to David; whom he look'd upon as his preſerver, and a perſon of ſo try'd and unchangeable affection to him, that notwithſtanding all baniſhments, hazards, and ill uſages; loſs of friends, and many violent attempts upon his life, he returned him nothing but benefits for injuries, and good for evil.” David, at laſt, deſired him to ſend ſome body to fetch back the launce, and the pitcher; appealing upon the whole matter to the righteous God of heaven and earth, to judge betwixt them, and to bear him witneſs, that when he took away Saul's launce and pitcher, he could with as much eaſe have taken his life.

David appeals, that he could have taken his life as well as his launce and pitcher, 1 Sam. xxvi. 12, &c.

1 Sam. xxvii. 1.

Anchus, the king of Gath, entertains David and his two wives, Ver. 3.

Saul gives over the purſuit of David, Ver. 4.

After this ſecond deliverance, Saul returned ſafe to his palace. But David having no mind to venture himſelf any longer in a place where he was ſtill in danger of being taken, remov'd with his ſix hundred men into the land of the Philiſtines, to live there, with the conſent and liking of all his people. Being now come to Anchus *, the king of Gath, (one of the five principal cities belonging to the Philiſtines,) the king entertains David and his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail. Saul all this while had notice ſtill of David's motions; but after two diſappointments already, and falling into the very ſnare himſelf that he had ſet for David, he left his adverſary to take his fortune, and, deſiſted from the purſuit.

King Anchus gives David the city of Sicella to him and his heirs, Ver. 6.

David found himſelf uneaſy in the city of Gath, and ſo took the freedom to deſire of the king this addition to his former bounties; that he would be pleaſed to aſſign him ſome place or portion of ground in his dominions, for himſelf and thoſe that belonged to him, to live upon; for it gave him ſome uneaſineſs, he ſaid, to continue ſtill in a place where he muſt appear burdenſome to the people. So the king gave him Sicella † to himſelf and his heirs for ever; and David retained ſo great a kindneſs for the place, even after he came to be king, as to reſerve it for a private poſſeſſion for himſelf and poſterity ever afterwards; but of this more at large in another place.

David makes incurſions upon the Sarites and Amalekites, and takes great booty, V. 8, 9.

The Philiſtines prepare for a war with the Hebrews, 1 Sam. xxviii. 1.

Anchus to draw them up, and David with his ſix hundred men to join them, V. 1, 2.

David's ſtay in Sicella was four months and twenty days, whence he made ſeveral inroads upon their neighbours, the Sarites and Amalekites, carrying away vaſt booties of mules and camels; but taking no priſoners, for fear they ſhould diſcover the whole myſtery to Anchus. He made the king preſents, however, out of the ſpoil, who would be asking him now and then, where he met with all that pillage. His anſwer was, that he had made incurſions into the ſoutherly parts of Judea, and there he found it. There was no great difficulty to make Anchus believe a ſtory that his heart was ſo deſirous to have true; for it was reaſonably to be preſumed, that after all this havock and outrage committed by David upon his own countrymen, he would never dare to look homeward again; and by that means have nothing left to truſt to, but the ſervice of king Anchus. The Philiſtines were about this time preparing for a war againſt the Hebrews, and a general rendezvous appointed upon ſuch a day, in Rengam, where Anchus was to draw them into a body, and thence to lead them out againſt the enemy. The king ſpoke to David alſo to join him, with his ſix hundred men over and above his own troops; who not only promiſed it with great readineſs, but told Anchus further, that the time was now at hand, that would put it into his power to make him an honourable return for all his bounties. The king, on the other hand, paſſing his royal word to David, the more to oblige him, that if he ſucceeded in this battle, he would do him all the honour that in him lay, and in particular give him the command of his guards.

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* Scrip. Achiſh.

† Scrip. Ziklag.

CHAP. XV.

Saul conſults the ghoſt of Samuel. The ſpirit foretels him the loſs of the battle, with the death of himſelf and his ſons; and it proves ſo accordingly. The Amalekites pillage and burn Sicella. David purſues, and cuts them to pieces.

All diviners, ſoothſayers, and fortune-tellers baniſh'd the kingdom, 1 Sam. xxviii. 3.

Saul diſguiſes himſelf, and goes to the witch of Endor, Ver. 8.

IT is to be noted, that Saul had already baniſhed all diviners, ſoothſayers, fortune-tellers, and all other people whatſoever of ſuch vain pretenſions, out of his dominions; but the prophets he ſtill retained. News being now brought him that the Philiſtines were advanced as far as Sunem, and encamped upon the plain there, he went out to meet them, and drew up near the mountain of Gilboah, directly over-againſt the camp of the enemy. The armies being now in ſight one of another, Saul found the Philiſtines ſo much ſuperior to the Hebrews, both for order and number, that his heart miſgave him, and ſunk upon it; and this terror put him upon conſulting the prophets about the event of the expected battle. The queſtion being put, and no anſwer return'd, the ſilence of the oracle was worſe to Saul than all the reſt; for he look'd upon it to be ſo foreboding a preſage of an evil fate at hand, that he fell into a downright deſperation upon it; and yet ſuch was the hardneſs of his heart, that though God had withdrawn his favour from him in ſuch a ſignal manner, and he himſelf conſcious of it, he had ſtill a recourſe, after all this, to conjurors and wizzards, to learn the event of things, and ſet people at work to find him out ſome cunning woman who could foretel things to come; for there are a ſort of people that take upon them to call up the ghoſts of the dead, and thereby to reſolve ſuch queſtions about future contingencies as the queriſts ſhall pleaſe to aſk them. While he was upon this enquiry, one of his family told him, that he had heard of ſuch a ſort of a woman at Endor. Upon this information, Saul without any more ado, diſguiſes himſelf; and taking two confidents along with him, goes directly to the famous woman at Endor, without acquainting any body elſe. The firſt thing he ſaid upon coming up to her, was to deſire ſome trial of her ſkill, in calling up the ghoſt of ſuch a certain perſon as he ſhould name. The woman excuſed herſelf, out of a reverence to the king's edict, which had forbidden this way of divination, upon pain of baniſhment; wherefore ſhe beſought him not to betray her into a ſnare; for if ſhe ſhould pretend to give a reſolution, and be detected, the practice would moſt infallibly be her ruin. But this refuſal would not ſatisfy Saul; ſo that preſſing her ſtill more and more, with bitter imprecations upon himſelf, that no mortal ſhould ever know of one ſyllable that paſs'd betwixt them, either queſtion or anſwer, ſhe was prevail'd upon at laſt, betwixt oaths and importunities, to venture herſelf upon the credit of ſuch aſſurances that ſhe was in ſafe hands.

Saul bids her call up the ghoſt of Samuel, Ver. 11. It appears, Ver. 12.

The diſcourſe betwixt Saul and the ſpectre, V. 15.

The ſpirit foretels David's coming to the government, and Saul's loſing his crown and his life, and his ſons in the battle, Ver. 19.

IMMEDIATELY upon her conſenting, Saul bad her call up the ghoſt of Samuel. She knew nothing at all who this Samuel was; but however, upon her calling him up, the ghoſt appear'd. The woman was under an aſtoniſhment at the ſight of ſo divine a figure, and turning toward Saul, aſked him, “If he were not Saul the king, (for Samuel had told her as much.”) Saul making anſwer, “That he was the man; and obſerving her to be trembling, and in diſorder, deſir'd to know what might be the cauſe of that confuſion.” “She ſaw the reſemblance, ſhe ſaid, of an antient man, with a radiant glory about him, aſcending from the earth.” Saul demanded of her what kind of figure, of what years, and in what habit he ſeem'd to be? “A man in years, ſhe ſaid, of a venerable aſpect, and in a ſacerdotal veſt.” By this deſcription Saul concluded it to be the figure of Samuel, and fell down upon his face and worſhipped. “The ſpectre demanded what he gave him this trouble for, to take him from his place of reſt?” Saul replied, “That it was abſolute neceſſity; for he was threaten'd, he ſaid, with a mighty army, and wanted advice what to do; God had forſaken him, and he had neither prophets, dreams, nor viſions to fly to for direction. For theſe reaſons he had now recourſe, he ſaid, to Samuel, as his laſt refuge, and a perſon that he had ever found favourable to himſelf and his affairs.” Samuel foreſeeing that Saul had but one day more to live, told him, “How vain a thing it was for him who knew himſelf forſaken of God, to launch out into unſeaſonable curioſities, what ſhould hereafter become of him. But, ſays the ghoſt, ſince nothing elſe will ſerve your turn, I am to tell you, that God Almighty has determin'd that David ſhall be put into poſſeſſion of the government, and bring the preſent war to a happy concluſion, while you yourſelf are to loſe your crown and your life together, for your diſobedience to God in the buſineſs of the Amalekites, and for the contempt of his commands, which from my lips you received by his order while I was living. Know further, that you are to be with me to morrow; your army ſhall be overthrown, and yourſelf and your ſons fall in the battle.”

Saul falls into a ſwoon, Ver. 20.

THESE words ſtruck Saul ſpeechleſs, and in a manner dead; for he fainted, and fell to the ground upon them; whether out of the tranſport of ſo ſurprizing a ſentence, or out of weakneſs of body with over-faſting, may be a queſtion; for he had eat nothing for four and twenty hours before; but coming at laſt a little to himſelf again, the woman was very earneſt with him to take ſomewhat of ſuſtenance to ſupport nature; deſiring no other conſideration for the dangerous office ſhe had render'd him, than to have the putting of him into a condition of ſtrength and ability to return to his army. She was ſenſible enough of the hazard ſhe had run in the exerciſe of a forbidden profeſſion; and eſpecially in the violation of a decree at the deſire (unwittingly) of him that made it. After a great many importunities and refuſals, in the depth of his deſperation, Saul was prevail'd upon, in the end, to admit of ſome refreſhment. So the woman, though ſo poor that ſhe got her living by her daily labour, kill'd her only calf, dreſs'd it, and ſet it before Saul and his ſervants, with her whole fortune in that treat; who, in fine, took his repaſt, and returned that night to his army.

The wonderful good-nature and generoſity of this woman of Endor, 1 Sam. xxviii. 21, &c.

I must not paſs over here the candour, the good-nature, and the greatneſs of this woman's mind, without ſome note of admiration. The king had forbidden her the practice of an art that was the only maintenance of herſelf and family. Here comes a gueſt and a ſtranger to her, that ſhe had never ſeen before; but a perſon in miſery, and one that had need of her advice in the way that he himſelf had forbidden; for it prov'd to be the king. She receiv'd him, treated him, and reliev'd him; and all this ſhe did willingly and chearfully; nay, and ſo frankly too, that ſhe gave him all ſhe had, and without any proſpect or contemplation of a reward, by gaining the king's favour; for he, ſhe knew, was doom'd to die; beſide that over and above the piety of theſe offices, ſhe did all this for the very man whoſe prohibition had been the ruin of her. This proceeding was quite contrary to the cuſtom of the world, that makes charity an intereſt, and gives or relieves only to get by the bargain, putting out virtue, as they do money, to intereſt. We may reckon that we have recommended to us in the great example of this generous woman the honour and humanity of doing good offices to all people in neceſſity; beſide that a ſincere and unaffected charity, is a virtue of all others the moſt acceptable in God's ſight.

After this right done to the woman of Endor, there is ſomewhat further to be ſaid upon this occaſion by way of admonition, that all ſorts of people may be the better for it, thoſe eſpecially who are born great, and prompted by honourable inclinations to the love and practice of virtue; for this it is that makes men immortal even upon earth, and inſpires princes and governors with generous thoughts and reſolutions, in defiance not only of danger, but of death itſelf, when the ſafety and well-being of their country required it.

The character of a glorious hero, in the inſtance of Saul.

This caſe of Saul is an eminent inſtance to my purpoſe. He knew moſt certainly that he was to die in this battle; for the prophet had told him as much. But he perſiſted yet in a reſolution to ſtand his fate, without betraying his army to the enemy, or expoſing his royal dignity to ſcorn, for the ſaving of his carcaſe. He made it his glory to die fighting for the defence of his government; and rather to have his ſons and his whole family die partners with him in the honour of the action, than to leave them behind him, under anxious uncertainties how their ſurvivors may prove, comforting himſelf with this, that a good name would ſupply the failure of any other poſterity. This is the man, that, in my opinion, deſerves the character of truly juſt, brave, and wiſe; and I would have the ſame veneration paid to all publick-ſpirited examples of his pitch and elevation, either paſt or to come; for let hiſtory ſay what it will of ſome men that may yet do great things, perhaps upon the hope or aſſurance beforehand of coming off ſafe and victorious; theſe men are not to be look'd upon as heroes of the firſt rate, (though much however to be eſteemed,) but thoſe rather, who like Saul, ſtand firm and unſhaken in a fearleſs defiance of the worſt of fatalities, and under the certainty even of death itſelf. What mighty matter is it for a man to venture his life upon a common chance of war, and betwixt hope and fear, to make the beſt of all favourable accidents! The other is the great ſoul, that when he knows he is to periſh, boldly advances upon his deſtruction; meets it, and encounters his fate, though without any hope or thought of ſurmounting it. Be this ſpoken to the immortal honour of Saul, who hath made himſelf exemplary to all lovers of glory; and whoever would celebrate himſelf to after-ages, muſt tread in his ſteps; princes eſpecially, to whom it is ſo neceſſary to have exalted minds, anſwerable to the ſublimity of their fortunes, that a mediocrity, either of courage or of virtue, is a kind of a ſcandal upon them. More might be ſaid upon the ſubject of Saul's dignity and reſolution: but not to make this digreſſion too tedious, I ſhall now go on where I left.

Anchus brings up David and his men to the army; but the great officers will not admit any Hebrews, 1 Sam. xxix. 2—5.

The Philiſtines having drawn their troops together from all quarters, according to their diſtribution into tribes, kingdoms, and governments, Anchus the king of Gath, with his men after the reſt, and David with his band of ſix hundred after Anchus; ſeveral of the Philiſtine commanders taking notice of a mixture of Hebrews among them, enquir'd from whence they came? who ſent for them? and what they did there? Anchus made anſwer, "That the young man there, (pointing to David,) was a ſervant of Saul's, who was fallen under his diſpleaſure, and forced to fly for his life. He came to me, ſays Anchus, with the people he has about him, for ſanctuary; ſo I receiv'd him, and provided for him; and now upon this occaſion he has promiſed me his uttermoſt aſſiſtance againſt Saul, in requital for his protection, and to gratify his revenge." The Philiſtines were one and all againſt truſting a profeſs'd enemy, and were rather for having him remanded; for they did not know, they ſaid, what miſchief the treachery of ſuch a party might do upon ſuch an occaſion. And for the difference betwixt him and his maſter, the ſervice he might do him upon this opportunity, would compound for forty ſuch breaches; wherefore Anchus ſhould do well, they ſaid, to conſider what he was doing, and without more words to ſend him back to the habitation he had aſſign'd him; for this was the David, they ſaid, that the virgins cried up ſo in their ſongs, for killing ſo many thouſands of the Philiſtines. Anchus could not oppoſe the force and reaſon of the objection; and therefore he thought fit to take David aſide, and diſcourſe him upon that ſubject. "Young man, ſays he, upon the certain proof and experience that I have received of your fidelity and courage, I have now entertained you as my ally and aſſociate in this expedition; wherefore withdraw yourſelf immediately to the place I have allotted you, and have a particular care there of the peace of my people, and the country near you, for fear my enemies ſhould take advantage of my abſence, and preſs me with troubles at home. You will do me the office of a kind ally, every jot as effectually in that government, as if you were my ſecond in the army; and in the mean time, I am as much your friend as ever." Upon this declaration of Anchus, they parted, and David, according to his order, went his way to Sicella.

Achiſh remands David to Sicella, Ver. 10.

Sicella taken by the Amalekites, and burnt, 1 Sam. xxx. 1.

David's followers charge the loſs of their wives and children upon his account, Ver. 6.

But in the mean time, while David was following the camp of the Philiſtines, the Amalekites fell upon Sicella, took it, and laid it in aſhes; making the like havock in the country thereabouts: they pillag'd all, in fine, wherever they came, and at laſt went home again with what booty they could carry along with them. David, at his return, finding the place of his habitation deſtroy'd and deſolate, his own wives, and the wives and children of his fellow-ſoldiers hurried away priſoners, with all that belong'd to them, he broke out into ſo paſſionate an extravagance of lamentation and outrage, that he rent his cloaths, and wept himſelf a-dry, even for want of matter to ſupply more tears. His followers were ready to ſtone him too, for the loſs of their wives and children; for he was the cauſe of all, they ſaid; and the whole miſcarriage was laid at his door.

David puts the queſtion to Abiathar, whether to purſue the Amalekites, or not, Ver. 7, 8.

The high-prieſt bids him follow them, and proſper, ibid.

David purſues, and overtakes them at the brook Beſor, Ver. 9.

David falls upon them in ſleep and drink, and makes a terrible ſlaughter, Ver. 16, 17.

When David had mourn'd himſelf a-weary, he came at laſt to think of applying to Heaven for comfort; and ſo deſired Abiathar the high-prieſt to put on his pontifical robes, and conſult God in form, and then report the oracle. The queſtion was, whether or not, in caſe of overtaking the Amalekites upon the purſuit, the Hebrews might be allowed to receive their wives and children again, that had been taken from them before, and revenge themſelves upon the enemy. The high-prieſt bad David follow them, and proſper. Upon which encouragement he took his ſix hundred men, and incontinently purſued them to the brook Beſor, where they found an Egyptian that had loſt his way, and was ready to periſh with hunger, having been three days in the deſart without eating. They took pity upon him, and after giving him a little refreſhment, they ask'd him who he was? and to whom he belong'd? He told them he was an Egyptian born, and a ſervant to a perſon who was at the ſacking and burning of Sicella, and the country thereabouts; who left him upon the way, in his paſſage home again, becauſe he was ſo faint, that he could not keep up with the troops. David made uſe of this Egyptian for his guide, upon the trace of the Amalekites, whom he overtook at laſt, and found them tumbling upon the ground; ſome feaſting, others carouſing; and ſome again with much pride and vanity, in the contemplation of their late booty. But, in ſhort, while they lay dozing, and drown'd in ſleep and drink, and their thoughts wholly ſet upon their eaſe and pleaſure, heedleſs, defenceleſs, and unarmed, David fell upon them in this diſorder and confuſion, mingling their blood with their wine, and with great eaſe doing dreadful execution upon them; ſo that upon the main, what with thoſe who had no arms at all, and thoſe who had arms, but were too drunk to uſe them, there eſcaped of the whole number not above four hundred perſons, who were carried off by the ſwiftneſs of their camels. The purſuit laſted from noon till night; and in the cloſe of the action they recover'd their wives, children, and booty.

The Hebrews recover their wives, children, and booty, V. 18.

David had but four hundred men with him in this adventure; the other two hundred (part of the ſix) were left behind for a guard to the baggage. Upon his return from the chace, and the ſpoil, the four hundred that were upon the action would not allow the other two hundred that were upon eaſier ſervice, to have any part in the booty, more than that of their wives and children. David look'd upon it as an unreaſonable propoſition. “For, ſays he, “the victory was given by God, and being a “bleſſing upon the common cauſe, it is but “reaſon that the whole body ſhould partake “of the benefit, eſpecially where the one part “was upon duty, as well as the other; and “at the ſame time preſerv'd the baggage.” This deciſion paſs'd into a law, which is ſtill in force to this very day; that is to ſay, the ſpoil to be equally divided betwixt them that guard the baggage, and thoſe that fight the battle. David, after his return to Sicella, ſent up and down to his friends and acquaintance in the tribe of Judah, preſents out of the ſpoil. We ſhall paſs now from the deſtruction of Sicella, and the total overthrow of the Amalekites, to a bloody victory obtained by the Philiſtines over the Hebrews.

A bloody battle, 1 Sam. xxxi. 1.

Saul's ſons, Jonathan, Aminadab, and Melchi, are all ſlain, Ver. 2.

* Scrip. Abinadab and Malchiſhua.

Saul caſts himſelf upon the point of his ſword, Ver. 4.

An Amalekite diſpatches him, and takes away his crown and bracelets, 2 Sam. i. 10.

The armies join'd, and the encounter was very ſharp. Saul, and his ſons, did all that was poſſible for brave men to do; but finding themſelves oppreſs'd with numbers, (for the whole ſtreſs fell upon them,) they had no more to do, they ſaw, than to die honourably, and to ſell their lives at ſuch a rate, that the enemy ſhould have little reaſon to boaſt of the purchaſe. They were ſurrounded, in fine, with freſh numbers; and ſtill as they cut off one party, they were aſſailed by another; ſo that in the end they themſelves were forced to ſubmit to the neceſſity of an inſuperable fate. Upon the fall of Saul's ſons, to wit, Jonathan, Aminadab *, and Melchi, that were ſlain in the heat of the battle, the whole army fell into a confuſion, and fled in a direct rout, the Philiſtines preſſing upon the rear with a prodigious ſlaughter. Saul ſhifted for himſelf a-while, with a ſmall body of his own, till in the end they were broken all to pieces by the Philiſtines darts and arrows, and he found himſelf ſo weakened with wounds and loſs of blood, that after all his heroical exploits, he was not able either to ſtand upon his legs, or to do execution upon himſelf. In this extremity, he called to his armour-bearer to do him the good office, that he might not fall alive into the hands of his enemies. But the ſervant excuſed himſelf out of the veneration he had for majeſty, and upon that refuſal Saul caſt himſelf upon the point of his own ſword; but not being able to finiſh what he had begun, he took notice of a young man an Amalekite there at hand, and deſired him to take the ſword, and ſome way or other give him a diſpatch. He did it at firſt asking, and in the ſame inſtant made prize of Saul's golden bracelets, and of his royal crown, and moved off with them immediately as faſt as he could. When the armour-bearer ſaw that Saul was dead, he laid violent hands upon himſelf too; and there was not one man of the king's guard who out-liv'd his maſter. This battle was fought near the mountain of Gilboah.

No ſooner had the Hebrews of the valley beyond Jordan, and the cities on the plains, gotten intelligence of the death of Saul and his ſons, and of the entire deſtruction and diſſolution of his army, but they withdrew themſelves out of their open towns into faſtneſſes

The Philiſtines cut off the heads of Saul and his ſons, and expoſe their bodies upon gibbets, 1 Sam. xxxi. 9.

The men of Jabeſh very bravely take down their quarters, and give them a publick and an honourable interment, Ver. 11, &c.

neſſes and ſtrong holds; while the Philiſtines took poſſeſſion, and without any difficulty made themſelves maſters of the places the other had quitted. On the next day after the battle, the Philiſtines coming into the field to view the dead, found the bodies of Saul, and his ſons, among the reſt. They ſtripp'd them, cut off their heads, and ſent expreſſes every way up and down with the news of this defeat. Their arms they depoſited in the temple of Aſtarte *, and their bodies they expoſed upon gibbets, under the walls of the city of Bethſhan, known at this day by the name of Scythopolis. This barbarous outrage upon the bodies of Saul and his ſons, coming to the ears of the men of Jabeſh-Gilead, they took up ſuch an indignation at the inhumanity of refuſing them the laſt rites of burial, that ſome of the moſt daring and enterprizing among them, (that place producing men of the greateſt courage and reſolution,) made up a party, and travelling all night, took down the bodies of Saul and his ſons from the walls of Bethſhan, and carried them away to Jabeſh; not a creature daring to open his mouth againſt them. Their deaths were lamented by the whole people of the place, who gave their bodies a publick and an honourable interment in the chief part of their province. They ſpent ſeven days in ſo ſtrict a ſolemnity of faſting and mourning, that men, women, and children, were all bound indiſpenſibly to obſerve it.

THIS was the end of Saul, according to the prediction of Samuel, for his not proſecuting the war againſt the Amalekites, according to his order, and for the maſſacre of Ahimelech, and his family, with the devaſtation even of the ſacerdotal city itſelf. He ruled in the days of Samuel † eighteen years, and twenty two more after his deceaſe, coming to this unhappy end in the ſame manner as it is here ſet forth.

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* Scrip. Aſhtaroth.

† Gataker rejects this opinion in his Diſſert. de Stylo N. T. c. xvi.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK VII.

From the Year of the World 2890 *to* 2931.

CHAP. I.

David's lamentation for the death of Saul and Jonathan. The tribe of Judah ſets up David for their king. Abner ſets up Iſhboſheth. Abner marches againſt David, and is defeated by Joab. Hazael purſued Abner, and Abner kills him. Abner taking a diſguſt at Iſhboſheth, goes over to David; and is afterwards baſely murder'd by Joab. David paſſionately laments him.

2 Sam. i. 1.

THE battle laſt abovemention'd, was fought upon the very day of David's coming back to Sicella, from the overthrow of the Amalekites: and on the third day after that, came the perſon who had killed Saul, and made his eſcape out of the battle. He advanced toward David with aſhes upon his head, and his clothes all rent, and ſo threw himſelf down proſtrate at his feet. David asked him who he was, and from whence he came in ſuch a dreſs? he told him he was an Amalekite, and came from the unfortunate battle of the Hebrews, where the king himſelf, and his ſons, were miſſing after the battle, beſide many thouſands of the army. "I ſhall ſpeak no more, "ſays he, than what I ſaw with my own eyes. "It was my fortune to be near the king, when "he was in his extremity. He caſt himſelf "upon the point of his own ſword; but ſo "faint with his wounds, that he could not "execute what he had begun: ſo that upon "his earneſt deſire, I was forc'd to do the of"fice for him, to keep him from falling alive "into the hands of his enemies." He ſhew'd David at the ſame time the bracelet, and the crown that he took from the dead body, to confirm the truth of his ſtory, which he reſerved for a preſent to David. There was no place left for doubting after this evidence; ſo that David rent his clothes upon it, and ſpent the whole day with his friends, in tears and lamentations. But the moſt ſenſible part of his affliction was the loſs of Jonathan, his ever dear, and faithful friend, and more than once the very preſerver of his life. Now ſo tranſcendant was the virtue of David, and the generoſity of his good-nature toward Saul, that notwithſtanding ſo many repeated practices upon his life, he did not only deplore his misfortune, but order'd the criminal to be deliver'd up to juſtice; not only upon his own confeſſion, but upon the more certain evidence of his guilt, in the crown and the bracelet, that he took from Saul after he was dead, to carry them to David: and proving himſelf over and above, to be the true brood of an Amalekite, by owning the very principle of a regicide. To ſay nothing of ſeveral elegies and epitaphs of David's compoſition to the honour of Saul and Jonathan, which are ſtill extant this very day.

The Amalekite that diſpatch'd Saul, caſts himſelf at David's feet, Ver. 2.

David's moſt ſenſible affliction is the death of Jonathan, V. 17, &c.

He orders the regicide Amalekite to be put to death, Ver. 15, 16.

He writes elegies and epitaphs to the honour of Saul and Jonathan

WHEN

Hebron, by God's appointment, falls to David's lot for his habitation. 1 Sam. ii. 1, 2.
The people with one voice, proclaim David, king, V. 4.

When David had paid his laſt duties to the honour and memory of Saul and his ſons, and that the term of the mourning was expir'd, he conſulted God by the prophet, which of the cities of Judah ſhould be allotted him for his habitation; and it was anſwer'd Hebron: wherefore he left Sicella immediately, and repaired thither, with his two wives, and the guards of his perſon that he had about him; whither the whole body of the tribe came ſoon after, and in a full convention with one voice proclaimed him king. David had heard by this time of the generous and reſpectful behaviour of the men of Jabeſh toward Saul and his ſons, and how bravely they reſcued their bodies from the gibbet, in the face of the enemy, and gave them a pompous, and an honourable burial: ſo that he ſent them particular acknowledgments, in his own name, for what they had done in favour of thoſe princes, as an obligation that ſhould for ever be remember'd to their advantage: the ſame meſſenger giving them alſo to underſtand, that the tribe of Judah had created and declared David their king.

After the death of Saul, Abner finds out Iſhboſheth, the only male of the family, 2 Sam. ii. 9.
And gets him declar'd king of all Iſrael, Judah excepted, V. 10.
Abner makes war upon the tribe of Judah for declaring David their king, V. 12, 13.
Joab commands David's army, taking Abiſhai and Hazael his two brothers along with him, V. 18.
The two armies draw up and face one another, Ver 13.
Abner propounds a combat, of 12 to 12, and they all die upon the place, V. 15, 16.
The armies join; Abner routed, V. 17.
Joab and his two brothers upon the purſuit, V. 19.
Abner ſtrikes Hazael dead upon the chace, V. 23.
Abner calls out to Joab and reaſons the caſe with him, V. 26.
Joab gives over the purſuit, but Abner marches away to Iſhboſheth, V. 28, 29.
Abner loſes three hundred and ſixty men, and David nineteen, V. 30, 31. 32.

In this juncture, Abner the ſon of Ner, and Saul's general, a man of great courage and reſolution, and naturally cut out and qualify'd for glorious undertakings. This great man, I ſay, had no ſooner heard of the death of Saul, Jonathan, and two other of his ſons in the late battle, but away he poſted to the camp to look after Iſhboſheth; at that time, the only ſurvivor of Saul's male iſſue. So he found him at laſt, and to ſecure him from danger, croſs'd the river Jordan with him, and got him to be accepted and declared king of all Iſrael, the tribe of Judah excepted; appointing Meanahaim * for his reſidence, which ſignifies as much as the camp. Abner was ſo incenſed againſt the tribe of Judah for the choice of their king, that he reſolved to make war upon them for it, and ſo detach'd a body of the ſtouteſt men he could pick out, for the encounter. Joab, the ſon of Suai, and Zeruiah, David's ſiſter, had the command of David's army; taking his two brothers, Abiſhai and Hazael, along with him. When they were advanced to a certain fountain of Gibeon, the two armies, being now in ſight of one another, drew up, but as they ſtood in order there, and ready to engage, Abner propounded a trial beforehand between an equal number of each ſide, to ſee which were the braver men of the two. So by conſent they ſent out twelve and twelve to diſpute the point, betwixt, and in ſight of the two armies. They began the combat with their darts, and then fell in with their ſwords; every man taking his adverſary by the hair, and digging and ſtabbing one another till they all fall dead upon the place. Upon this, the armies join'd, and for a good while fought furiouſly on both ſides: but in the end, Abner was totally routed, and put to flight; Joab, and his two brothers cloſely purſuing them, encourag'd their men, both to the chace, and the execution. But no man ſtuck ſo cloſe to him as Hazael, who was ſo ſwift of foot, that he had the better of moſt horſes; and having ſingled him out, preſs'd cloſe after him, without turning either to the right hand or to the left. When Abner found he preſs'd ſo hard upon him, he offer'd him a ſuit of arms to let him go; and ſeeing he could not thereby prevail upon him to deſiſt from the purſuit, he fairly adviſ'd him not to put him to the neceſſity of doing him a miſchief, for the ſaving of his own life; after which he could never think of looking his brother in the face again. Abner perceiving by this time, that Hazael was not to be wrought upon, he turned his launce in his flight, and ſtruck his purſuer dead upon the place. This accident put ſome kind of ſtop to the purſuit; for the people gave over the chace to ſtand gazing at the ſpectacle. But Joab and his brother Abiſhai were now paſt the dead body, and ſo exaſperated againſt Abner for the death of their brother, that with an incredible ſpeed and vigour, they preſſed the purſuit till towards ſun-ſet, to Mathon; that is to ſay, the Aqueduct. In this place, Abner, with the tribe of Benjamin, took the advantage of a riſing ground to obſerve the enemy, and from thence to reaſon the caſe with Joab after this manner. "That this outragious animoſity was already gone too far among people of the ſame blood and profeſſion. As for your brother Hazael, ſays he, "I begg'd of him to be quiet, and let me alone without purſuing any farther; but he "brought it to this in the concluſion, that I "muſt either take away his life, or loſe my "own; ſo that he may even thank himſelf for "this miſcarriage." Joab could not oppoſe the reaſonableneſs of Abner's plea, and ſo cauſed a retreat to be ſounded; encamping upon the ſame place that night: but Abner continued his march over the river Jordan, and ſo to the palace of Iſhboſheth, the ſon of Saul. Joab, the day following, took a view of the dead; (which he cauſed to be buried) computing that Abner loſt three hundred and ſixty men, and David nineteen; without reckoning Hazael, whoſe body was carried by Joab and Abiſhai, to Bethlehem, and there laid in the ſepulchre of their fathers; from whence they returned to king David at Hebron.

This diſpute betwixt the houſes of Saul and David, prov'd the occaſion of a tedious civil war, 2 Sam. iii. 1.
David had ſix ſons in Hebron by ſix wives, V. 2, 3, 4.

This controverſy betwixt the houſe of David, and the houſe of Saul, was the riſe of a long civil war among the Hebrews; but ſtill as David and his party got the better of it in all encounters, ſo the ſons of Saul, on the other ſide, were ſtill worſted in whatever they undertook. David, in the mean time, had ſix ſons † by as many wives. There was Ammon, the ſon of Ahinoam; Daniel, the ſon of Abigail; Abſalom, the ſon of Maacah, the daughter of Tolmai, king of Geſhur; Adonijah, the ſon of Haggith; Sphacia, the ſon of Abithal, and Jethrakam the ſon of Egla.

Iſhboſheth reproves Abner for his familarity with Rizpah, one his father's concubines, V. 7.

In the proſecution of this civil war, it was the prudence, the intereſt, and the popularity of Abner, more than any thing elſe, that ſupported the pretenſions of Saul's family, and kept the people in their obedience to Iſhboſheth. But this prince being informed that Abner liv'd in a ſcandalous familiarity with Rizpah, the daughter of Sibeth, one of his late father's concubines, he laid it directly to his charge, and reprimanded him ſo ſeverely about it, that it put him into a ſevere fit of melancholy and indignation, to find all his faithful ſervices to Saul, and his family, ſo ill requited. Upon this provocation, Abner

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* Μαναλις, Joſ.

† See 2 Sam. iii. 3, 4. and compare the original and the old Latin tranſlation.

This reproach provokes Abner to meditate a revenge, 2 Sam. iii. 8.

meditated a revenge, no leſs than the taking of the crown off from Iſhboſheth's head, and ſetting it upon David's; and giving the world to underſtand, that Iſhboſheth was not advanced to the government for any virtue, or ability of his own, but wholly by the advice, arms, intereſt, recommendation, and the try'd fidelity of himſelf alone.

Abner compounds with David for the bringing of the tribes over to him, Ver. 12.

David embraces the motion: inſiſting only to have his wife Melchole reſtor'd, V. 13.

Abner procures the reſtoring of Melchole, with Iſhboſheth's good liking, V. 14, 15.

Abner calls together the principals of the people, Ver. 17–20.

While this humour was at work, he ſent a commiſſioner to Hebron, with full power to ſtrike up a league with David in his name, upon this ſingle condition, that from and after the time of Abner's drawing off all the tribes from Iſhboſheth to David, and advancing him to the throne by the univerſal conſent of the people, Abner ſhould be received from that day forward as David's firſt miniſter and favourite. Nothing could have been more welcome to David than this propoſal of Abner's, and it was entertained accordingly. The firſt thing he deſired, as the earneſt of a future alliance, was the reſtoring Melchole *, whom he had purchaſed with very great labour and hazard, beſide the heads of ſix hundred Philiſtines, paid down upon a bargain for her with Saul. So Abner took Melchole out of the arms of Phalti, upon whom ſhe was beſtow'd, with the privity and aſſiſtance of Iſhboſheth, who had been already poſſeſs'd with the merits of the cauſe, and the reaſonableneſs of the demand; David having written to him upon that ſubject. While things were at this paſs, Abner call'd the elders and the commanders; or in ſhort, the principals of the people, both military and civil, together: to whom he deliver'd himſelf upon the preſent occaſion to this purpoſe.

The people declare themſelves for the intereſt of David, ibid.

Abner brings over the guards alſo into David's party, ibid.

“ There was a time, ſays he, when you
“ would have gone over from Iſhboſheth to
“ David, and I was againſt it; but you are
“ now at liberty to do what you pleaſe: for
“ the prophet Samuel hath moſt infallibly aſ-
“ ſur'd us from the voice of God himſelf, that
“ David is the man whom divine providence
“ hath deſigned for the king and governour of
“ the whole nation of the Hebrews: and that
“ it is he, and only he, that is to avenge us
“ upon the Philiſtines, and to bring them un-
“ der our yoke.” Theſe words were ſo clear a diſcovery how Abner ſtood inclin'd, that the heads of the people, and of the army, fell in unanimouſly with his opinion; and from that time forward, declar'd and acted openly in favour of David. When they had proceeded thus far, Abner, in the firſt place, call'd for the Benjamites, of whom alone conſiſted the life-guard of Iſhboſheth, ſpeaking to them in the ſame manner with the former, and with the ſame effect too; for they all declar'd themſelves as one man for David.

Abner goes to David, and takes twenty men along with him, ib.

When Abner had made this advance toward the performance of his conditions, he took about twenty men of his own choice away with him to David; in order, partly, to the ratifying of the treaty; and in part, for common ſatisfaction, becauſe men are better pleas'd to do their own buſineſs themſelves, than by proxies. And he had in it alſo this farther end, that the proceedings on both ſides might be the more impartially tranſmitted from the one to the other, and an exact report made of what had paſs'd betwen himſelf and the heads of the tribes, and how he had now brought over the Benjamites to David's party. Abner and his company were treated by David with all imaginable freedom and magnificence, for the time they ſtaid; but after ſome few days, he deſir'd for the preſent to be diſmiſs'd, that he might conduct the army and the people to him; and, upon delivering up the government into his hands, by the conſent of the whole nation, make good what he had undertaken.

Abner and his people are fairly entertain'd, and diſmiſs'd, ib.

Abner's privacy with David gives Joab a mortal jealouſy of him, Ver. 22, 23.

Abner was preſently diſpatch'd according to his deſire, and hardly got out of the gates of Hebron, at one end of the town; but Joab, David's general, who had been ſomewhere abroad (it ſeems) came in at the other: where being given to underſtand that Abner had been in private with David, upon certain propoſals to ſettle him in the government, the conditions offered and accepted, and a league ſolemnly ratify'd betwixt them, and himſelf juſt then ſent back upon that errand, an outragious jealouſy enter'd into Joab's head, that this intrigue of Abner's would be his ruin, and ſupplant him not only in his maſter's favour, but in the moſt honourable of his commiſſions: eſpecially conſidering that Abner was a man of policy and addreſs, and one who knew well enough how to improve a critical juncture to his own advantage.

Joab calumniates Abner to David, Ver. 24, 25.

When back-biting would not do, Joab has recourſe to violence.

Joab counterfeits a meſſage from David to Abner, Ver. 26, 27.

The venom of this envy began now to work in the heart of Joab, and his firſt recourſe was to back-biting and detraction. Hereupon he endeavour'd to perſwade the king by artful inſinuations, that he ſhould do well to have a care how he truſted Abner; for his buſineſs was, above all things in the world, to eſtabliſh the family of Saul in the government. His pretences were only ſnares; and upon the gaining of his point, and pumping out what he had a mind to know, he was now gone home again to reap the fruits of his falſe-dealing. When Joab found that there was no good to be done upon David, by calumny and ſlander, to the prejudice of Abner, he bethought himſelf of a ſurer and ſhorter way of doing his buſineſs, by taking away his life; and ſo diſpatch'd meſſengers after him in David's name, to call him back again with all imaginable expedition, under a pretext of ſomewhat forgotten in his inſtructions that was very conſiderable. They overtook him upon the way at a place call'd Beſira †, about twenty ‡ furlongs from Hebron; and upon delivering their meſſage, Abner very innocently went back with them to the city, little dreaming of what afterwards befel him. Upon his coming up to the walls of the town, there ſtood Joab in the gate, with a wonderful appearance of kindneſs and humanity, ready to receive him, (as the deepeſt hypocrites, when they deſign the greateſt villainy, put on the moſt ſanctified countenance, and ſhew the faireſt outſide;) ſo taking him aſide, as upon ſome private buſineſs, he took the opportunity of a ſecret corner out of ſight, only his brother Abiſhai in company with him; and ſurprizing him at unawares, plung'd his ſword into his guts. Thus

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* Scrip. Michal, Saul's daughter. Joſephus has ſeveral times before called her Melcha.

† Scrip. Sirah.

‡ Viz. About two miles and three quarters of Engliſh meaſure.

Joab perfidiouſly murders Abner. 2 Sam. iii. Ver. 26, 27.

was this brave man taken off by the perfidious malice and treachery of Joab, in revenge (as he pretended) for the death of his brother Hazael, who was ſlain in the battle of Hebron, upon the violent purſuit of Abner; but in truth, to gratify his jealouſy and revenge, for fear of being ſupplanted in his court preferments. This inſtance is ſufficient to convince us, that men abandon'd to the luſts of avarice and ambition, will ſtick at nothing; for they are never at eaſe ſo long as they ſee any thing above them. So long as they are in the purſuit of what they eagerly deſire, they preſs their ends, without ever examining or conſidering the means. There is no ſuch thing as ſcruple of honour or conſcience in the caſe; but right or wrong, how to accompliſh their ends; and they are ſtill bolder yet in the defence and maintenance of a thing ill gotten, than they were in the acquiring of it; for they can better bear a miſcarriage in miſſing what they would have been at, than the ſhame of having any thing forc'd away from them that they have acquired. They will, in ſhort, ſtruggle harder to keep what they have, eſpecially when they have taſted the ſweet of it, than to get what they had not. But here's enough in a word upon this point.

The death of Abner goes to the heart of David. Ver. 28, &c.

David does all poſſible honour to the memory of Abner. ibid.

The news of Abner's death pierced the very heart and ſoul of David, inſomuch that upon the very hearing of it, he ſtretched forth his right hand toward Heaven, in an appeal and proteſtation, upon the whole matter, that he was neither privy nor conſenting to the fact; curſing moſt bitterly the aſſaſſin, whoever he was, his family, and all his accomplices: and all this, not only in a deteſtation of ſo baſe and unmanly a practice, but likewiſe to purge himſelf, upon the ſtricteſt niceties of faith and honour, that he had been true to Abner. He appointed by proclamation a publick mourning for him, with all the ſolemnities of tearing garments, and putting on of ſackcloth, he himſelf with his great miniſters and officers aſſiſting at the funeral, and giving ſufficient demonſtrations, by wringing of hands, beating their breaſts, and other expreſſions of ſorrow, both of the veneration they had for Abner's memory, and the ſenſe they had of ſo ineſtimable a loſs, all people being now fully ſatiſfy'd in the concluſion, that David was far from approving or conſenting to ſo execrable an act. He cauſed the body to be interr'd at Hebron, with great ſtate and magnificence, compoſing an epitaph himſelf, to the honour of the deceas'd. He was the chief mourner, and a preſident to all the reſt, who acted in conformity to his example. The death of Abner, in a few words, afflicted him to ſuch degree, that his friends could not prevail upon him to touch either meat or drink that whole day. The ſeverity of this religious ſtrictneſs gained exceedingly upon the affections of the people, and particularly upon the friends of Abner; to whom nothing could be more acceptable than this laſt teſtimony of David's veneration and eſteem for his perſon and memory, now he was gone; for he did not treat him, they ſaw, with a ſlight and ignominious way of burial, as an enemy, but with all the tenderneſſes of generoſity, juſtice, and friendſhip. Beſide that it highly elevated the character of David's piety and good-nature, in giving men to underſtand what they might expect from him themſelves, if ever Abner's caſe ſhould come to be theirs. So that David, in this way of proceeding, conſulted his intereſt as well as his reputation and virtue; for after this proof, he was never ſuſpected for want of good-will to Abner.

David's high eſteem for Abner, ibid.

David's prophetical preſage of a judgement to attend Joab and Abiſhai. ibid.

When the company were upon the point of breaking up, David entertain'd them with a ſhort diſcourſe to the advantage of Abner, and firſt upon the account of his own particular unhappineſs, in being depriv'd of a friend he had ſo great a value for: and then with a reſpect to the publick, how much the whole nation ſuffer'd in the loſs of ſo brave and ſo wiſe a man; and, in ſhort, a perſon ſo neceſſary both for war and counſel. But God, (ſays he) who governs all things, will not let this murder paſs unrevenged: he is my witneſs, that I am not in condition to call Joab and Abiſhai to an account; for they have a greater intereſt in the army perhaps than I myſelf: but this I dare pronounce, that ſooner or later, divine juſtice will find them out. Thus it was that Abner ended his days.

CHAP. II.

Baanah and Rechab preſent David with the head of Iſhboſheth; who orders them to be put to death by exquiſite torments. All the tribes own David for their king. He raiſes an army, and takes Jeruſalem. Joab the firſt that ſcales the wall.

Iſhboſheth hath a very great loſs of Abner, 2 Sam. iv. 1.

Iſhboſheth baſely murder'd by Baanah and Rechab, V. 6.

The manner and contrivance of the execution, Ver. 6, 7.

They carry Iſhboſheth's head to David for a preſent, V. 8.

THE death of Abner was a moſt terrible mortification to Iſhboſheth the ſon of Saul; for in him he loſt a dear friend and a near kinſman, who was the chief inſtrument in advancing him to his father's throne: neither did he himſelf long ſurvive him neither; for he was treacherouſly murder'd ſoon afterward by Baanah and Rechab, the ſons of Rimmon. Theſe two brothers were Benjamites, and of the firſt rank among them. They were thinking with themſelves, that if Iſhboſheth were but taken out of the way, David would be clear of all competitors. Upon which conſideration, they concerted the matter betwixt them, how they might do him that piece of ſervice; making no manner of doubt, but honours and commands in abundance would be conferr'd upon them as rewards for the performance of ſo good an office. So that at a time when he was alone in his bed-chamber, and taking his afternoon's repoſe, no guards at hand, and the very ſervant that commonly kept the door, wearied and faſt aſleep, they took their opportunity to ſteal into the chamber, kill'd him in his ſleep where they found him, cut off his head, and poſted away with it all night toward Hebron, the ſooner to get clear of the people they had injur'd, and to bring the preſent ſo much the freſher to him whom they pretended to oblige. When they came to their journey's end, they preſented it to David, not a little valuing themſelves upon the merit of having deſtroy'd his competitor for the empire: but their entertainment was not anſwerable to their expectation, as will appear by what David ſaid to them upon this occaſion.

David's generous indignation at ſo baſe and barbarous an action, V. 9, &c.

“Wicked wretches that you are! ſays he, “prepare yourſelves immediately to receive the “juſt reward of your horrid villainy. Do not

“ you know that I requited the murderer of Saul
“ according to his demerit; who, when he
“ had taken away that ſacred life, had the
“ confidence to bring me his golden crown
“ for an oſtentation of the ſervice he had done
“ me in it? Nay, and it was at the inſtance
“ too of Saul himſelf, that he did it, to pre-
“ vent the indignity of being taken alive by
“ his enemies. Am not I the ſame man, do
“ you think, at this day, that I was then?
“ or am I turn'd ſo abandon'd a wretch ſince,
“ as to countenance the moſt profligate of men
“ and of actions, and to reckon myſelf under
“ an obligation to you for dipping your hands
“ (upon my account, as you would have it
“ thought,) in the blood of your Lord? The
“ cutting of his throat in his bed too; and
“ the throat, over and above, of a perſon ſo
“ juſt, that he never did any wrong; and ſo
“ generous a patron and benefactor to your
“ ungrateful ſelves, that all the advantages
“ you can pretend to in this world, are but
“ what you ſtand indebted for to his bounty
“ and goodneſs; wherefore you ſhall now pay
“ for your breach of faith to your maſter, and
“ for the ſcandal you have caſt upon me, both
“ at once; for what greater wound could any
“ man give me in my reputation, than to ex-
“ poſe me for a perſon that could take plea-
“ ſure in the tidings, or give countenance to
“ the committing of ſo barbarous and inhu-
“ man a murder?” Upon theſe laſt words, he gave order to have the two regicides put to exquiſite torments, and the head of Iſhboſheth to be laid in the monument of Abner, with all the formalities of funeral rites and honour.

The two regicides tormented to death, and all honour done to Iſhboſheth's body, 2 Sam. iv. 9.

All the elders and great officers make their court to David, 2 Sam. v. 1, 2, 3.

So ſoon as this execution and ceremony was over, all the elders and great officers of war and peace came thronging to David with a compliment of recognition, and with a tender of their lives and fortunes at his ſervice; not forgetting to mind him of the zeal and devotion they ever had for him, even in the life of Saul, and when they had the honour to ſerve under his command; enlarging upon it, how the prophet Samuel, according to God's order and appointment, had declared him king, and the government to deſcend to his ſons after him; foretelling that the great work of ſubduing the Philiſtines, was reſerved for him alone, and conſequently the ſettling of Iſrael in the poſſeſſion of a laſting peace and ſafety. David highly commended them for their good will and diſpoſition; encouraging them to go on as they had begun, with an aſſurance, that he, for his part, would never give them cauſe to repent it. David accompanied this declaration with a ſplendid treat; and when he had entertained them with all greatneſs, humanity, and freedom, he ſent them away with a ſummons to the whole body of the people to meet at his palace.

He gives them a magnificent treat, and ſummons the whole body to attend him at his palace, ibid.

A muſter of all the armed troops of the ſeveral tribes that met upon this call, 1 Chron. xii. 23, &c.

There gather'd together upon this call, of the tribe of Judah, ſix thouſand and eight hundred men armed with ſhield and launces. Theſe had been hitherto of the party of Saul, over and above thoſe of the ſame tribe who had made David king by themſelves. Of the tribe of Simeon, ſeven thouſand, an hundred, and upwards. Of the tribe of Levi, four thouſand and ſeven hundred, with their leader Jehoida; and with theſe was the high-prieſt Zadock, with two and twenty eminent men of his relations. Of the tribe of Benjamin, four thouſand * armed men; for this tribe was altogether of opinion, that ſome of Saul's family would ſucceed to the government. Of the tribe of Ephraim, twenty thouſand and eight hundred; ſtrong hale men, and of great courage. Of the half tribe of Manaſſes, eighteen thouſand. Of the tribe of Iſſachar, two hundred cunning men, who could foretel things to come, beſide twenty † thouſand in arms. Of the tribe of Zebulun, fifty thouſand choice men, and well armed; this tribe coming over to David entire. All theſe us'd the ſame armour as the tribe of Gad. Of the tribe of Naphthali, a thouſand eminent commanders, armed with ſhield and ſpear, with almoſt an ‡ innumerable multitude of their followers. Of the tribe of Dan, twenty ſeven thouſand †‡† choice men. Of the tribe of Aſher, forty thouſand; and of the two tribes beyond Jordan, and the other half of the tribe of Manaſſes, that were armed with ſhield, ſpear, ſword, and helmet, an hundred and twenty thouſand. The remainder of the tribes wore ſwords alſo.

David unanimouſly declared king, ibid. and 2 Sam. v. 3.

This is the muſter-roll of thoſe who came up to David to Hebron. They brought corn, wine, and other neceſſary proviſions with them in abundance, and with one voice proclaimed David to be their king. When they had ſpent three days there, in feaſting and jollity, David marched out at the head of this army to Jeruſalem. The Jebuſites, a people of the race of the Chanaanites, were at that time in poſſeſſion of the city; and upon David's advance toward them, they ſhut their gates upon him, and in a pleaſant way of defying David and his troops, brought out their lame, and their blind to the walls for the guard of the town. They ſhould need no other guard, they ſaid, for the encounter of ſuch an enemy; ſo great was their confidence in the ſtrength of the place. David was ſo incenſed at this contemptuous mockery, that he reſolved immediately to attack the city; reaſonably computing, that if he made an example of the people of this place, it would ſtrike a terror into all others for the future. So David fell on with the flower of his army; and, upon a general aſſault, enter'd the lower town; but the caſtle ſtill held out. David finding it to be a ſtrong place, the attempt likely to be hazardous, and his honour at ſtake upon the carrying of it, he bethought himſelf how he might inflame the courage of his men by ſome extraordinary propoſal of honour and reward; and by that incentive to kindle an emulation among his people who ſhould do beſt: David paſs'd his royal word,

David advances to Jeruſalem, Ver. 6.

The lower town firſt taken, and and then the caſtle, Ver. 7.

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* The Scrip. 1 Chron. xii. 29. ſays but three thouſand.

† 1 Chron. xii. 32. From whence this is taken, does not make expreſs mention of twenty thouſand, but ſays, “ The “ heads of them were two hundred, and all their brethren were at their commandment”; which allowing each of them to be a centurion or captain of an hundred, (as 'tis plain Joſephus here ſuppoſes) makes exactly up the complement; two huudred times one hundred, being juſt twenty thouſand.

‡ We have it 1 Chron. xii. 34. “ And of Napthali a thouſand captains, and with them with ſhield and ſpear, thir-“ ty and ſeven thouſand.” But by what Joſephus here ſays, one would have thought them a much greater number.

†‡† 1 Chron. xii. 35. 'tis ſaid, “ And all the Danites expert in war, twenty and eight thouſand and ſix hundred.

Joab firſt enters the breach. 1 Chron. xi. 6.

that he who firſt mounted the wall, and made good his ſtation, ſhould have the command of the army. Hereupon the Hebrews joined in a fierce attack, and a generous contention who ſhould merit that honour. It fell to Joab's lot to win the prize; ſo that from the top of the battlement he called out to David to make good his promiſe.

CHAP. III.

Jeruſalem call'd the city of David, who takes the town, fortifies, adorns it, and keeps his court there. The king of Tyre ſeeks his friendſhip and alliance. David's wives and children.

Jeruſalem called the city of David, 2 Sam. v. 7.

WHEN they had clear'd the caſtle of the Jebuſites, and repair'd the town, the king gave to Jeruſalem the name of the city of David, and made it his place of reſidence during his reign. This was after he had ruled ſeven years and ſix months over the tribe of Judah in Hebron. Upon the eſtabliſhment of his court at Jeruſalem, ſucceſs attended his affairs every day more and more; for God in his providence deſigning it for a ſeat of glory, had a peculiar kindneſs for the place.

Hiram propounds an alliance with him, Ver. 11.

About this time, Hiram, the king of Tyre, ſent an embaſſy to David, upon a treaty of friendſhip and alliance, and preſents likewiſe along with it of cedar wood; builders and maſter-workmen toward the erecting of a palace for him at Jeruſalem. David fortified the upper town, and laid that and the citadel both in one, with a wall about them, and gave the command of it to Joab. David was the firſt who chang'd the name of it, and it was after the caſting out of the Jebuſites; for in the days of our father Abraham it was called Solyma; and ſome will have it that Homer pointed at this city, when he ſpeaks of the people of Solyma; for the word Hieron*, or Temple, ſignifies in the Hebrew, ſecurity or a fortreſs. Now the whole time of the war with the Philiſtines, from the Hebrews dividing their lands, under the command of Joſhua, to the day here ſpoken of, was reckon'd to be five hundred and fifteen years; but the Barbarians kept the poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem all along, till they were beaten out by David.

David fortifies the place, and gives the command of it to Joab, 1 Chron. xi. 8.

Jeruſalem of old called Solyma.

Orphan a Jebuſite, and a particular friend and favourite of David's.

Now there was among the Jebuſites a very rich man, one Orphan, who had done many good offices for the Hebrews, and deſerved ſingularly well from David himſelf, as will be ſeen hereafter in its proper place. This man, upon the ſacking of the town, was preſerved by the king in all the heat and fury of the ſoldiers, and his name muſt not be paſs'd over in ſilence.

David's children in Jeruſalem, 2 Sam. v. 14, 15, 16.

David took ſeveral wives (beſide concubines) more than he had before; by whom he had eleven children, as Amnon, Ellus, Ebas, Nathan, Solomon, Jebar, Eliel, Phalna, Ennaphen, Jenas, Eliphal; and a daughter named Thamar, who was the ſiſter of Abſalom. Nine of the ſons were lawfully begotten; but the two laſt by concubines.

CHAP. IV.

David's ſignal victories over the Philiſtines and their allies. The ark brought to Jeruſalem. Uzzah ſtruck dead for touching it. David ſings and dances before it; and his wife Melchole ridicules him for it.

The Philiſtines draw out againſt David, near Jeruſalem, Ver. 17.

WHEN the Philiſtines underſtood that David was made king of all Iſrael, they drew out their army, and encamp'd in a place call'd the valley of the giants, not far from Jeruſalem. Upon this occaſion, David, who would do nothing without counſel and direction from above, appointed the high-prieſt to inform himſelf in the way that God had preſcribed, what might be the event of this battle. He received a comfortable and an encouraging anſwer, and ſo drew out, and march'd immediately to fight the enemy. David ſo ordered the matter, that upon the very inſtant he fell by ſurprize upon the Philiſtines, front and rear, and put them to a total rout, killing multitudes upon the place, and giving chace to the reſt.

The Philiſtines, a confederacy of ſeveral nations.

This was a ſignal victory, eaſily obtain'd, and without much oppoſition; but it muſt not be therefore infer'd, that the army of the Philiſtines was inconſiderable, for either numbers or ſoldiers; for Syria and Phœnicia, and ſeveral other warlike nations, were all engaged in the confederacy: it had been otherwiſe impoſſible, after ſo many defeats, and the loſs of ſo many thouſands, they ſhould ever have brought an army into the field again. As for example, upon this very overthrow, they follow'd it with an invaſion of thrice the number they had before, and had the confidence to poſt themſelves in the very ſame place again.

David conſults the oracle again, and receives his orders, V. 23

David charges the enemy; puts them to the rout; purſues them, and pillages the camp, Ver. 24, 25.

David, upon this juncture, conſulted the oracle as formerly, and received order to lie ſtill with his army in a certain wood, call'd the grove of mourning, not far from the enemy; and from thence not to move, or to make any attempt upon any occaſion whatſoever, till he found the branches of the trees in an agitation, as of their own accord, and without one breath of air ſtirring to cauſe that motion. David kept punctually to his order; and ſo ſoon as ever the providential ſign was given him, he advanc'd that very moment, as to a certain and a predetermin'd victory. The Philiſtines ſhrunk upon the firſt puſh; but when they came to cloſe fight, they ran outright, with the Hebrews at the heels of them, and their ſwords in their reins; following the chace, and doing terrible execution till they came to Gazar, a town ſituate upon the borders of either party. Their next work was to pillage the camp, where they made themſelves maſters of a prodigious booty, with little trouble or hazard, ſeizing their idols among other things, and breaking them to pieces.

2 Sam. vi. 1.

The danger of this war being ſpeedily and happily over, the king was pleas'd, by the advice and aſſent of his great council of elders and officers, to draw together the whole force he was able to make, out of all the tribes under his juriſdiction; together with the

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* The abſurdity of this is fully laid open by Maſius upon Joſhua, cap. x. yet H. Voſſius defends Joſephus. See his epiſtle to Colvius, p. 395, 396.

David marches to Kiriath-Jearim to fetch the ark to Jeruſalem, Ver. 2.

prieſts and Levites; and ſo to march with this great body directly to Kiriath-Jearim, and bring the ark of God from thence to Jeruſalem, being the place deſigned for his holy worſhip, and for the celebration of all ſacrifices, ceremonies, and religious rites for the time to come. If this care had been taken in the reign of Saul, it would have been much better both for king and people.

The manner of tranſporting the ark, Ver. 3, 4, 5.

The tribes being met according to appointment, and all things in readineſs for the removal of the ark, David himſelf alſo aſſiſting at the ſolemnity, the prieſts took it out of the houſe of Aminadab, and laying it upon a new waggon with oxen to draw it, left the ark in charge with their children and relations, to take care of it. The king himſelf went foremoſt; and after him follow'd a multitude of people, glorifying God with ſacred hymns and pſalms, and other delightful airs, after the faſhion of the country; and dancing all along as they went, to the ſound of harps, cymbals, and other muſical inſtruments; conducting, after this manner, the ark toward Jeruſalem. As they were upon the way at a certain place call'd the Threſhing-floor of Chidon, or Nachon, the oxen ſtaggering with the ark, Uzzah put forth his hand to keep it from overturning, and was immediately ſtruck dead by a divine vengeance, for preſuming to touch it, he not being in holy orders. This exemplary death of Uzzah was a great affliction to David himſelf, and to all his people; and they called the place Perez-Uzzah, or the breach of Uzzah; which name it beareth unto this day. David was ſo ſtruck with the dread of this judgment, that for fear Uzzah's caſe might come to be his own, if he ſhould receive the ark into the city, (his fault being only the temerity of touching it,) he ſuſpended the carrying of it to Jeruſalem, and turned off with it upon the way, into the houſe of a certain good man and a Levite, whoſe name was Obed-Edom: there it lay depoſited for three whole months, in which time it was obſerv'd, that every thing proſper'd in the family, and that the maſter of it grew rich to admiration. It was in every body's mouth, in fine, how ſtrangely Obed-Edom was improv'd in his fortune ſince he had the ark under his roof; and that of a very poor man before, he was now all on a ſudden look'd upon as a man conſiderable for wealth; and in ſo good a condition, that he was the wonder as well as the envy of his neighbours. The rumour of this change coming to the king's ear, ſet David's heart at reſt, as to any danger from the ark; ſo that he reſumed his former purpoſe of tranſporting it to Jeruſalem; which was done after this manner.

Uzzah ſtruck dead for putting out his hand to ſave the ark from falling, Ver. 6, 7.

The ark lies depoſited for three months in the houſe of Obed-Edom, V. 11.

The removal of the ark to Jeruſalem, Ver. 12.

Melchole takes offence at the levity of David's dancing and ſinging before it, Ver. 16.

The prieſts had the charge of carrying it, and ſeven choirs of ſinging men, according to the king's appointment, marching before it, David himſelf bearing his part in the conſort, with dancing and ſinging to his harp; which his wife Melchole (the daughter of the late king Saul) utterly diſliked, as an action of too much levity, and below the dignity of David's character. The ark being brought to the city, it was diſpoſed of into the tabernacle, which David had made on purpoſe for it. Upon the occaſion of this feſtival-meeting, there were ſacrifices and peace-offerings in abundance, and ſufficient for the whole multitude; for there was not a man, woman, or child there, who had not a cake and a part of the fleſh of the ſacrifice given them; and when they had eaten plentifully, David returned to his palace.

His wife Melchole met him upon the way, with a thouſand good wiſhes and bleſſings, but ſtill reproving him for dancing and capering about, ſo unlike a king, and for uncovering himſelf in the eyes of his hand-maids and ſervants. David told her that he was not aſham'd of doing any thing that he knew was acceptable to that God who advanced him to the throne of Iſrael, in preference to her father, and all other pretenders; and that he would ſing and dance again and again, without regarding at all, how either ſhe or her hand-maids took it. This Melchole had no children by David; but by her other huſband, to whom Saul had given her in marriage, upon taking her away from David, ſhe had five ſons; of whom hereafter.

David propounds the building of a glorious temple, 2 Sam. vii. 2.

The prophet Nathan encourages the project, V. 3.

David was ſo ſenſible of God's goodneſs towards him upon the daily ſucceſſes of whatever he took in hand, that he began to make it matter of conſcience to live in a palace of cedar himſelf, that was as ſtately and as beautiful as art and ornament could make it; and at the ſame time to lodge the ark in a tabernacle; ſo that he reſolved to erect and dedicate a temple to God's honour and worſhip; and according to the prediction of Moſes, he communicated the deſign to the prophet Nathan; who upon counſel and advice, encourag'd him to proceed upon the work; for he might be ſure of God's ſpecial favour and providence along with him. Theſe words ſerved more and more to animate and confirm David in his purpoſe and deſign.

But Nathan tells him afterward that the work was reſerv'd for his ſon Solomon, Ver. 4--16.

David's prayer and thankſgiving upon God's gracious meſſage to him by Nathan, Ver. 18, &c.

In the night following, the word of the Lord came unto Nathan, ſaying, "Go and tell David that I accept of his good-will in being the firſt propoſer of erecting a temple unto my ſervice; yet in regard that the neceſſity of his wars hath made him a man of blood, I cannot permit the doing of this work in his days; but let him know, that after a long and a happy life of his own, he ſhall commit the care of the undertaking to his ſon and ſucceſſor Solomon; whom I ſhall be as tender of as a father can be of his own child, and continue the government in the line of his family; or in caſe of his committing iniquity, I will only puniſh the tranſgreſſion with bodily ſickneſs or famine; not with a total rejection, as I did Saul." The prophet, without any delay, acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion; and it was ſo welcome a meſſage to David, to ſee the ſucceſſion ſecur'd to his poſterity, and the honour of his family ſo graciouſly provided for, that he betook himſelf immediately to the ark of God, fell down upon his face, and worſhipped. "Lord, ſays he, thy holy name be prais'd for all thy benefits and mercies! thou that haſt taken thy ſervant from the ſheep-fold, and advanced him to this height of dignity and power! Lord, ſays he, I bleſs thee for all this; for thy continued providences to myſelf, and thy promiſes to my poſterity; and for thy multiplied deliverances and protections to thine own people." With this benediction, and a hymn, he finiſhed his prayer, and departed.

CHAP. V.

Several mighty victories obtain'd by David againſt the Philiſtines, the Moabites, and the king of the Sophenians.

David reſolves upon a war with the Philiſtines, and marches with an army into the enemy's country; invades the Moabites, overcomes them, and makes them tributaries; and totally deſtroys Adrazar the king of the Sophenians, 2 Sam. viii. 1--8.

DAVID, who could not endure to lie idle, meditated a war, not long after this, againſt the Philiſtines, being much animated to this enterprize by a prediction, that he ſhould overcome all his enemies, and leave his kingdom in peace to his ſucceſſor. In order to this war, he appointed a day and place for a rendezvous; ſummon'd his troops together; and when he was in condition to march, made an incurſion into the enemy's country; overcame them in a pitch'd battle, took poſſeſſion of a good part of their lands, and annexed them to the juriſdiction of the Hebrews. He made war then upon the Moabites, deſtroy'd two thirds of their army, took the reſt, and made them tributaries. After which he overthrew Adrazar *, the ſon of Arach, king of the Sophenians; whom he encounter'd not far from Euphrates, and kill'd him twenty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe; taking alſo a matter of a thouſand chariots, of which he reſerved only an hundred for his own uſe, and burnt the reſt.

CHAP. VI.

David overthrows Adad; ſubdues the Idumeans; provides for Mephiboſheth the ſon of Jonathan, and makes war upon the king of the Ammonites.

Adad joins his friend Adrazar againſt David; comes to a battle near Euphrates, and receives a total overthrow.

IN the mean time, Adad, king of Syria and Damaſcus, hearing that David had made war upon Adrazar, his ſingular good friend and ally, diſpatch'd away a conſiderable army to his ſuccour, in hopes to remove the ſeat of the war; and after ſeveral skirmiſhes, he came to a battle with David near Euphrates; where he loſt the greater part of his army, twenty thouſand being cut off; the reſt ſav'd themſelves by flight. Nicolaus makes mention of this ſame Adad, in the fourth book of his hiſtory, as follows. "A long time after, ſays he, one Adad, a valiant man, and a native of the place, had the command of Damaſcus and Syria, Phœnicia only excepted. There happen'd to be a war betwixt this ſame Adad and David, the king of the Jews, and ſeveral battles fought between them; but in the end, Adad was overcome at Euphrates, behaving himſelf with the reſolution of a brave prince, and a great captain." And the ſame author, treating further of his poſterity, ſays, "That the government was handed down from father to ſon, to the tenth generation; the ſucceſſor ſtill receiving the father's name with the empire, as the Ptolemies among the Egyptians. The third, in order from this Adad, and the greateſt man of the family, out of a generous zeal to repair the honour that his grandfather loſt by this defeat, pour'd in an army upon the Jews, and laid waſte Samaria."

Another Adad of the family breaks in upon Samaria, 1 Kings xx. 1.

And our hiſtorian was not miſtaken in this part of his relation; for this is the Adad who invaded Samaria in the reign of Ahab king of Iſrael; of whom we ſhall ſay ſomewhat further in due time and place.

David overruns Damaſcus and Syria, 2 Sam. viii. and 1 Chron. xviii.

WITH this victorious army David over-ran Damaſcus and the reſt of Syria; left garriſons behind him where he ſaw convenient; laid the country under contribution, and ſo return'd home again; carrying with him to Jeruſalem the golden quivers, and other rich equipage that was taken from Adad's guards; and dedicating the ſpoil and trophies to God, in acknowledgment of the victory he had obtain'd through his favour and protection. All theſe valuable ſpoils, and a great deal more, were afterwards taken away by Syſack the king of Egypt, upon the ſacking of Jeruſalem, in his war with Rehoboam, David's grandſon. But we ſhall have occaſion to be more particular upon this ſubject elſewhere.

He takes Bettea and Machon, with a mighty pillage.

WHILE David was in the courſe of his ſucceſſes, and God's ſpecial direction and aſſiſtance manifeſtly along with him, he made an attack upon Bettea and Machon †, two of the moſt conſiderable cities that Adrazar had in his dominions; both which he took by aſſault, with gold and ſilver in them to an ineſtimable value; beſide a great quantity of a ſort of braſs, eſteemed of a greater value than even gold itſelf. This was the metal that Solomon afterward made uſe of for his fair and beautiful baſons, and a huge veſſel call'd the ſea, upon the finiſhing and adorning the temple.

The king of Hamath propounds a league with David, and ſends his ſon Joram on the embaſſy, Ver. 9.

His propoſals and preſents are all accepted, Ver. 10, 11.

Abiſhai, Joab's brother, kills eighteen thouſand Idumeans, and lays them under contribution.

WHEN the king of Hamath ‖ came to underſtand that Adrazar had loſt his whole army, and was utterly undone, he thought it his wiſeſt courſe, (for fear the like fate might attend him) to court David by a voluntary propoſal, into a treaty of friendſhip and alliance. So he ſent his ſon Joram to him, with a compliment of congratulation for the victory he had gain'd over their common enemy; (for ſo was Adrazar reputed) and with inſtructions alſo to ſollicit a league of amity and fair underſtanding betwixt them; not forgetting ſeveral magnificent preſents in veſſels of gold, ſilver, and braſs, antique and curious, to the higheſt degree of excellency and perfection. David accepted both of the propoſals and the preſents, receiving and diſmiſſing the ambaſſador, to the honour and ſatisfaction of both parties; but ſtill dedicating to God, all the ſpoils of gold and ſilver, and things precious, that were taken from the enemy, as to the author of the victory. Neither was David ſucceſsful only in his own perſonal adventures and undertakings, but God proſper'd him in all his commiſſions alſo, though executed by deputies and lieutenants; as in the caſe of Abiſhai, Joab's brother, who was ſent out with an army againſt the Idumeans; and by God's aſſiſtance not only ſubdu'd them, but after eighteen thouſand of them were kill'd upon the ſpot, he kept them in awe with garriſons, as a check upon them; charged the land with a contribution, and taxed the people by the head.

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* 2 Sam. viii. 3. Hadadezer, and 1 Chron. xviii. 3. Hadarezer.

† 2 Sam. viii. 8. Betah and Berothai; and 1 Chron. xviii. 8. Tibbath and Chun.

‖ In 2 Sam. viii. 9. and in 1 Chron. xviii. 9. this king is called Toi.

David ſettles his officers, 1 kings xx.15.

David was naturally a lover of juſtice, and had no other regard in all his judgments, than to the equity and righteouſneſs of the cauſe before him. He made Joab, the ſon of Zeruiah, his general, and Jehoſaphat, the ſon of Ahilud, the keeper of his records. He choſe out of the houſe of Phinees, Abiathar, and Zadock, who were his friends, to be his prieſts; and Seraiah for ſecretary. Benaia the ſon of Jehoiada commanded the guards of his perſon, and the king's elder ſons were ſtill incorporated into that body.

David enquires after Jonathan's friends and relations, 2 Sam. ix. 1. 2.

Ziba directs David where he may find his ſon Mephiboſheth, Ver. 4.

Mephiboſheth is brought to David, V. 5, 6.

David takes care of him, V. 7.

And makes Ziba his ſteward, V. 10.

So ſoon as ever the king had put his family-affairs in ſome ſort of order, he caſt his thoughts upon his old and dear friend and aſſociate Jonathan, and upon the ſolemn league of mutual amity that had paſs'd betwixt them; for he had this virtue in perfection, with many others, that he never forgot an obligation to a friend, but look'd upon an arrear for paſs'd benefits as the moſt ſacred of all debts. Upon this conſideration, he made diligent inquiry, what ſons, friends, or relations, Jonathan had left behind him, that he might find matter for his gratitude to work upon. In purſuance of this inquiry, there was brought to him one Ziba, formerly a ſervant and a freeman of Saul's, as the moſt likely perſon to reſolve that queſtion. So the king ask'd him if he knew of any of Jonathan's family yet living, and where to find them; for he was anſwerable for an old debt there, which he would gladly repay. Ziba made anſwer, that he had a ſon yet alive, whoſe name was Mephiboſheth; who by a miſchance happen'd to be lame of one leg. For upon the news of that bloody battle, wherein his grandfather and his father were ſlain, the nurſe took him up in a fright to run away with him; and ſtumbling for haſte, let him fall out of her arms, and hurt him. Upon farther examination the king had notice that he was brought up with one Machir, in the city of Labatha *, and that there he was at preſent. Whereupon he was immediately ſent for, and preſented to David. When Mephiboſheth approach'd the royal preſence, he proſtrated himſelf at the king's feet, and did him reverence. The king bad him be of good cheer, and hope for better days; aſſuring him of all the comfort he could wiſh for from the favour of his prince. So he appointed him preſently to be put in poſſeſſion of his father's and grandfather's houſe and eſtate, and of all that belonged to them; took him home to him as his particular gueſt, and order'd that he ſhould eat every day at his own table. The young man was highly ſenſible of this exceſſive grace and bounty; and when he had made a dutiful acknowledgment of it, in ſuch manner as became him, David then called for Ziba; and telling him how he had beſtow'd upon Mephiboſheth, his father's and grandfather's eſtate, gave him in charge to look after it, and take care of the grounds, and from time to time to receive the profits, and bring them to Jeruſalem. Mephiboſheth, after this, lived in the king's houſe, ſat conſtantly at the ſame table with him, and David gave him Ziba, and fifteen ſons that he had, with twenty others belonging to him, for his ſervants. Ziba, having received his commiſſion, did his duty, and went his way; promiſing to govern himſelf in all things according to his order and inſtructions. But the ſon of Jonathan continu'd ſtill at Jeruſalem with David, and was treated in all reſpects as a child of the family; ſo great a tenderneſs had David for any thing that had a relation to Jonathan. Thus it was with Mephiboſheth, to whom was born a ſon whoſe name was Micha.

Mephiboſheth's ſon Micha, V. 12.

Nahaſh the king of the Ammonites, dies; 2 Sam. x. 1. and David ſends a condoling compliment to his ſon Hanun, V. 2.

About this time dy'd Nahaſh, the king of the Ammonites, a friend and ally of David's; and Hanun his ſon ſucceeded him. David upon this revolution, ſent embaſſadors to him, to condole his loſs, and comfort him in his affliction, and to aſſure him of the ſame friendſhip and reſpect to himſelf that had been formerly paid to his father. The heads of the Ammonites made a malicious conſtruction of this embaſſy, which the good faith and candour of David did not deſerve at their hands. They did all they could in fine, to irritate their king, with calumnies againſt David; and to put jealouſies in his head, that the ſervants of David were not in truth embaſſadors but ſpies; who under the pretext of a compliment of ſtate, were ſent to explore the ſtrength and condition of the country; and that therefore, without giving any heed to fair words, he ſhould do well to be cautious and circumſpect betimes, before things were gone beyond recovery. Hanun was over-rul'd by this counſel; how contrary ſoever to the true reaſon of the caſe; and ſo ſent the embaſſadors back again with all the indignities of ſcorn and vile uſage imaginable. They cut off one half of their beards, and one half of their veſts, and ſo diſmiſs'd them in that dreſs, with a contumely of action, inſtead of words at length, for an anſwer. David took it ſo heinouſly to be thus treated, and to ſee his embaſſadors ſo barbarouſly affronted, contrary to the laws of nations, honour, hoſpitality, and good manners, that immediately he declar'd his reſolution publickly to right himſelf upon the Ammonites by an open war, and to call their king to an account for what he had done. The principals and allies of the Ammonites were ſo conſcious to themſelves, that their perfidy, and breach of faith, together with the ſcandalous manner of it, was wholly unpardonable; that upon the firſt news of David's determination to vindicate himſelf by arms, they found themſelves neceſſitated, in their own defence, to encounter force with force, and ſo prepar'd for a war. They ſent their embaſſadors to Syrus, the king of Meſopotamia, with a thouſand ſilver talents to bring him into the alliance; which he accepted of, and engaged alſo the king of Zoba. These two kings had betwixt them about twenty thouſand foot. They likewiſe purchaſed the aſſiſtance of the king of Maacah, and of Iſhtob; who had two and twenty thouſand men in arms.

The embaſſadors are ſent back with ignominy and ſcorn, V. 4.

David declares war againſt the Ammonites, V. 7.

Who call in all the allies they can make to their aſſiſtance, V. 6.

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* Scrip. Lo-debar.

CHAP. VII.

Joab overthrows Hanun and his confederates. David gives a terrible defeat to the king of Syria. The ſtory of David and Bathſheba. Amnon raviſhes Thamar, and her brother Abſalom lays a plot to take away his life.

THIS preparation of the Ammonites, in conjunction with ſo many confederate princes, made no impreſſion at all upon the courage of David: he knew he had a gracious God to truſt to; his cauſe was good, and the injury he had received intolerable; wherefore he was reſolved to caſt himſelf upon God's providence, and the juſtice of his arms for ſatisfaction; ſo that he committed the management of the war to Joab, and ſent him away with the choiceſt of his troops againſt the enemy. He marched directly towards their capital city *, and encamped before it. The enemy marched forth out of the town, and divided into two bodies; the one conſiſting of auxiliaries, which they drew up in the open field; the other being compoſed only of Ammonites, ranged themſelves before the gates that looked toward the Hebrews. Joab conſidering this diſpoſition of the enemy's army, diſpoſed of his troops likewiſe in the ſame order; and at the head of the beſt men he had, he himſelf preparing to charge Syrus, and the confederate kings, with one diviſion, gave his brother Abiſhai the command of the other, with orders to attack the Ammonites; having agreed upon it beforehand betwixt themſelves, that in caſe Syrus ſhould get the better of Joab, Abiſhai ſhould come in to his relief; and Joab to ſecond Abiſhai, if he ſhould be preſs'd by the Ammonites. Joab hereupon diſmiſs'd his brother, encouraging him to behave himſelf valiantly, and to make good the reputation both of the cauſe and of the action. Joab made the onſet upon Syrus, who ſtood very bravely at firſt; but ſo many of his men falling, the reſt fled; and the Ammonites upon the very ſight of their diſorder, betook themſelves likewiſe to their heels, after the example of their fellows, without ſtaying for the coming up of Abiſhai, and fled as faſt as they could into the town; ſo that Joab, after a dreadful execution done upon the enemy, returned to Jeruſalem with his victorious army.

Joab David's general, 2 Sam. x. 7.

The Ammonites divide into two bodies, Ver. 8.

Joab does the like, Ver. 9, 10.

Joab undertakes Syrus and the confederates, and his brother Abiſhai the other diviſion, Ver. 11.

Joab routs Syrus, and the very fright routs the reſt, Ver. 13, 14.

THIS rout and confuſion of the Ammonites, how unequal a match ſoever they were found to be to the Hebrews, was not enough yet to keep them quiet for the future; but they ſent to Chalama †, a king of the Syrians beyond Euphrates, and agreed with him for an auxiliary army at ſuch a price. Shobach was his lieutenant-general over an army of eighty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. David being given to underſtand the mighty ſtrength of the Ammonites, did not find it convenient to make war any longer by his deputies; ſo that he himſelf paſs'd the river Jordan with the whole army, and joining battle with the enemy, kill'd them forty thouſand foot, and ſeven thouſand horſe, and came off a conqueror; Shobach himſelf, the general of Chalama, receiving a wound in this battle, of which he died. The people of Meſopotamia, upon the miſerable event of this overthrow, ſent forthwith their ambaſſadors, with preſents and addreſſes to David, and deliver'd up themſelves; and the action being over, and the winter drawing on, David returned again ſafe to Jeruſalem.

The Ammonites reinforce themſelves, Ver. 15.

AT the beginning of the ſpring following, Joab was again diſpatched with a commiſſion to proſecute the war againſt the Ammonites, where he laid their country waſte; drove the people into Rabatha, their metropolis, and laid ſiege to the place. David was undoubtedly a juſt and a pious man, and a ſtrict obſerver of the laws of his country; but yet at this time he had the misfortune to fall into a grievous ſin, the occaſion of which was as follows:

Joab being order'd to proſecute the war againſt the Ammonites, lays ſiege to Rabatha, 2 Sam. xi. 1.

As he was walking for his diverſion one day toward the cool of the evening upon his terraſs, he had the hap to deſcry a woman bathing herſelf in her own houſe, who was a perſon of a moſt exquiſite ſhape and beauty, and her name Bathſheba. He fell in love with her immediately; and under the impotence of a paſſionate appetite, had her brought to his bed. Soon after this ſhe found herſelf with child, and deſired the king to conſider of ſome way for the concealment of it; for otherwiſe ſhe muſt ſuffer death by the laws of the country. Uriah, the husband of this woman, and Joab's armour-bearer, was hereupon call'd away from the camp, and David ask'd him ſeveral queſtions about the ſtate of the army; how the ſiege went forward, and the like. He told the king, that things went as well as he could wiſh. So David gave him part of his own ſupper, and bad him go home for the preſent to his wife; but finding afterwards that he had paſs'd away that night in the palace, and among his guards, ask'd him, "How it came "to paſs, that having been ſo long away from "his wife, he had not rather choſe to go home, "than ſpend his time elſewhere, ſo contrary "to the practice of all other men under his "circumſtances?" "Sir, replied he, I did not "think it fair and honourable to indulge my-"ſelf in the arms of my wife, at the ſame "time when my general and fellow-ſoldiers "lie in an enemy's country upon the ground." So the king told him, "He ſhould now ſtay "there one night more, and the next day he "would ſend him back again to the army." When the king went to ſupper, he cauſed Uriah to ſup with him, and made him drink ſo freely, that although he became thereby almoſt drunk, yet he never thought of going to his wife all this while, but ſpent that night again in the court, as he had done the former. This highly affronted David; inſomuch, that he wrote to Joab, that he was much diſſatisfied with Uriah, and he would have him puniſh'd according to his deſert; and ſo put him in a way how to bring it about, without giving any ſuſpicion that it was done by his order; and the contrivance was this: David appointed Joab to command him upon the firſt dangerous attack, where his companions might leave him in the lurch to be certainly cut off. This letter he gave to Uriah, under his own hand and ſeal, to be deliver'd to Joab; who, upon the receipt, follow'd the king's direction,

Ver. 2.

David corrupts Bathſheba, and ſhe proves with child, Ver. 4.

David writes to Joab, to put Uriah upon ſome deſperate poſt, where he may be deſtroy'd, Ver. 14, 15.

Joab follows his order, Ver. 16.

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* Viz. Rabatha; which 2 Chron. xx. 1. 'tis ſaid, Joab beſieged and deſtroyed it the ſpring following.

† This king, in 2 Sam. x. 16. and 1 Chron. xix. 16. is called Hadarezer.

and put Uriah upon a deſperate attack, where he knew the enemies to be ſtrongeſt, with ſeveral brave men to back him, for the countenance of the deſign; Joab promiſing to ſecond him with the whole army, upon the leaſt breach or poſſibility of entrance into the town; Joab recommending it earneſtly to him, to maintain the reputation he had already acquir'd with the king and the army, by acquitting himſelf frankly and bravely upon this occaſion. Uriah, with great chearfulneſs and aſſurance, undertook the poſt, while Joab gave his companions private orders to withdraw, and leave him, ſo ſoon as they found themſelves in any danger. The Hebrews preſſing hard upon the wall, put the Ammonites in a dreadful apprehenſion that they would force the town; whereupon they threw open their gates, and made a deſperate ſalley; which was as good as a ſignal to thoſe with Uriah, according to their orders from Joab, to abandon their leader; which they did with one conſent, upon that critical point of time, and left Uriah to be cut to pieces. He did all the execution that was poſſible to be done by a ſingle man againſt numbers; and after ſeveral wounds receiv'd, fell like a man of honour, with his face to the enemy. Some few of his friends, who were alſo aſham'd to fly, not being made privy to the plot, fell with him at the ſame time.

Uriah is cut to pieces, 2 Sam. xi. 17.

Joab writes David the news of a repulſe upon an aſſault at Rabatha, Ver. 18.

The action being now over, Joab diſpatch'd away an expreſs forthwith to David, giving an account, that to make ſhort work of a ſiege that was otherwiſe likely to be tedious, he had given an aſſault to the town, loſt men in the attempt, and was at laſt beaten off, and forced back again to the camp. "Now, ſays Joab to the meſſenger, if you find the king diſpleaſed at the news you carry him, tell him withal, that Uriah fell in the attack." David, upon the hearing of this ſtory, was mightily unſatisfied. "What, ſays he, for men with their naked bodies to think of ſtorming ſtone walls! Why did they not rather make uſe of mines or engines? One would think they might have taken the domeſtick example of Abimelech, the ſon of Gideon, for a warning, that was ſlain at Thebes by a piece of a mill-ſtone thrown down upon his head, by an old woman, from the battlements. The man was otherwiſe very brave; but his temerity brought him to a ſhameful end; for in all theſe caſes, caution is as neceſſary as courage; and the ſafeſt counſels are the beſt. All people, in the buſineſs of war, ſhould do well to conſult hiſtory and experience, what has generally ſucceeded well, and what otherwiſe, and to conſider upon what point the ſtreſs lies, either of the one, or of the other, and to act accordingly." While the king was in this ſort expreſſing his reſentment and diſpleaſure at the ill management of the action, the meſſenger took an occaſion to tell him of the death of Uriah, as a thing by-the-by. "Well, ſays David, theſe are common accidents; the chance of war is various, and ſoldiers muſt content themſelves to take the beſt and the worſt by turns. Do you tell Joab what I ſay; but tell him moreover, that for the future I would rather have him do the buſineſs by caſting up works, or by machines, than by open force. But let him know upon the main, that I would have the city raz'd and levell'd with the ground, and the inhabitants put all to the ſword, without ſparing ſo much as one individual perſon." With theſe inſtructions the meſſenger went preſently away to Joab.

The meſſenger lets fall a word by-the-by, of Uriah's being kill'd in the attempt, V. 24. David paſſes it over as the chance of war, but bids Joab husband his men, raze the city to the ground, and give no quarter, V. 25.

Bathſheba mourns out her time for her husband, and David takes her to wife, Ver. 26, 27.

Upon the news of Uriah's death, Bathſheba for ſeveral days mourn'd her husband; but ſo ſoon as her days of mourning were over, David took her to wife, and had by her a male child not long after. This match was ſo far from being acceptable and well pleaſing to God, that he was highly offended at it, and gave the prophet Nathan to underſtand as much in a dream; blaming David exceedingly for what he had done. Now Nathan being a man of a diverting humour and addreſs, and well conſidering how little regard princes commonly have in the career of their paſſions to the right or wrong of things, choſe rather to communicate his meſſage to David in mild terms, by way of alluſion, than bluntly and abruptly to accoſt him by a direct and downright denunciation of the diſpleaſure and commination of God Almighty; bringing in what he had to deliver after this manner:

Nathan, by the alluſion of a fable, brings David to a ſight of his ſin, 2 Sam. xii. 1--4.

"There were two men, ſays he, who lived in the ſame city; the one had an abundance of flocks and herds of all ſorts of cattle, oxen, ſheep, and the like; and was, in fine, a very rich man; the other was maſter of no more than one only lamb; which he brought up, and fed with his own children, and lov'd it as his daughter. The rich man had a ſtranger come to his houſe, whom he was bound in hoſpitality and in honour to entertain; but rather than treat him out of his own ſtore, he ſent and forced away the poor man's only lamb for the ſtranger's ſupper." "A villain, ſays the king, in a paſſion, to do a thing ſo baſe and ſo unjuſt! I would have him make four-fold ſatisfaction, and die for it beſides." "Why then, replied Nathan immediately, thou thyſelf art the man who deſerves ſuch puniſhment, and out of thy own mouth haſt pronounced judgment upon thyſelf. The prophet, after this, gave him an account of his viſion, and of God's high diſpleaſure againſt him; minding him of his ingratitude to that providence that had conſtituted him king of Iſrael, and given him the command of all the neighbouring nations thereabouts; deliver'd him ſeveral times out of Saul's hands, &c. And for him now, who had ſo many lawful wives allow'd him, to take away, and marry another man's wife, in defiance of God and man, and to betray her husband to the enemy, and to death, what could he expect after all this, but to be overtaken with a divine vengeance? the prophet then predicting to him, that he ſhould live to ſee his woman raviſh'd by one of his own ſons, and that ſon to enter into a practice upon the life of his father; and in a word, that for this ſecret ſin of his, he ſhould be brought to open ſhame and puniſhment; concluding with this preſage, that the ſon of his unlawful love ſhould be very ſhort-liv'd." This denunciation of the prophet ſtruck David with terror and confuſion, and drew from him a penitential confeſſion with tears, that he had ſinned againſt God. Now David being a righteous man, and (this one thing excepted) one who before had never been

Ver. 5.

Nathan foretels the ſeveral calamities to befal David, Ver. 10, 11, 12.

David confeſſes and repents, Ver. 13.

been guilty of the commiſſion of any unjuſt action, God was pleaſed to accept of his true repentance, and took him into his favour again, and promis'd to ſecure him in the enjoyment both of his kingdom and of his life.

David's child by Bathſheba is ſtruck with a deſperate ſickneſs, 2 Sam. xii. 15.

David mourns in faſting and ſackcloth for ſeven days, Ver. 16.

The child dies upon the ſeventh day, Ver. 18.

Bathſheba brings David a ſon, which by Nathan's directions is called Solomon, Ver. 24.

WHEN Nathan had given David this proſpect of things to come, he returned to his habitation; and was no ſooner gone, but the Lord ſtruck the child that Uriah's wife bare unto David with a grievous ſickneſs, which was ſo ſenſible an affliction to the father, that he took his chamber upon it, and for ſeven days together proſtrated himſelf upon the ground in ſackcloth and mourning; nor could he be perſuaded by his ſervants to receive any ſuſtenance; beſeeching Almighty God to ſpare the life of the child, having the greateſt tenderneſs imaginable for the mother. Upon the ſeventh day the child died; but none of the family durſt ſpeak a word of it to the king; for he, they thought, that was ſo given up to ſorrow, as to deny himſelf the moſt neceſſary comforts and refreſhments of life, when the child was only ſick, would afflict himſelf with a more intenſe and ſevere abſtinence, if he ſhould know it to be dead. David obſerved ſuch a diſorder in the countenances of his family, that he took it for certain there was ſomething extraordinary in the caſe, that they durſt not acquaint him with, which he concluded could be nothing elſe but the death of the child; and upon examining one of his ſervants about it, he found it ſo to be. David, upon this, preſently got up, waſh'd himſelf, changed his cloaths, and ſo went his way directly to the tabernacle to worſhip; commanding his ſervants, after this, to ſet his ſupper upon the table. His kindred and domeſticks were all in admiration and aſtoniſhment at a change of humour ſo unexpected; for while the child was but dangerouſly ill, there was nothing but paſſion and extravagance; and now it was dead, the father came to himſelf again. This was their deſcant; but they had yet a curioſity to know what might be the true reaſon of it; wherein David was very free with them upon a decent intimation of the deſire they had to be better inform'd. "While the child was yet living, ſays he, "and not quite out of hope of recovery, I "omitted no opportunity of application to "God for its life; but when I ſaw it was "dead, it would have been a fooliſh thing to "torment myſelf any farther to no manner of "purpoſe." The prudence of this reſolution was highly commended by all that heard him. Bathſheba, after this, in her due time, according to the courſe of nature, brought David a ſon; who, by the direction of the prophet Nathan, gave him the name of Solomon.

Joab cuts off the Ammonites water, and ſtreightens them for proviſions, Ver. 27.

Joab writes David the ſtate of the ſiege of Rabatha, and adviſes him to appear in perſon at the aſſault, V. 28.

JOAB, by this time had preſs'd ſo hard upon the Ammonites, by cutting off their water, and all other proviſions from them, that they were now well nigh reduced to the laſt extremity of hunger and thirſt; for they had only one little ſpring left them, which they were fain to husband by ſhort allowances, for fear of drawing it dry, or loſing that too. Joab ſent David a particular account of the ſtate of the ſiege; deſiring the honour of his preſence there in perſon, to put the laſt hand himſelf to the deſtruction of the city, as an action worthy to be found upon the roll in the hiſtory of his other heroical exploits. David was ſo fully ſatisfy'd with the wiſdom, faith, and zeal of his general, that he put himſelf preſently at the head of his army, and marched to the aſſault of Rabatha; took it by ſtorm, and gave the pillage of it to the ſoldiers, taking only for himſelf a golden crown of the kings, of a talent weight, and a rich ſardonyx upon it; which David wore conſtantly upon his head afterward for an ornament: to ſay nothing of an infinite variety of other rich booty that was found in the city. The men were put to death by exquiſite torments, and all the reſt of the Ammonite cities which ſtood out, as this did, were ſerved after the ſame manner.

All put to death by torment; and ſo the reſt of the Ammonite cities that ſtand out Ver. 31.

Amnon David's eldeſt ſon falls deſperately in love with his ſiſter Thamar, 2 Sam. xiii. 1.

Jonadab ſifts it out of him, and tells him how he may gain his point, V. 3.

Amnon follows his counſel, V. 6.

THE glory of this victory was follow'd ſoon after with a mortification that took off much of the reliſh of it. David had a daughter that was as yet a virgin, and incomparably the moſt agreeable, lovely beauty of the age ſhe liv'd in. Her name was Thamar, and ſhe and Abſalom had one mother. Amnon, the eldeſt ſon of David, fell deſperately in love with her; and finding, that betwixt her own modeſty, and the watch ſhe had upon her, there was no hope of ſucceeding, he pin'd away into a kind of languiſhing conſumption. Jonadab, his friend and kinſman, and a perſon withal of very good ſenſe and judgment, taking notice of this change in Amnon, and that he grew every day worſe and worſe, went to him, and ask'd him what he ail'd; and in ſhort, if he was not in love: for he had a ſuſpicion of it. Amnon, without any difficulty, own'd himſelf to have a violent paſſion for his own ſiſter; upon this the other immediately ſuggeſted to him a method how he might compaſs his end. Do but you, ſays Jonadab, counterfeit yourſelf ſick; and the firſt viſit your father gives you, make it your requeſt that he would ſend your ſiſter to you, upon an opinion, you may ſay, that her care and aſſiſtance would much contribute toward your recovery. Amnon follow'd his counſel; deſiring his father, accordingly, upon his firſt viſit, to ſend his ſiſter to him; which he did immediately; and nothing would ſerve Amnon then, but he muſt have ſome cakes of his ſiſter's making; for he could not eat any thing elſe. So ſhe took the flour, kneaded it, rais'd, and bak'd it, all in her brother's ſight; and in concluſion, offer'd him ſome to eat; which he would not ſo much as taſte of; but called out to his ſervants immediately to withdraw, and let no body come in to trouble him; for he would lay himſelf to reſt. So ſoon as the room was clear'd of the waiters, he deſir'd his ſiſter to carry the curioſities ſhe had made him, into an inner chamber there, which ſhe did; and her brother taking advantage of that privacy, laid hold of her; and by the uttermoſt importunity of a violent paſſion, preſs'd and courted her to the gratifying of his brutal luſt: the innocent virgin crying out, and exclaiming all the while to him, "for ſhame, for ſhame," not to offer at ſo impious, and ſo ſcandalous a baſeneſs, as it would be to ſacrifice the honour of himſelf, and his whole family to the outrage of a beaſtly appetite. "Let me go, ſays "ſhe, for the love of God, and keep your exorbitant deſires within the compaſs of law, "honeſty and religion: or, if you cannot "maſter them, try if you can get your father's good-will, and never think of extorting a kindneſs from me by violence." But there was no reaſoning, ſhe found, with an impetuous raging paſſion. She thought however yet to put him off at preſent; but it would not do; for in deſpite of all ſhe could ſay or do, either to hinder, or to divert him, he gain'd his end upon her by force.

Amnon raviſhes his ſiſter, 2 Sam. xiii. 14.

After this brutal act, he turns her violently out of doors, Ver. 15.

Thamar expoſtulates the matter with Amnon, Ver. 16.

No ſooner had he committed the villainy, and laid the fury of his burning luſt, but in the ſame inſtant, his extravagant love was degenerated into the contrary extreme, of an implacable hatred: inſomuch that he urged her with reproaches and ill language, to depart his lodgings and be gone. "What? ſays ſhe, "now you have debauch'd me, am I to be expos'd too? and ſent away by day-light with "all this confuſion and horror upon me, to "tell the world how barbarouſly you have "uſed me? nay, ſays ſhe, this treatment in "cold blood is yet worſe, if worſe can be, "even than the accurſed act itſelf, under the "impotency of an ungovernable paſſion to alleviate the crime." But reaſoning and ſtrugling was all in vain, for go ſhe muſt; and Amnon,without any more ado, commanded his ſervants to turn her out of the houſe. Away ſhe goes upon this into the ſtreet, with aſhes on her head, and her veſt (ſuch as was then in faſhion for perſons of her quality) diſorder'd and torn; and ſo thorough the city; crying out and complaining how ſhe had been abus'd and raviſh'd. Her brother Abſalom had the fortune to meet her in this diſtraction and dreſs; and aſking her what was the matter, ſhe told him the whole ſtory of her brother, and the brutal indignity that he had put upon her. Abſalom told her to pacify her, that the diſhonour, however, was not ſo great, conſidering it was the act of her own brother; which for the preſent put ſome reſpite to her clamour. After this, ſhe lived a pretty while ſingle in the houſe of her brother Abſalom. Upon the carrying of this ſtory to David, he was infinitely troubled at it; but Amnon being his eldeſt, and his beloved ſon, he was yet loth to put him to extremities. Abſalom, all this while, bore him a mortal grudge, and waited only a fair opportunity for a revenge. At the end of two years after the rape of Thamar, Abſalom having appointed a ſheep-ſheering at Belzephon*, a city in the tribe of Ephraim, invited his father and his brothers to the meeting. His father excus'd himſelf, upon the trouble and expence it would be to him: ſo that Abſalom deſir'd leave only for his brothers; which being obtained, he gave his domeſticks this order; that upon his giving them the ſign, when Amnon ſhould be in his cups, they ſhould fall upon him, and kill him.

Thamar makes proclamation in the ſtreets, how ſhe had been abus'd, Ver. 19.

* Scr. Baal-Hazor.

Abſalom lays a plot to kill Amnon at a ſheep-ſheering, V. 27,28.

CHAP. VIII.

The death of Amnon frights the brothers. Abſalom flies to Geſhur. Joab gets leave for him to return. He goes to Hebron upon a pretended vow, and enveigles the people to declare him king. Achitophel joins with him. David quits Jeruſalem. Abſalom commits a horrible wickedneſs at the inſtance of Achitophel.

Amnon kill'd by Abſalom's order, V. 29.

The reſt of the brothers poſt away to the king upon this alarm, ibid.

Jonadab adviſes David to patience, till he can hear further, Ver. 32, 33.

In this interim David's ſons come over to their father, Ver. 35, 36.

ABSALOM's people took their time, and put their maſter's orders in execution. This violence upon Amnon ſtruck ſuch a dread and confuſion into the reſt of the brothers, that they immediately took horſe upon it, and poſted away to their father, taking for granted that there was a plot upon the whole company. In this nick of time comes a forerunner to David, with news, that Abſalom had put all his brothers to death. This was ſo terrible a ſurprize to David, to hear of the loſs of ſo many of his ſons, and by the hand of their own brother too, that he abandon'd himſelf (as well he might) to an inconſolable deſparation: and without any farther enquiry into the matter, or waiting for a confirmation of the report, (though a wickedneſs almoſt incredible) he gave himſelf up to an inſupportable anguiſh of thought; tearing his garments, and caſting himſelf proſtrate upon the ground, lamenting not only the murder'd, but the murderer himſelf. But Jonadab, the ſon of Shimei, David's brother, deſir'd David only to ruminate upon the matter a little with temper and moderation. I cannot believe, ſays he, that your ſons are all kill'd, becauſe I ſee no colour of reaſon for it. But for Amnon's part, it is not unlikely, ſays Jonadab, that Abſalom may have taken his revenge upon him for the affront he put upon his ſiſter. While they were in diſcourſe, they heard the trampling of horſes, and the hurry of people as approaching; and what was all this, but the king's ſons who had made their eſcape from the feaſt at the houſe of their brother?

A tender greeting on both ſides, ibid.

Abſalom retires to the houſe of his mother's father in Geſhur, Ver. 37.

THE greeting of the father and his ſons was not without tears on both ſides; the father ſurpriz'd at the ſight of them living whom he took to be dead; the ſons lamenting the loſs of their brother, and the father deploring the barbarous murder of a ſon; ſo that there was ſubject abundantly every way for grief and lamentation in all reſpects. Abſalom, in the mean time, retir'd to Geſhur, where he was a matter of three years in the houſe of his mother's father, a perſon of eminent authority in that country.

Joab does all good offices of mediation for Abſalom, 2 Sam. xiv.

An invention of Joab's in Abſalom's favour, Ver. 2--18.

DAVID had by this time a great deſire to recal Abſalom, not to puniſh him, but to have him home again; for the ſeverity of his diſpleaſure was now well nigh over; and theſe charitable inclinations were dextrouſly enough managed to Abſalom's advantage, by the friendſhip of Joab, who was ſtill at David's elbow. In order to this end, he dealt with an ancient woman who was to put herſelf in mourning, as a perſon in great diſtreſs, and as an humble ſupplicant, to preſent the king with her caſe to this effect: "That two of her ſons "in the country had had an unhappy quarrel, "which grew to that animoſity, that they "fought upon it, and one of them was kill'd. "Some of his friends who was ſlain, demand "juſtice upon him that kill'd him. So ſhe "was to beg of his majeſty the life of her ſon, "as the only hope and ſtay of her old age. "She had no proſpect of relief, but in his "majeſty's clemency; for her ſon's enemies "were ſo malicious, that nothing leſs could "ſatisfy them than the interpoſition of the "king's authority." She performed her part, and the king granted her requeſt; whereupon, with a dutiful acknowledgment of the king's grace and favour to an ancient woman, and the mother of one only child, ſhe prayed one further inſtance and aſſurance that ſhe might enjoy the fruit of his royal goodneſs. Her ſuit was, "That the king would, in the firſt "place, be pleaſed to pardon his own ſon

“Abſalom; for in beginning with a compaſſion to him, it would be effectually the ratifying of her ſon's caſe, in his own family. It would be very hard, ſhe ſaid, for a father to loſe one ſon by miſadventure, and to kill another himſelf.”

David forgives Abſalom upon Joab's interceſſion, 2 Sam. xiv. 21.

Joab fetches Abſalom from Geſhur to Jeruſalem, Ver. 23.

But Abſalom not as yet admitted into the king's ſight, Ver. 24.

THE king preſently ſurmized that this was a contrivance and project of Joab's; and upon diſcourſing the woman, found the matter to be ſo in reality. Upon which diſcovery David call'd for Joab, and told him that he had gain'd his point, and was now at liberty to bring Abſalom back again when he thought fit; for his anger was over, and he had freely forgiven him. Joab was very glad to hear it, did his reverence to the king, and ſo haſtened away to Geſhur, and brought Abſalom back with him to Jeruſalem. The king being told of his coming, ſent him word, that matters were not as yet in ſo good a diſpoſition as that it would be proper for him to appear in his preſence; ſo that Abſalom kept himſelf out of the king's ſight, within his own walls, and with his private family. He had gone thorough a great deal of care and trouble; and his entertainment of late had been rather coarſe than delicate; and in ſhort, not ſuitable to the ſtate and curioſity of a prince of the blood. But he ſtill kept up the beauty yet, and the gracefulneſs of his perſon to the higheſt degree of human perfection. He cut his hair every eight months; in the compaſs of which time, it grew up to the weight of two hundred ſhekels; that is to ſay, to five pound weight.

Abſalom puts Joab upon getting leave for him to come into the king's preſence, Ver. 32.

Joab obtains leave for Abſalom to wait upon his father, Ver. 33.

HE paſs'd away about two years in Jeruſalem, in this private way of living, and had children; three ſons and one daughter, who prov'd to be a miracle of a beauty. She was married afterward to Rehoboam the ſon of Solomon; and had a ſon by him whoſe name was Abia. Abſalom finding himſelf uneaſy under his preſent circumſtances, ſent to Joab to uſe his intereſt with his father towards regaining him admiſſion into the royal preſence; and, in ſhort, to the procuring him the comfort of a thorough and abſolute reconciliation. He waited a while for an anſwer; but receiving no ſatiſfaction upon this meſſage, he ſent ſome of his people to a neighbouring field of Joab's, to burn his corn as it ſtood there upon the ground. Joab came to him about it, and expoſtulating the matter with him, ask'd him what he had ever done to deſerve ſuch unhandſome treatment at his hands? “Why, ſays Abſalom, I had no way of getting you to me but that. I wrote to you about interceding for me to my father, and you have done nothing in it I perceive. Pray will you try if you can pacify him; for at this rate, if he goes on ſtill to be inexorable, I am in a worſe condition at home than I was in my baniſhment.” Joab took pity of him upon this diſcourſe, and plied the king ſo artificially and ſo luckily on his behalf, that his heart relented, and Abſalom was immediately ſent for to attend his father. He caſt himſelf at the king's feet upon his firſt entrance into the room, and begg'd pardon for all his miſdoings? whereupon David with his right hand took him up again, with the aſſurance of a ſolemn promiſe, that all old offences ſhould be for ever buried and forgotten.

Abſalom ſets up with a ſplendid equipage; and makes court to the people, 2 Sam. xv. 1.

ABSALOM being re-eſtabliſh'd in the good opinion and eſteem of his father, in a ſhort time furniſhed himſelf with a ſplendid equipage, with chariots and horſes; a numerous train and retinue of ſervants, and no leſs than fifty men to attend him as the guard of his body. He was the firſt man ſtill at the king's levee; not forgetting, on the other hand, to take all occaſions alſo to cajole the multitude, and to keep fair with the people. If any man had a cauſe to be heard, and came for juſtice, he would be asking him in a familiar affable way, “Friend, ſays he, what is thy name? what countryman? what buſineſs? can I do thee any good?” and the like. When he found people out of humour, and malecontent for a croſs verdict, or a hard judgment, (as they pretended; “Why this it is, ſays he again, the king has evil counſellors about him. Nay, and God help him, miſtakes the point himſelf ſometimes, as well as another. Well! and ſo God ſpeed ye my my friends; if I had been in ſome body's place, things ſhould never have gone at this rate.” This was his method of way-laying the affections of the people, and moulding them for his deſign; and the humour ripen'd a-pace too.

Abſalom gets leave of his father to go pay a vow at Hebron, V. 9.

He gets himſelf proclaimed king, V. 10.

WHEN he found himſelf pretty well aſſur'd of the ſtrength and intereſt of his party, he went and addreſs'd himſelf to David in the fourth year after his reconciliation, for leave to go to Hebron to perform a vow which he had made in the time of his baniſhment; which leave he eaſily obtain'd, and took a prodigious multitude; ſome whom he invited, and others that came trooping in throngs along with him. Among the reſt was Achitophel the Gilonite, David's prime miniſter, with two hundred men of Jeruſalem, who came thither to ſacrifice, without the leaſt imagination of a conſpiracy. But to make ſhort of the matter, the plot took; and Abſalom, by the common voice of the people, was proclaimed king.

This perfidious ſhameleſs ingratitude ſurprizes David, Ver. 14.

David leaves his palace to his concubines, and ſo quits Jeruſalem, Ver. 16.

The high-prieſts and Levites preſs to go with him, but he oppoſes it, Ver. 25.

DAVID was ſo ſurpriz'd at the news of a rebellious uſurpation, ſo little expected, that he ſtood confounded, as if he had been planet-ſtruck, upon the very thought of the impudence and ingratitude of his ſon's perfidiouſneſs; a wretch that could ſo ſoon forget his own late guilt, and his father's mercy, as to revolt into a ſecond Apoſtaſy, ſo much more flagitious than the former; for he was firſt to lay violent hands upon his father's kingdom, though he himſelf knew it to be the ſpecial gift of God; and after that, to practice upon his very life too. Now David being in this ſtreight, bethought himſelf of paſſing the river Jordan into ſome place of more ſecurity; and ſo, with the advice of ſome of his intimate friends, what courſe to take in this ſeditious juncture, he reſolved to leave the care of his palace to ten of his concubines; quit Jeruſalem, and commit the iſſue to God. He accordingly departed with great multitudes of people that chearfully adher'd to him, and join'd themſelves in his train, eſpecially his own ſix hundred friends, that kept ſo cloſe to him when he was hunted up and down by Saul, from one hiding-place to another. The high-prieſts, Abiathar and Zadock, and all the Levites there, were for going with him too, and taking the ark along with them; but upon very good reaſons he prevail'd with them to ſtay, telling them that God's providence was ſufficient for his preſervation, without any

David ſettles a ſecret correſpondence with them, 2 Sam. xv. 27, 28.

neceſſity of the holy ark being upon the place. The laſt thing he ſaid to them was, that they ſhould make ſure of ſome private way of intelligence to let him underſtand from time to time of whatever paſs'd that might concern him to know; and they acquitted themſelves of that commiſſion with great faith and induſtry; that is to ſay, Ahimaaz the ſon of Zadock, and Jonathan the ſon of Abiathar. Ittai, the Gittite, had ſo great a zeal for his own perſonal duty, and the ſervice of his maſter, that he forced himſelf along with him, though he preſs'd him earneſtly againſt it.

News brought to David that Achitophel was gone over to Abſalom, Ver. 31.

He meets his truſty ſervant Huſhai, V. 32.

And ſends him back again to watch Abſalom in Jeruſalem, Ver. 34, &c.

David meets Ziba, 2 Sam. xvi. 1.

Who tells him that Mephiboſheth ſtays at Jeruſalem, in hopes to be choſen king, Ver. 3.

As David was going barefoot up Mount Olivet, and all the people in tears round about him, there came to him a meſſenger with the tidings that Achitophel was gone over to the faction of Abſalom, which was one of the moſt ſenſible diſappointments that had as yet befallen him; wherefore David prayed to God to infatuate him, and to turn his wiſdom into fooliſhneſs. He was a clear-ſighted man, and of great penetration in buſineſs, and there was nothing David ſo much dreaded, as the policy of his advice. When he had gained the mountain's top, he look'd back upon the city, all in tears, with ejaculations, as one that was now taking his laſt leave of his government; and whom ſhould he meet there, but his try'd friend and faithful ſubject Huſhai, with his garments torn, and aſhes upon his head, lamenting the tranſitory ſtate and fortune of all things below the ſun. David bad him be of good cheer, and bear the preſent ſituation of affairs with reſignation and patience; and urged him finally with great earneſtneſs to go back again to Jeruſalem, where he might behave himſelf like one of Abſalom's party; pry into his counſels and deſigns, and by thwarting Achitophel's ſenſe of things, do his maſter infinitely better ſervice, than by ſtaying with him. Huſhai yielded to his perſuaſions; and ſo taking his leave of David, returned to Jeruſalem, Abſalom himſelf coming thither not long after. David in the mean while paſſing forward, met with Ziba, the ſervant of Mephiboſheth, to whom he had committed the management of the eſtate he had beſtow'd upon the ſon of his dear friend Jonathan. He was driving two aſſes before him, and offer'd David and his men to take what they pleas'd of what he had, if there was any thing they lik'd. The queſtion was put to Ziba upon this occaſion, "What was become of his maſter." "He left him at Jeruſalem, he ſaid, in hopes that upon the preſent diſtraction of affairs, the people, in honour to the memory of his father Saul, might be prevail'd upon to chuſe him king." David had ſuch an indignation for this ingratitude, that he reſum'd his grant of the lands made to Mephiboſheth, and beſtowed them on Ziba, as the more deſerving perſon of the two. This was an expreſſion and a bounty that were both very acceptable to Ziba.

Shimei reviles David, Ver. 5.

Abiſhai would have kill'd Shimei, if David had not hinder'd him, Ver. 9, 10.

David was ſtill advancing, and as he paſs'd near Bahurim, there came out a kinſman of Saul's, whoſe name was Shimei, the ſon of Gera, and aſſaulted him with curſes, and with ſtones; and the more David's friends took his part on the one ſide, the more foul and ſcandalous was the ribbaldry of Shimei on the other. He call'd David a blood-ſucker, the cauſe of all their miſeries, and bad him be gone out of the country, like an inſolent execrable wretch as he was; giving God thanks for that retaliation upon him, by his ſon, for the indignities that he had formerly put upon his Lord and father. Theſe rude and barbarous outrages provok'd the indignation of every body that heard them; and Abiſhai had certainly kill'd him for it, if David had not interpoſed, and prevented it. "Pray hold your hand, ſays David, and do not add miſchief to miſchief. Things are bad enough already, and do not you make them worſe. I look upon all the clamours of this clown, as I do upon the bawling of a mad dog, that God had let looſe upon me; and his holy will be done. Why ſhould you wonder at the unmannerly revilings of a ſcoundrel, when at the ſame time I am worſe treated by my own ungracious ſon. But there is a merciful God above, who in the end will deliver the innocent out of the hands of their oppreſſors, and give us victory over all our enemies; wherefore in the name, and under the protection of that God, let us proceed forward in our journey." And ſo as David advanced temperately on one ſide of the mountain, Shimei ran railing and curſing over-againſt him on the other. They came at laſt, after a long and a weariſome march, to the bank of the river Jordan, where David muſter'd and refreſh'd his troops.

Abſalom comes to Jeruſalem, and Huſhai welcomes him with a God ſave the king, as well as the reſt, Ver. 15, 16.

Absalom, and his great counſellor Achitophel, were by this time come to Jeruſalem, where they were received with ſhouts and acclamations by a vaſt concourſe of people, and among the reſt, by David's friend Huſhai, with a God ſave the king, and the wiſhes to him of a long and a happy reign. Abſalom, upon this encounter, ask'd Huſhai how it came to paſs, that he who was look'd upon to be ſo eminent and faithful a ſervant to his father, ſhould now deſert his former maſter, and come over to him? Huſhai anſwer'd him diſcreetly enough, "That there was no contending with the will of God, and the conſent of the people; and ſo long as you have them on your ſide, you may be ſure of my fidelity. It is from God that you have receiv'd your kingdom; and if you can think me worthy of a place in the number of thoſe you will vouchſafe to own, you ſhall find me as true to yourſelf, as ever I was to your father. No man is to account the preſent ſtate of things uneaſy, ſo long as the government continues in the ſame line, and a ſon of the ſame family ſucceeds to the throne." Theſe words of Huſhai to Abſalom, put an end to all jealouſies.

Abſalom calls a council what to do, Ver. 20. Achitophel adviſes him to lie with all his father's concubines, Ver. 21.

The thing they had now before them was, to reſolve what ſhould be done next, and Achitophel was preſently call'd in, to adviſe about it. The counſel he gave was, for Abſalom to go in and lie with all his father's concubines. "For this, ſays he, will fix the people, and make them ſo much the bolder and firmer to the preſent ſtate, when they ſhall ſee the breach advanced beyond all poſſibility of reconciliation; for as matters now ſtand, people will be apt to ſay, why the father and the ſon may come to an agreement yet for ought we know; and if they ſhould chance to adjuſt differences in the concluſion, where are we? ſo that it will be dan-

"gerous

Abſalom took his advice, and committed that indignity in the ſight of the people, 2 Sam. xvi. 22.

“gerous to declare under ſuch an uncertainty.” Abſalom, in ſhort, took Achitophel's counſel, and commanded his ſervants to erect him a tent in the palace, where he lay with his father's concubines in the ſight of the people. This was no more, in fine, than what the prophet Nathan foretold would befal David.

CHAP. IX.

Achitophel's counſel for the deſtroying of David; Huſhai oppoſes it, and carries it againſt him. Achitophel hangs himſelf upon the diſappointment. Abſalom makes Amaza his general; fights a battle with his father, and loſes the day. A bough takes up Abſalom by the hair of the head in his flight, and Joab runs him through with his javelin.

2 Sam. xvii.

Achitophel demands ten thouſand men, upon condition either to bring David's head, or forfeit his own, V. 1, 2, 3.

After the execution of this counſel given by Achitophel, the next queſtion was, what they were firſt to do in proſecution of the war? His anſwer was this, “That if they would but put him at the head of ten thouſand * choice men, he would undertake therewith to deſtroy David, and ſecure the publick peace to the people, and the government to Abſalom both in one.” Abſalom was much of Achitophel's opinion; but willing however to have Huſhai's alſo, he put it to him, what he thought on't. Huſhai (that was David's true friend, and ever ſo reputed) finding the advice to be ſhrewd and dangerous, did what he could to divert Abſalom from it by giving his judgment another way, after this faſhion. “Sir, ſays he, I need not tell you that your father is a valiant man, and that he hath a great many brave men about him; with whom in all encounters he hath ever come off victorious. You know him to be a ſoldier too, and a man of ſtratagem, as well as of courage. He will moſt infallibly have advice of our approach; and in ſome valley, wood, or behind ſome rock perhaps, lie ready to betray us into an ambuſh: or ſuppoſe we ſhould attempt to engage them, they will order the matter ſo as to manage their retreat by little and little, till they have drawn us into the ſnare, and David's whole body to fall in upon us before we know where we are. Now I ſubmit myſelf to your judgment, betwixt the conſternation it will cauſe on the one hand, and the encouragement it will give on the other, what a confuſion this way of proceeding will create among us: and now you have heard both opinions, you may follow either Achitophel's or mine, which is moſt to your liking.” But having given you my thoughts thus far now, what we are not to do, I muſt crave leave to tell you what I think adviſable under our circumſtances to be done. “Let the whole nation of the Hebrews be ſummon'd to appear with all their troops at ſome certain time and place, to make war againſt David: and when they are met, do you yourſelf (ſays he to Abſalom) take the command of the whole into your own hand, without truſting to deputies. When this is done, David muſt either expoſe himſelf in the plain field, or otherwiſe fly to faſtneſſes, ſtrong holds, wall'd towns, and the like. If he keep the plains, his forces are ſo few and inconſiderable, compared to the many thouſands in Iſrael, wholly devoted to your intereſt, who will value themſelves upon an opportunity being offer'd them to exert their zeal in ſervice of their prince and country, that your power and ſtrength being hereby ſo much ſuperior to his, you are ſure of obtaining an eaſy conqueſt over him. Or if he ſhall go the other way to work, of hiding and ſkulking up and down, to keep upon the defenſive, there are twenty ways, by mining, battering, ſtarving, and the like, that will certainly reduce him.” They were all ſo unanimouſly for his advice, that Abſalom himſelf gave his voice for him, even in preference to the counſel of Achitophel. But it is to be noted, that the hand of God was in all this.

Huſhai propoſes to encounter David with the whole ſtrength of the nation, and Abſalom himſelf to head them, ibid.

Huſhai carries it againſt Achitophel.

Huſhai communicates this immediately to the high-prieſts Zadock and Abiathar, Ver. 14.

Huſhai, upon this reſult, made all poſſible haſte to the high-prieſts Zadock and Abiathar, with an account of what had paſs'd at the council betwixt Achitophel and himſelf, and how things were carried; deſiring them to diſpatch an expreſs immediately away with it to David, with a caution, by all means to paſs the river Jordan that very night; for if his ſon ſhould either get intelligence where he was, or change his mind, he might fall in upon him before he could get over.

Meſſengers ſent to David with directions to paſs the Jordan that very night, V. 16.

The high-prieſts had provided lodgings for their ſons out of the town, and a faithful maid-ſervant at hand to carry them the intelligence, which they were to tranſmit forthwith to David. Upon the receipt of this information, they made what haſte they could with it, as became dutiful and faithful ſervants. But by the time they were advanced about two furlongs † upon their way, they were diſcover'd by certain horſe-men; and Abſalom having notice of it, gave order preſently for the taking of them up. The meſſengers were quickly aware of their danger, and ſo turned out of the way towards Bahurim, a ſmall village near Jeruſalem; where they met with a woman who was ſo charitable as to conceal them, by letting them down into a well, and throwing ſome ſkins of beaſts over the mouth of it. This matter was no ſooner ordered, but the purſuers came up to the houſe, and examined the woman very ſtrictly, whether ſhe had ſeen any ſuch men or not. She could not deny, ſhe ſaid, that two ſuch men drank at the gate juſt now, and ſo went their way; but, ſays ſhe, if you make haſte after them, they may eaſily be overtaken. When they had ſearch'd up and down a long time after them to no manner of purpoſe, they returned to their quarters with their labour for their pains. So ſoon as the woman ſaw that all was ſafe, and the coaſt clear, ſhe drew the young men out of the well; and they proſecuted their Journey time enough to give David a ſeaſonable account what Abſalom was a doing. It was late before they got thither, but David, however, got his people over the water the ſame night.

It ſtuck in Achitophel's ſtomach, that Abſalom ſhould reject his counſel, and at the ſame time embrace Huſhai's: ſo that he mount-

Achitophel lays it to heart to ſee Huſhai's counſel taken, and his rejected, V. 23.

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* 2 Sam. xvii. 1. The number of men required by Achitophel for the executing this exploit, was twelve thouſand.

† Viz. about a quarter of a mile.

ed his aſs, and went home to Galmon, where he called his family together, and told them the advice he had given Abſalom; but that he would not follow it; and that in a ſhort time, that refuſal would be his ruin; for David would certainly get the better of him, and ſoon after recover his kingdom. “Now it is more honourable for me, ſays he, to die with reſolution like a gentleman, than to wait ſneaking till David returns, and then to be put to a ſcandalous death at laſt for the ſervices I have done the ſon againſt the father.” With theſe words he withdrew into a private apartment in his houſe, and hang'd himſelf, in the conſcience of a ſelf-condemnation: his relations afterward taking care for his funeral.

Achitophel goes home, and hangs himſelf, 2 Sam. xvii. 23.

David paſſes the Jordan, and ſo to Mahanaim, V. 24.

David, being now over the river Jordan, as aforeſaid, came to Mahanaim *, the faireſt and the ſtrongeſt city in that tract of land; where he was treated by the principal perſons of the whole country, with the higheſt inſtances of generoſity and good-will imaginable; partly out of humanity, with a regard to the neceſſities of his preſent condition, and partly out of a reverence to the memory of his former ſtate. There was Siphar, a prince of Ammon: Barzillai and Machir, two principal men of Gilead, &c. Theſe generous perſons took ſuch care of David, and his people, that they wanted neither beds, bread, wine, fleſh, nor any thing elſe that might be neceſſary, either for their ſubſiſtance, or for their refreſhment.

Abſalom encamps with a mighty army near his father, commanded by Amaſa the ſon of Jothar, by Abigail, Ver. 25.

Absalom, in the mean time, was gotten over the river with a mighty army againſt his father, and encamped not far from Mahanaim, a town of Gilead, having made his kinſman Amaſa general, in the place of Joab: Amaſa being the ſon of Jothar by Abigail. Now Abigail, and Zeruiah, the mother of Joab, were David's ſiſters.

David divides his little army of four thouſand men into three bodies, under Joab, Abiſhai, and Ittai the Gittite, 2 Sam. xviii. 2. David would have engag'd in perſon; but reaſons are given againſt it, ib. & 3.

The king took a review of his men, and found himſelf upon the muſter to be only four thouſand † ſtrong; but yet with this handful of an army, he choſe rather to act the part of an aggreſſor, than to lie ſtill upon his guard till Abſalom ſhould give the attack. So that he preſently conſtituted his officers, and divided the little body of his army into three parts: Joab had the firſt diviſion; Abiſhai, the ſecond; and his old friend Ittai the Gittite, the third. David would needs have gone himſelf in perſon, but his friends, for very good reaſons, oppoſed it; for, ſaid they, “If we ſhould be beaten, and you yourſelf in the field, the whole cauſe would be loſt without any hope of reſource. But otherwiſe, if one diviſion ſhould have the ill hap to be worſted, the reſt, they told David, might repair to himſelf, and be impowered thereby to reinforce themſelves to make another puſh for it. Beſide, that the king's not being upon the ſpot, would poſſeſs the enemy with an apprehenſion, that he had another freſh army in reſerve.” This motive carry'd it, and the king was prevail'd upon to ſtay at Mahanaim. David then adjur'd his friends by all the ties of honour, gratitude, and conſcience, to acquit themſelves in their duty; and in caſe God ſhould give them a victory, to ſpare the life of the young man; for he durſt not truſt himſelf with his own life after the death of Abſalom. This was follow'd with a thouſand bleſſings and good wiſhes; and ſo he diſpatched them to the army.

The armies engage, and the firſt charge was very brave on both ſides.

Joab in the end puts the rebels to a total rout, V. 6, 7. 8.

Twenty thouſand kill'd upon the place, ib.

Abſalom flies, and is found hanging upon a bough, by the hair of the head, Ver. 9.

Joab ſtrikes Abſalom dead with his javelin, V. 14.

When Abſalom ſaw that Joab had drawn up his diviſion upon a plain, with a wood at his back, he diſpos'd of his own troops likewiſe into the ſame form over againſt the other. When the two bodies came to engage, there was great bravery ſhew'd on both ſides. The one contending for the recovery of what David had loſt, and the other for the defence and maintenance of what Abſalom had got; and there was nothing that David's men were not reſolv'd either to do, or ſuffer; ſo they might but avenge the father upon the apoſtaſy of a rebellious ſon. Abſalom's men fought a good while upon a point of honour, and to avoid the infamy of being worſted by ſo inconſiderable a party. David's men, on the other hand, for the glory of routing ſo many thouſands of the enemy upon ſuch a diſproportion. In the concluſion, David's veterans behav'd bravely, and like themſelves; for they broke the enemy's order, and put them to a total rout, getting the chace of them over woods, mountains and craggs, which way ſoever they fled: ſome they kill'd; ſome they took; and more were loſt in the purſuit than in the battle. Near 20000 men were reputed to be ſlain in that day's action. Now Abſalom was ſo remarkable both for his beauty, and his ſtature, that he was every body's mark: ſo that for fear of being taken alive, he mounted the fleeteſt mule he could lay hands on, and fled away as faſt as her heels could carry him. But by the celerity of her courſe, the force of the wind blew up his hair, ſo that it catch'd hold on the ſnagged bough of a tree; and the mule running forward from under him, left him dangling in the air, and continu'd her ſpeed, as if ſhe had had her rider ſtill upon her back. One of David's ſoldiers ſaw this, and carry'd the tidings thereof to Joab, who bad him go quickly, and diſpatch him, and he ſhould have fifty ſhekels of ſilver ‖ for his pains. No, ſays the ſoldier, I would not do ſuch a thing to the ſon of my lord and maſter for two thouſand: eſpecially conſidering the charge the king gave in your hearing, not to touch the life of the young man. Joab hereupon commanded him to conduct him to the place where he ſaw him hanging; which when he came to, he pierced him through the heart with

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* Εἰς παρεμβολὰς, Joſ. in Lat. [Caſtra] in Heb. [Mahanaim.] This word is ſometimes uſed appellatively, and ſometimes for the proper name of a place; when appellatively, it may be tranſlated into Engliſh [the camp;] when for the proper name of a place [Chester.] It derived its origin from Jacob's returning out of Meſopotamia into Canaan; as we read in Gen. xxxii. 1, 2. “And Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met him. And when Jacob ſaw them, he ſaid, This is God's hoſt; and he called the name of that place Mahanaim.” i. e. the camp, from the angels who pitched their tents by his. Afterwards a city was built here, which, from that circumſtance, obtain'd the name of Mahanaim.

† In 2 Sam. xviii. 1. from whence this is taken, the expreſs number is not mentioned.

‖ i. e. About ſix pounds nine ſhillings and two pence Engliſh money, ſuppoſing, as we have before, that a ſhekel was worth two ſhillings and ſeven pence; but in 2 Sam. xviii. 11. 'tis no more than ten ſhekels of ſilver, that is, one pound five ſhillings and ten pence, and a girdle; the value of which, might perhaps make up the difference.

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Joab ſounds a retreat, and gives over the chace, 2 Sam. xviii. 16.

his javelin. His armour-bearers that were then preſent, took down the body from the tree, and caſt it into a deep pit, piling a great heap of ſtones upon it, in the form of a ſepulchre. This being done, Joab ſounded a retreat to take his men off from the chace, and ſave the effuſion of more blood in a civil war. Abſalom had already erected a marble column, with an inſcription upon it, in a place call'd the King's Valley, ſome two furlongs* from Jeruſalem, which he call'd by the name of the Hand of Abſalom, to perpetuate his memory, as he ſaid, even if he ſhould leave no children behind him. He had three ſons, and one daughter, who was married to Rehoboam the ſon of Solomon, by whom he had Abia, his next immediate ſucceſſor; but of this we ſhall ſay more hereafter.

CHAP. X.

David's grief for Abſalom; and Joab's plain-dealing with him. Shimei pardon'd. The tribe of Judah goes out to receive David; and the reſt fall off at the inſtigation of Sheba. David ſends Amaſa after Sheba. Joab meets him, and treacherouſly kills him; and then follows Sheba, and brings his head to David himſelf. The Iſraelites puniſhed with a famine for Saul's breach of faith with the Gibeonites; and then puniſh'd again with a peſtilence for David's numbering the people.

Ahimaaz preſſes to carry David the firſt news of the victory, Ver. 19.

Joab rather ſends Cuſhi, Ver. 21.

Ahimaaz tries Joab a ſecond time to let him go, and Joab gives him leave, Ver. 22, 23.

Ahimaaz tells David only of the victory, Ver. 28.

Cuſhi, after him, tells David both of the victory and of the death of Abſalom, Ver. 31, 32.

David's paſſionate tranſports for the death of his ſon, 2 Sam. xix. 4.

ABSALOM being now dead, his people ſlipp'd away by ſtealth every man to his own home; Ahimaaz, the ſon of Zadock the high-prieſt, making it his ſuit to Joab, that he might be the man to carry David the firſt news of the victory, as being the work of God's power and providence. Joab gave him this anſwer, that it would not look well for him who had been always heretofore the meſſenger of good news to the king, to be now the firſt man to tell him of his ſon's death. So Joab call'd to Cuſhi, and ſent him on the errand, and that he ſhould tell the king what he himſelf had ſeen. Ahimaaz intreated Joab a ſecond time, to let him carry the tidings only of the victory, but not of the death of Abſalom. Joab upon this importunity gave him leave, and he knowing the neareſt way better than the other, got thither before him. David was at this time ſitting at the gate, in a longing expectation to know the event of the battle, when a ſcout brought him word, that he ſaw one come running that way, but he was too far off to diſcern who it was. The king looked upon it as a good omen, and the ſcout immediately upon this told the king that he diſcover'd another, which gave him ſtill more hope than before. The meſſenger being now come within diſtance, was found to be Ahimaaz, the ſon of Zadock the high-prieſt, who came firſt. "Well, ſays David, this is "the man that moſt certainly brings me good "tidings." The words were hardly paſt his lips, when Ahimaaz caſt himſelf at David's feet to do him reverence, who asked him what news from the army? To which he replied, great ſucceſs and victory. David ask'd him then, what was become of Abſalom? Ahimaaz anſwer'd him, that ſo ſoon as ever he ſaw the enemy routed, he came away immediately with the intelligence; but that he heard a mighty clamour and ſhouting all the while, upon the purſuit of Abſalom; and Joab ſent him away in ſuch haſte, that his orders were only to carry the news of the victory, without any mention of Abſalom. By this time Cuſhi was at the king's feet, with the tidings of a victory; and the king putting the ſame queſtion to him as to the other, viz. What was become of Abſalom? "May it be, "ſays Cuſhi, with all the enemies of my lord "the king as it is with Abſalom." Theſe words turned a day of joy and triumph into a day of mourning. It prov'd ſo to the king, for the loſs of Abſalom; and to the people alſo; for David withdrew himſelf upon it out of ſight, to the top of one of the higheſt turrets about the city, beating his breaſt, and tearing his hair, with cries and exclamations; "Ah "my ſon Abſalom, my ſon Abſalom, ah that "I myſelf could have but died with thee, "my ſon!" Now David was in his own nature extremely fond and tender of all his children, but his love to Abſalom was in a more intenſe degree than to any of the reſt. This diſcouraged Joab and the army from entering the town in a triumphant manner, ſince the king appeared overwhelm'd with ſorrow for the ſucceſs; ſo that they came in with doleful countenances, hanging down their heads, and looking more like men conquered, than conquerors. David, in ſhort, continued ſo long in this way of an abandon'd dejection, that Joab, without any more ado, broke in upon him in the very agony of his paſſion, to reaſon and expoſtulate the matter with him.

Joab's bold and generous way of plain-dealing with David, Ver. 5, 6, 7.

"SIR, ſays he, do you know what you do? "are you aware of the diſhonour you bring "yourſelf by this wilful and effeminate way "of impotent lamentations? Why, it makes "you look as if you had a hatred for your "friends, that have ſav'd your life at the hazard "of their own; nay, for yourſelf and "your family too; and at the ſame time, as "great a kindneſs even for thoſe of your enemies, "which divine juſtice hath taken away "in your favour, by the ſtroke of a moſt righteous "vengeance. If Abſalom had carried "the day, and ſettled himſelf in his uſurpation, "who do you think, Sir, would have "bemoaned, either your fate, or ours, in ſuch "a caſe? for we ſhould moſt certainly have "been cut to pieces, every creature of us: "Nay, you yourſelf, and your children, would "have fallen the firſt victims to their cruelty; "then your enemies would have rejoic'd and "gloried in your ruin, and it would have "been death for any man to have but ſo much "as pitied us. Pray, Sir, does not your "conſcience as well as your honour check you "for this intemperate tenderneſs, for the memory "of ſo implacable an enemy. He was "your ſon, 'tis true, but a moſt ungracious "one; and you cannot be juſt to God's providence, "without acknowledging the bleſſing "of his being taken away. Pray put on "a cheerful countenance, and ſhew yourſelf "to your people, and tell them, that it is to "their loyalty and bravery, next under God, "that you are indebted for the honour of this

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* Viz. about a quarter of a mile.

“ day; for if you go on as you have begun, “ I will infallibly cauſe your kingdom and “ your army to reject you, and place another “ on the throne; and then you will find a “ more real and ſenſible evil to afflict yourſelf “ for.”

Joab's blunt liberty brings David to himſelf again, 2 Sam. xix 8.

This bold and blunt liberty of Joab brought David in ſome meaſure to himſelf again; and to take care of his government and people; ſo that he ſhew'd himſelf at the gate in a more popular way of addreſs, and with more of ſatiſfaction in his countenance. This change of humour wrought ſo effectually upon the people, that they came in multitudes from all parts to pay him their reverence.

Abſalom's people make publick acknowledgments and addreſſes to David, Ver. 9, 10.

While matters were in this diſpoſition, Abſalom's men that fled from the late battle, and were got home again, ſent meſſengers up and down, from place to place, to mind their friends of the infinite obligations they lay under to David upon all accounts, and particularly for the toils and hazards he had undergone in his own perſon, for the vindication of their liberty; how ungratefully they had behav'd themſelves in their revolt, &c. and what had they more to do now, than to lay themſelves at his feet; beg his pardon, and beſeech him once again to receive them into his care and protection, as formerly; eſpecially the perſon being now gone, whom they had moſt unjuſtly and injuriouſly ſet up in his ſtead. The king had addreſſes of this kind ſent him in abundance, which he ſtill communicated by letters to the high-prieſts Zadock and Abiathar, with certain hints, how they were to manage the heads of the tribe of Judah toward his reſtoration. And they inſinuated accordingly, how great a ſhame it would be for them to ſtand looking on, and let others go before them, in doing a common right to a prince ſo generous, and of their own tribe and extraction. This way of proceeding created an emulation among them, who ſhould be foremoſt. They were likewſe to expoſtulate the matter with Amaſa, the enemy's general, how it came to paſs that he himſelf, the nephew of David by his own ſiſter, ſhould not diſpoſe the army to a ſenſe of their duty, and the reſtoring of the government to the right owner. They told Amaſa, that for what was paſt, he might be ſure of his pardon; and they doubted not but he might have the ſame command under David that he had under Abſalom.

Zadock and Abiathar manage all to David's advantage, Ver. 11–14.

They expoſtulate the matter with Amaſa the general, ibid.

Amaſa comes over to the intereſt of David, ibid.

The high-prieſts dealt after this manner with the principals of the tribe, and upon the aforeſaid aſſurance brought Amaſa over to David. The tribe of Judah were the firſt (and they did it eaſily too) that ſent their commiſſioners to invite the king back to the exerciſe of his government; and betwixt the influence of this example, and the credit of Amaſa, they were all to attend, and receive the king at Jeruſalem. The tribe of Judah were remarkably the forwardeſt of the whole body, and the moſt officious in their reſpects; for they went to the very bank of the river Jordan to meet him. There was Shimei the ſon of Gera for one, at the head of a thouſand Benjamites; and there was Ziba alſo, Saul's freeman, with his fifteen children, and twenty ſervants; who, together with the tribe of Judah, laid a bridge over the river, for the more commodious paſſage of David and his troops.

The tribe of Judah leads the way, Ver. 15.

Shimei begs David's pardon, Ver. 18, 19, 20.

Upon his coming to the river, the tribe of Judah were the firſt that ſaluted him; and Shimei then advancing to the bridge, threw himſelf at David's feet, begging his pardon for the indignities he had put upon him; beſeeching him to paſs it all over, and that it might never riſe in judgment againſt him when he ſhould be re-inſtated in his kingdom; deſiring moreover, that his early repentance and return to his allegiance might attone for his paſt faults. “ Well, ſays Abiſhai, Joab's bro- “ ther, (who was then within diſtance of hear- “ ing and ſeeing all that paſs'd) and do you “ think to come off ſo eaſily, that could have “ the face to blaſpheme the king that God “ hath ſet over you, at ſo unpardonable a “ rate?” “ Be quiet, you ſons of Zeruiah; “ pray be quiet, ſays David, without blowing “ the coal, and ſtirring up new broils; for I “ would have you look upon this as the firſt “ day of my reign, and to take notice of what “ I do now declare upon my oath. I do free- “ ly forgive all the world, and I do promiſe “ that no perſon ſhall ſuffer for any thing done “ againſt me, or againſt any body elſe for my “ ſake, of what kind or quality ſoever; ſo “ that you may ſet your heart at reſt, Shimei, “ your life is in no danger.” Upon which aſſurance he made his reverence, and went his way.

Shimei pardon'd, V. 23.

Mephiboſheth, Saul's grandſon, Ver. 24.

After him came Mephiboſheth, Saul's grandſon, in as forlorn and uncouth an appearance as one could well imagine; for upon the king's being forced away from his palace, this good man, reckoning the king's calamity as his own, bound himſelf by a vow, never to cut his hair, or change his cloaths, till it might pleaſe God to reſtore him. Ziba took this opportunity of traducing his maſter to the king; for upon David's aſking him how he came to leave him when he was under perſecution, he laid the fault upon Ziba, for not obeying his orders; but on the contrary, treating him like a ſlave, notwithſtanding the expreſs charge he had given him to have all neceſſaries in readineſs for his journey. “ But “ Sir, ſays he, if I had the uſe of my legs, “ as other people have, this ſhould not have “ hinder'd me neither. Nay, Sir, ſays he, “ and which is more, he has not only diſap- “ pointed me in the exerciſe of my duty, but “ I perceive he has done me ſpiteful offices, and “ aſperſed my character to yourſelf alſo; but “ Sir, you are ſo juſt, and ſo great a lover of “ God, and of truth, that I am ſure your “ generoſity and your wiſdom will never en- “ tertain a calumny to my prejudice. Our “ family have had the experience of your piety, “ modeſty, and goodneſs, to a degree never “ to be forgotten, in paſſing over and pardon- “ ing the innumerable hazards and perſecutions “ that you were expoſed unto in the days, and “ by the contrivance of my grandfather; “ when all our lives were forfeited, and in “ your power, and at mercy: but then after “ all this gracious tenderneſs, your ſuperad- “ ding the honour of taking me to your table “ as a friend, and as a gueſt, and a perſon “ likewiſe ſo obnoxious, in regard of my re- “ lations, nothing could be either greater, or “ more obliging.” David heard all this, without either animadverting upon Mephiboſheth, or putting Ziba's credit to the teſt; but he told him, that having given the whole

Mephiboſheth traduced to the king by Ziba, Ver. 26--28.

The loyalty and gratitude of Mephiboſheth, ibid.

eſtate to Ziba, he would order him the one half of it back again. “Nay, Sir, ſays Mephiboſheth, ſo long as I have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing my lord the king upon his throne again, even let Ziba take the whole and welcome.”

Barzillai always faithful to the king, 2 Sam. xix. 32.

David's kind invitation to him, Ver. 33.

King David in the time of the war had been much beholden for ſeveral good offices to Barzillai, the Gileadite; a great man to all good and honourable purpoſes; and this Barzillai would needs bring the king onward of his way to the river Jordan. The king preſs'd him with great earneſtneſs to go thorough with him to Jeruſalem, promiſing that he would be as good as a father to him, and that he ſhould want nothing that might be a relief and a refreſhment to his old age. But he excus'd himſelf, that he ſhould be more at eaſe in a private way of life, than in the ſplendor and luxury of a palace. “He was now eighty years of age, he ſaid, and paſt the reliſh of court-pleaſures; having no other buſineſs in the world than to prepare for death, and to give orders for his funeral; wherefore he begg'd his majeſty's leave to retire home again, where he might more conveniently govern himſelf after his own faſhion. His taſte was now gone, as to the ſatisfaction of delicious meat and drink; and ſo for the delights of ſinging, dancing, revels, harmonious conſorts of inſtruments, or voices, and the like. His hearing was deaded and loſt, he ſaid, and he had no longer any ſenſe of theſe entertainments.” The king, in fine, was prevail'd upon at length to part with him; but upon condition, ſays he, that your ſon * Achimanus ſhall go along with me, and take his part in the beſt offices I can do him. Barzillai, with all dutiful acknowledgments, left his ſon with the king; and taking his leave with the moſt paſſionate wiſhes of a long and proſperous reign to him, he returned to his own home.

Barzillai excuſes himſelf from a court-life, Ver. 34--37.

The king takes Barzillai's ſon Achimanus along with him, Ver. 38.

David had half the nation with him at Gilgal, and the whole tribe of Judah, Ver. 40.

When David came to Gilgal, he had one half of the whole nation with him, and the tribe of Judah intire. There came to him ſeveral of the prime men of the country, accompanied with a vaſt multitude of people, and charg'd the tribe of Judah with taking too much upon them in going to the king, without conſulting their brethren; whereas they ought unanimouſly to have gone together. The heads of the tribe of Judah deſired the reſt not to take any thing amiſs in their going before; for they look'd upon it as a duty incumbent on them for kindred ſake, which made them the more earneſt and officious upon that conſideration. They did not propoſe any advantage to themſelves, they ſaid, by being ſo forward; neither had they given any cauſe of offence by their earlineſs, to thoſe that came after them. The heads of the other tribes were not at all pleas'd with this way of reaſoning. “Pray how come you, they cry'd, to engroſs the king to yourſelves, as if he were not our king as well as yours? For he is by God's providence indifferently the governor of us all; ſo that if we are eleven parts of the whole, and you but one, and conſequently valuable in compariſon according to that proportion, you have certainly done very ill in ſtealing away to the king by yourſelves, without acquainting us.” While the great men were in hot debate about this affair, up ſtood Sheba the ſon of Bichri, a Benjamite, (a man of a factious and turbulent ſpirit,) and call'd out with a loud voice in the middle of the crowd, “What do they talk to us for of a part in David? or what have we to do with the ſon of Jeſſe?” So he cauſed the trumpet to be ſounded, with a proclamation for the people to depart to their tents, and thereupon a war was denounced againſt David. The multitude fell off into the party and intereſt of Sheba, ſaving only the tribe of Judah, who ſtood by the king, and conducted him to Jeruſalem. The firſt thing he did there, was to clear his palace of his concubines, which his ſon Abſalom had proſtituted in the ſight of the people; but he had them provided for elſewhere, with all fairneſs of reſpect, as before; though he himſelf had never more to do with them. He made Amaſa his general, in the place of Joab, giving him orders to draw what troops he could get together out of the tribe of Judah, and bring them to him in three days, that he might be ready to march out with them againſt the ſon of Bichri. Amaſa went about his buſineſs; but finding he could not gather together an army ſo ſoon as he expected, and out ſtaying his time, David, upon the third day diſcours'd the matter to Joab †. “This buſineſs of Sheba, ſays he, is a thing not to be trifled with; wherefore do you immediately take what forces you have at hand, with the ſix hundred veterans, and ſo without any delay, take your brother Abiſhai along with you, and march directly away after the ſon of Bichri; fight him whereſoever you find him, before he draws his party into a body; and take care to prevent him from putting himſelf in poſſeſſion of fortified cities and ſtrong holds; for if he once does that, he may perhaps coſt us more trouble to ſubdue him, than Abſalom did.” Joab, in the ſame inſtant, poſted forward with his brother, and the troops that were aſſigned him to ſearch for Sheba. At his coming to Gibeon, a village ſome forty furlongs ‖ from Jeruſalem, he met Amaſa upon his march in the head of a gallant army. Amaſa advancing toward him to embrace him, Joab, with a breaſt-plate upon his body, and his ſword girt to him, going to meet him, induſtriouſly dropp'd his ſword out of the ſcabbard, and preſently catch'd it up again, with one hand, while he took Amaſa by the beard with the other, as if it had been to have kiſs'd him; but ſheathed it in his guts, ſo that he died upon the place. Now what was the provocation all this while to commit ſo impious and execrable a barbarity upon ſo worthy a youth, nay and his kinſman too; but a malicious envy of his preferment, and a jealouſy of his being too great in the king's favour. It was much upon the ſame ground that he had already murder'd Abner; and much after the ſame treacherous manner that he did it too. 'Tis true, that in the former caſe he

The other tribes take exceptions, and expoſtulate the matter, Ver. 43.

Sheba, a man of a violent ſpirit, 2 Sam. xx. 1.

A trumpet ſounded to a rebellion, ibid.

A war denounced againſt David, Ver. 2.

Only the tribe of Judah to conduct him to Jeruſalem, ibid.

Joab advances with his brother Abiſhai to find out Sheba, Ver. 7.

Joab meets Amaſa at Gibeon, at the head of a brave army; and Amaſa embraces him, Ver. 8.

Joab under pretence of kiſſing Amaſa ſtabs him, Ver. 9, 10.

As he had murder'd Abner before.

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* Scrip. Chimham.

† The Scripture 2 Sam xx. 6, 7. ſays, it was to Abiſhai, and that Joab's men went out after him, &c.

‖ Viz. about five Italian miles, which make ſomething more than four of Engliſh meaſure.

might appear to have ſome ſpecious colour for it in the revenge of his brother Hazael; but for this ſecond murther he had not a word to ſay in his own vindication.

Joab advances to find out Sheba; proclaims Amaſa an ill man, inviting all that lov'd the king to follow Joab and Abiſhai, Ver. 11, 12.

Amaſa's body remov'd out of the way, Ver. 13.

Sheba is gotten into Abel-Maacha, and Joab orders it to be beſieg'd, Ver. 15.

Upon the death of Amaſa, Joab proſecuted his march to look out Sheba; leaving only one man with the general's body, with order to make proclamation thorough the army, that he was an ill man, and but ſerv'd according to his deſert, deſiring all thoſe that were for the king to follow Joab, and his brother Abiſhai.* While the body lay expoſed in the way, there were multitudes gather'd together, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, gazing upon it with aſtoniſhment; ſo that he who had it in charge, got it out of the way to a village, where he lodg'd it in a houſe, and threw a coat over it; and ſo ſoon as the ſurprize was removed, the ſoldiers march'd forward after their commanders. Joab had by this time purſued Sheba almoſt quite thorough the land of Iſrael; and getting intelligence at laſt, that he had ſhelter'd himſelf in a ſtrong town call'd Abel-Maacha †, Joab order'd the place to be preſently beſieg'd, and a trench caſt up about it; and at the ſame time to have it ply'd with mines and batteries; being reſolv'd to deſtroy it, even for the affront of ſhutting their gates againſt him.

A woman calls out to Joab from the wall, Ver. 17.

And charges him with injuſtice in that undertaking, Ver. 18, 19.

Joab promiſes to quit the ſiege upon the delivery of Sheba, V. 21.

Sheba's head cut off, and thrown over the wall, Ver. 22. The ſiege rais'd. Joab declar'd general, Ver. 23, &c.

While theſe preparations were a-foot for the gaining of the town, a good and a prudent woman, out of a zeal for the ſervice of her country in that extremity, mounted the wall, and call'd out to Joab from the battlements, to ſpeak a word with him out of the hearing of the ſoldiers. Joab did as ſhe deſired, and the diſcourſe ſhe made him was to this purpoſe: "Whereas God, ſays ſhe, has given us kings and governours to protect us againſt our enemies, and to maintain and preſerve us in peace and unity one with another, here you are come, without any injury, or provocation, to ruin one of the moſt eminent cities in the whole land of Iſrael." Joab at this expreſs'd his utter abhorence of ſo foul a deed; and ſaid, he hoped God would always keep him in a better mind; adding, that he was ſo far from having the leaſt thought of committing any unneceſſary violence on this famous city, or of doing harm to any one perſon in it, that if the people would but deliver up Sheba, that rebellious ſon of Bichri, to juſtice, he would in the ſame moment draw off his army. Upon this promiſe and declaration, the woman call'd out to Joab, only to have a little patience, and Sheba's head ſhould be thrown down to him over the wall. She went back upon this, to the citizens, to reaſon the matter with them. "Are you then reſolved, ſays ſhe, like a company of wicked men, and for the ſake of a wicked wretch, and a meer ſtranger to you, to ſacrifice your habitations, your wives, and your children, and all in ſo wicked a manner too? what has Sheba done for you, to balance the obligations you have to David? or, ſetting aſide all other arguments, are you able, do you think, to defend your city againſt this army." The reaſon of the thing was ſo plain and evident, that they cut off Sheba's head by conſent, for a compoſition, and caſt it over the wall: whereupon the ſiege was forthwith rais'd; and the people returning to Jeruſalem, David declared Joab general of all his troops. Benaiah had the command given him of all the guards of the body, and the ſix hundred veterans. Adoram was the treaſurer. Sabathes and Achilaus were the recorders; Suſa the ſecretary; Zadock and Abiathar continuing in the prieſthood.

A famine in the land, and God conſulted about it, 2 Sam. xxi. 1. Anſwer return'd, that the blood of the Gibeonites cry'd for vengeance, ibid.

Some time after this, there was a famine in the land, and David earneſtly beſought God to reveal unto him in mercy, both the provoking cauſe of that grievous judgment, and how it might be remov'd. Anſwer was returned by the prophets, that the blood of the Gibeonites, which Saul had moſt perfidiouſly cauſed to be ſhed, cry'd to heaven for vengeance; as an action not only contrary to the oath and promiſe of Joſhua, and ratify'd alſo by the elders, but againſt conſcience and common juſtice: wherefore, ſaid they, let the king give ſuch ſatisfaction to the Gibeonites as they ſhall require for the loſs of their ſlaughter'd citizens, and the Iſraelites may expect that God will be gracious to them, in a deliverance from their preſent calamity. When David came to underſtand this from the prophets themſelves, he ſent to the Gibeonites, and ask'd them what ſatisfaction would content them. So they demanded that ſeven of Saul's ſons, or of his race, might be deliver'd up to juſtice. The king order'd to have ſeven of them found out, and put into the hands of the Gibeonites, to do with them as they pleaſed: but ſtill excepting Mephiboſheth out of the number, for the ſake of Jonathan his father. The Gibeonites accepted of this as a compoſition, and puniſh'd them as they thought fit themſelves: in which inſtant God ſent them rain, and ſo kindly a continuance of it, that the earth in due time recovered its fertility, and brought forth fruits in their ſeaſon, freſh and flouriſhing, as formerly.

David overthrows the Philiſtines.

Achmon ſtrikes David to the ground, Ver. 16, 17. Abiſhai reſcues him, and kills his enemy, ibid.

It was not long after this that David marched out with his army againſt the Philiſtines; fought, and routed them; but following the chace too eagerly, and too far, Achmon the ſon of Araph, one of the race of the giants, (whoſe armour was a coat of mail, a launce weighing three hundred ſhekels ‡, and his ſword by his ſide) ſeeing David alone, and quite ſpent, turned ſhort upon him, and ſtruck him down, and had certainly ſlain him, if Abiſhai, Joab's brother, had not in that preciſe moment come to his relief; beſtriding David, and not only protecting the king, but killing his enemy. The whole army was ſo ſenſible of the danger the king's life was in, and of the providence of his deliverance, that the commanders bound him by an oath never to hazard his royal perſon any more in a battle; for being naturally brave and forward, he laid himſelf too open to the common chances of war; and if he ſhould miſcarry, it would be an irreparable loſs to the nation, to be depriv'd of the bleſſings they enjoy'd under his adminiſtration.

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* This is Joſephus's comment on Ver. 11, and 12. of 2 Sam. xx. where it is not in expreſs words affirm'd that Joab ordered the man, who ſtood by Amaſa's body, to villify him, and proclaim him an ill man; but ſeems an inference probable enough to be true from the nature of the circumſtances that attended the fact.

† Scrip. Abel of Beth-Maachah.

‡ Betwixt eleven and twelve pound Troy weight.

The Philiſtines rally and draw together again to Gaza, 2 Sam. xxi. 18. It came to a ſecond battle, and Sobach got great reputation in it, ibid.

The Philiſtines raiſe another army; fight, and are worſted, Ver. 19. Nephan, the king's kinſman, did wonders that day, ibid. The Philiſtines recruit once again, Ver. 20.

Jonathan, the ſon of Shimei, kills a giant hand to hand, Ver. 21.

The Philiſtines quite diſpirited, ibid.

This battle had not been long over, before the Philiſtines rally'd again, and came to a rendezvous at Gaza. David having notice of it, diſpatch'd away an army immediately againſt them. In this expedition, Sobach the Hittite (one of the braveſt men in the whole body) got himſelf great reputation by cutting off ſeveral of the race of the giants, and men of a prodigious bulk and ſtrength too, with his own hand. He had in ſhort the honour of a great ſhare in that day's ſucceſs. The Philiſtines, after this, brought yet another army into the field, and the king ſent out his troops to encounter them. Nephan, David's kinſman did wonders, for he ſlew, hand to hand, in a ſingle combat, one of the boldeſt men the Philiſtines had in their party: the reſt turned their backs upon it, and loſt great numbers in that action. But the Philiſtines in a ſhort time recruited yet once again, after all their loſs, and encamped at a certain town not far from the borders of the Hebrews. The Philiſtines had in their camp a man ſix cubits * high; ſix fingers on a hand, and ſix toes on each foot, and one that valu'd himſelf upon his deſcent from the ſtock of the giants. Jonathan, the ſon of Shimei, had the honour to kill this gigantick man in a ſingle combat, and at the head of his troops, which contributed very much to the gaining of the day; beſide the glorious character he acquir'd by it, of a valiant man. This was the laſt battle the Iſraelites had with the Philiſtines; for from that time forward, they never had the courage to make head againſt them any more.

David being now at peace, compoſes hymns, &c. for God's holy worſhip, 2 Sam. xxii.

King David had about him thirty eight worthies, 2 Sam. xxiii.

Five of them were as follows.

David having now made his way through all the toils and dangers of war, into the quiet of a profound peace, gave himſelf wholly up to the compoſing of divine hymns and pſalms, to the glory of God, in variety of meaſures, as trimeters, pentameters, and the like. Theſe airs he order'd to be ſung by the Levites upon the ſabbaths and other feſtivals, in company with muſical inſtruments provided for that purpoſe. As they had an inſtrument with ten ſtrings, to be touch'd with a quill; the pſaltery with twelve ſtrings, to be play'd upon with the fingers; and large cymbals of braſs. But this is enough as to the general underſtanding of the nature of theſe inſtruments. The king had about him men of honour and valour in abundance; but for worthies of the firſt rate, he reckon'd only eight and thirty † who had made themſelves ſignal for their exploits; and men of ſuch force and reſolution, as if they had been made for great enterprizes, and the carrying of the world before them. Of theſe eight and thirty, I ſhall only name five, as a meaſure to judge of the reſt by.

1. Iſſem, V. 8.

The first was ‡ Iſſem, the ſon of Achem, who broke ſeveral times into the body of the enemy, and kill'd nine hundred of them upon one encounter, with his own hand.

2. Eleazar, Ver. 9, 10.

After him comes Eleazar, the ſon of Dodo, who was with the king in Araſam. It was his fortune to be in a battle, where the Iſraelites finding themſelves mightily over-power'd with numbers, gave way and fled, leaving him alone in his own perſon to make good his ground; which he did ſo effectually, that he gave a ſtand to the whole army, killing and wounding great numbers of them; ſo that his ſword was in a manner glew'd to his right-hand with the blood. The example of this bravery put courage into the fugitives, and made them rally, and charge the enemy's troops with ſuch fury, that they recovered the day, and crown'd it with a wonderful, and a moſt illuſtrious victory; Eleazar killing them all this while, and the common ſoldiers ſtripping them.

3. Sebas, Ver. 11, 12.

The third was ** Sebas, the ſon of Ilus, who had the place called the Jaw, upon another engagement with the Philiſtines, finding the Iſraelites ſhrinking and giving way, oppoſed his ſingle body to the whole force of the enemy; did great execution upon them; broke their order; put them to flight, and gave them chace, with a great overthrow. In theſe three inſtances we read the bravery of theſe three heroical adventurers, in the plain field, and in the face of an enemy.

At another time, when the king was at Jeruſalem, and the Philiſtines encamped before it, in the great valley that ſtretches out as far as Bethlem, a matter of twenty *† furlongs from the town, David went up to a high tower to ask counſel and direction of God, about the government and event of the war; and ſpeaking among his friends of the delicious water that was in his country, and eſpecially of the well at Bethlem that was next the gate, "What would I give, ſays he, for a draught "of that water!" Theſe three men overhearing him, went their way immediately, broke through the camp of the Philiſtines, and fetch'd of the water from the well itſelf, and came back with it the ſame way they went: the Barbarians ſtanding amazed all the while at the hardineſs of the undertaking, and not daring, though ſo few of them, to give them any interruption in their return. Upon their preſenting of this water to the king, he gave God thanks for the ſafety of them that brought it; but it would not become him, he ſaid, to drink it, for it was the price of blood; and ſo he poured it upon the ground as an offering to the Lord.

4. Abiſhai, Ver. 18.

In the fourth place may be reckon'd Abiſhai, the brother of Joab, that in one day ſlew *‡ ſix hundred of the enemy.

5. Benaiah, Ver. 20, 21.

The fifth and the laſt of theſe worthy champions ſhall be Benaiah, a man of a ſacerdotal family, who fought, upon a challenge, with two brothers, men of eminent fame for feats of arms among the Moabites, and kill'd them both. He fought again with an Egyptian, of a monſtrous force and ſize; and cloſing with him, though himſelf naked, and his adverſary arm'd at all points, he forced his ſpear out of his hands, and diſpatch'd him with his own weapon; and for his greater honour ſtill, he diſarm'd him while he was yet living. He did another thing too, that for the ſtoutneſs and boldneſs of it, may be accounted equal, if not ſuperior, to all the reſt. There was a lion dropp'd into a pitfall; the ſnow drove into the whole, and cover'd the mouth of it; ſo that the beaſt finding no way to get out again, ſet up a roaring. It was Benaiah's hap to paſs by that way, within hearing of this outcry. He went to the place, and ſo into the pit, and with a ſtaff ſtagger'd and kill'd the lion. Theſe were five great men; and the other three and thirty not inferior to them.

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* A cubit is the length of the arm from the elbow to the end of the longeſt finger, which is at leaſt half a yard; ſo that this man muſt be three yards high at leaſt.

† 2 Sam. xxiii. 39. the Scripture recounts but thirty ſeven.

‡ In 2 Sam xxiii. 8. 'tis "Adino the Eznite, who lift up his ſpear againſt eight hundred, whom he ſlew at one "time."

** Scrip. Shammah, the ſon of Agee.

*† Viz. two Italian miles and an half; that is, a little above two of our miles.

*‡ The Scripture mentions but three hundred.

2 Sam. xxiv.

It enter'd now into David's heart to take an account how many thouſand men he could muſter out of the people of Iſrael, forgetting the old precept of Moſes, that ſo oft as there ſhould be occaſion to number the people, there ſhould be an oblation of half a ſhekel * by the head to the Lord; but he ſent to Joab, however, to take the account. He excus'd himſelf upon it, as a thing that was needleſs; but David would not be ſaid nay, and therefore poſitively commanded him to go about it, and let it be the firſt thing he did. Joab, upon this, ſummoned the ſcribes and the heads of the tribes to adviſe with all, and ſo went through the whole land of the Iſraelites to make up this computation. After nine months and twenty days, Joab returned to Jeruſalem, and told the king upon the whole matter, that beſide the tribes of Benjamin, and of Levi, which he had not as yet taken an account of, he found the number of the reſt of the Iſraelites to amount to nine hundred thouſand men, who were able to bear arms. In the tribe of Judah alone he reckon'd up four hundred thouſand.

David commands Joab poſitively to number the people, Ver. 2, 3, 4.

Joab computes them to be nine hundred thouſand men, beſides the tribes of Benjamin and Levi, Ver. 9.

David, while this was in hand, repented himſelf of what he had done, and was told by the prophet alſo, that God was highly offended at him; whereupon he betook himſelf to a true repentance, begging pardon of Almighty God, with prayers and ſupplications, and obtained it. Preſently after this God ſent the prophet Gad to him, with an offer of three things to his choice; that is to ſay, either a ſeven years famine, or to fly three months before an enemy, or a three days peſtilence; and to demand a preſent reſolution from him, which of the three he would take. David found himſelf in a great ſtreight which to chuſe. If the famine, ſays he to himſelf, it would look as if I had more care of myſelf than of my people; for my ſtorehouſes are much better provided with corn than theirs. If to lie at the mercy of an enemy, it looks the ſame way ſtill; for I have ſtrong holds and caſtles to repair to for my own ſafety. But for the third, it is a calamity that threatens governors in common with their ſubjects. As he was turning his thoughts upon this deliberation, the prophet preſs'd him to an immediate anſwer; to which he made this return, "That "he would rather fall into the hands of God "than of man; and therefore ſubmitting him"ſelf to God's pleaſure and goodneſs, he choſe "the peſtilence." The prophet had no ſooner received and reported David's anſwer, but the Iſraelites were preſently ſeized with a moſt unaccountable diſtemper, that was ſtill attended with certain death, and accompanied with accidents that baffled all the doctors, either to find a remedy or a reaſon. But they died, in fine, in prodigious numbers, and no body knew how. Some went off with gripes and torments that diſpatch'd them in a trice; ſome with incurable faintneſſes and languors, in deſpite of the phyſicians; others with vertigo's, dimneſs of ſight, ſuffocations, &c. Some again expir'd, themſelves, before they could thoroughly perform the office of burial for their dead friends. The mortality, in ſhort, was ſo great, that betwixt break of day and dinner-time, there were ſwept away by this peſtilence ſeventy thouſand perſons. The deſtroying angel was now going to Jeruſalem upon the ſame commiſſion; but the king putting on ſackcloth, and humbly ſupplicating God with prayers and tears, to remove this dreadful judgment; in the middle of his ejaculations he lifted up his eyes, and diſcover'd an angel, with a drawn ſword, moving toward Jeruſalem. Upon this apparition he broke out into freſh and more paſſionate exclamations. "Lord, ſays he, puniſh the ſhepherd; but "alas! what have theſe ſheep done? Pour "down thy wrath rather upon me and my "family; but ſpare the innocent people, I "beſeech thee."

David repents.

God pardons him, but offers him the choice of three things, Ver. 10--13.

David deliberates, and chuſes the peſtilence, Ver. 14.

The Iſraelites ſeiz'd with a plague, V. 15.

Seventy thouſand perſons ſwept away betwixt break of day and dinner time, ibid.

The king betakes himſelf to ſackcloth and prayers, Ver. 17.

An angel with a drawn ſword, moving toward Jeruſalem, Ver. 16.

David's prayers were heard, and God immediately put a ſtop to the peſtilence; ordering the king, by the mouth of the prophet Gad, to go up without delay to the threſhing-floor of Araunah, and there to erect an altar, and offer ſacrifice upon it. David went away to the place according to his direction, where he found Araunah threſhing his corn, who no ſooner ſaw David and his ſons coming towards him, but he ran out with infinite reverence to receive them. Now this Araunah was a Jebuſite, and ſo particular a friend of David's, that he protected and ſecured him from all damage upon the very taking of the city, as has been before obſerv'd.

God ſtops the peſtilence.

An altar erected at the threſhing-floor of Araunah, Ver. 18.

Araunah, a try'd friend of David's, Ver. 20--23.

"Well, ſays Araunah, is there any thing "now that my lord will be pleas'd to com"mand of his ſervant?" "I come, ſays "David, to buy your threſhing-floor, and to "raiſe an altar to God upon it, and to offer "ſacrifice." Nay, ſays Araunah, not only "my threſhing-floor, but my ploughs, my "oxen, and burnt-offerings, are all at my "Lord's ſervice, gratis; and I beſeech that "God to look graciouſly down upon your "worſhip and ſacrifice." The king was exceedingly pleas'd with the candor and greatneſs of this good man's mind; but told him, that it muſt be a purchaſe, not a gift; for it would not be fair to offer a ſacrifice that ſhould coſt him nothing. So Araunah remitted himſelf to David, who gave him fifty † ſhekels for the floor; offer'd ſacrifices and burnt-

David buys Araunah's threſhing-floor, and ſacrifices upon it, Ver. 24.

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* About one ſhilling and three pence half penny in our money.

† The Scripture, 2 Sam. xxiv. 24. from whence this is taken, ſays, fifty ſhekels of ſilver; but in 1 Chron. xxi. 25. where this fact is again recorded, 'tis ſaid, ſix hundred ſhekels of gold by weight; betwixt which there is an immenſe difference. That David gave Araunah more than fifty ſhekels of ſilver, is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, ſince fifty ſhekels of ſilver, (admitting a ſhekel to be worth two ſhillings and ſeven pence in our money, which is the higheſt valuation any writer has put upon it) would amount to no more than ſix pounds, nine ſhillings, and two pence; a

very

burnt-offerings, and peace-offerings likewiſe upon it. After this ſolemnity, David was reinſtated in God's grace and favour. This was the place that Abraham brought his ſon Iſaac to, when he ſhould have been offer'd up himſelf for a ſacrifice, if a ram had not been preſented in his ſtead, when the knife was ready for the execution. But we have ſpoken of this in another place.

David calls the place the People's altar, and reſolves to build a temple there, 1 Chron. xxii. 1.

When David found that his prayers were granted, and his ſacrifice accepted, he reſolved to call the whole place by the name of the People's Altar, or the Iſraelites Altar, and to build a temple there; which purpoſe of his was afterward ratified by God himſelf, who ſoon after ſent his prophet to him with a prediction, that his ſucceſſor ſhould there build a temple. David employ'd people upon this, to take an account how many ſtrangers he had in his dominions, which were reckon'd to amount to about one hundred and eighty thouſand perſons. Out of theſe he choſe eighty thouſand to work in ſtone; the reſt to be employ'd in carrying all ſorts of materials; out of which he appointed thirty five thouſand to overſee the workmen. There was gotten together a mighty maſs of iron and braſs, a prodigious quantity of cedar, which he had from Tyre and Sidon; the largeſt and the faireſt trees that were to be got. David would be telling his familiar friends all this while, that theſe materials were only to lie ready for uſe, when his ſon ſhould have occaſion for them, which would ſave time and trouble, and expedite the work; but that as yet his ſon was too young and unexperienc'd to manage ſuch a province.

David provides artificers, labourers, and materials toward this magnificent ſtructure, Ver. 2, 3, 4.

CHAP. XI.

David gives Solomon orders and inſtructions for the building of a temple. Adonijah ſets up for king; but lets fall his pretence upon the people's oppoſing him. David's ſpeech and charge to the heads of the nation, with advice to his ſon about the civil government.

David charges Solomon to build the temple ſo ſoon as ever he comes to the crown, Ver. 6–13.

THIS was the ſituation of affairs, when David called his ſon Solomon to him, and gave him in ſpecial charge, that ſo ſoon as ever he came to the throne, he ſhould immediately enter upon the building of a temple, for the honour and worſhip of God. "I would have done it myſelf, ſays he, but "being frequently in war, and conſequently "a man of blood, I was forbidden by an ex-"preſs command from Heaven, and the work "reſerved by providence for my youngeſt "ſon;" who, according to the prediction, was to be call'd Solomon, who ſhould be a prince of peace; of whom it was foretold, that God would take him with a paternal affection into his own care, and that the whole people of Iſrael ſhould be happy under his adminiſtration; and enjoy not only a peace (the greateſt of all temporal bleſſings) with foreigners, but live free from any civil or inteſtine diviſions among themſelves. "Now, ſays "David, ſince you were deſign'd to be a king, "even before you were born, do your endea-"vour to behave yourſelf as a man otherwiſe "worthy of that providence; govern your-"ſelf according to the meaſures of piety, "juſtice, and true fortitude; pay a reverence "to the precepts, laws, and traditions of "Moſes; obſerve them religiouſly yourſelf, "and do not ſuffer any violation of them in "others. As for the temple that God hath "appointed to be built in your reign, be ſure "to attend it as you ought to do, and let "not the difficulty of the work diſcourage "you; for it ſhall be my care to have all "the materials in readineſs for you to begin "withal, upon your firſt entrance into the go-"vernment. I have made a proviſion of * ten "thouſand talents of gold, one hundred thou-"ſand of ſilver, braſs and iron to a quantity "not to be imagin'd, beſide timber and ſtone "in a vaſt abundance. You ſhall have alſo "many thouſands of carpenters and maſons, "and the means of ſupplying yourſelf with "what you want. Attend your buſineſs with "care and diſpatch; for upon the finiſhing of "this undertaking, you may aſſure yourſelf "of the perpetual favour and protection of "Almighty God."

David gives excellent advice to Solomon, ibid.

And promiſes to provide the materials for the temple in his reign, Ver. 14, 15, 16.

After this he recommended it to the princes of the people to aſſiſt his ſon in this fabrick; and without being ſolicitous upon any other account, to attend the buſineſs of religion in the firſt place; for that alone would be ſufficient to ſecure the peace and welfare of the commonwealth, which are the never-failing rewards of righteouſneſs and juſtice. He appointed alſo, that upon the finiſhing of the temple, the ark ſhould be placed in it, with all the holy veſſels and utenſils there-

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very inconſiderable ſum for a prince of David's riches, and no ways equivalent to the value of oxen for burnt-offerings, threſhing inſtruments for wood, and the wheat for the meat offering, beſide that large tract of ground on which the temple ſtood. On the other hand, ſix hundred ſhekels of gold, according to Calmet's tables, weighed eleven pounds, four ounces, ſeventeen penny weights, and twelve grains Troy weight, and in value amounted to five hundred and forty ſeven pounds, ten ſhillings, a ſum that ſeems much better proportion'd to the value of the purchaſe; we therefore adhere to the latter account as trueſt. This variation in Scripture, as alſo ſeveral others that we meet with, cannot any other ways be accounted for, than by imputing them to the errors of the Hebrew ſcribes, in tranſcribing the copies of the Bible, whereby the ſacred text has ſuffer'd corruption in ſome hundreds of places; or reconciled, otherwiſe than by a faithful reſtoration of the true readings; the adjuſting of which would be a work highly becoming the labours of the moſt learned men in Europe, and well worthy the proſecution, ſince the famous M. Le Clerc, and ſome others have undertook to lead the way.

* An Hebrew talent, according to Dom. Calmet's tables, weighed an hundred and fourteen pounds, fifteen penny weights Troy; and its value in gold was five thouſand four hundred and ſeventy five pounds Engliſh money. Ten thouſand talents therefore muſt weigh one million, an hundred and forty thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty five pounds, and amount in value to fifty four millions, ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. Its value in ſilver, according to the aforeſaid author, was worth three hundred and forty two pounds, three ſhillings, and nine pence Engliſh money; an hundred thouſand therefore muſt weigh eleven millions, four hundred and ſix thouſand, and two hundred pound Troy, and amount to thirty four millions, two hundred and ſixty eight thouſand, and ſeven hundred pounds; but in 1 Chron. xxii. 14. from whence this is taken, 'tis juſt the reverſe, viz. a thouſand talents of ſilver, and an hundred thouſand talents of gold, which would amount to five hundred and forty ſeven millions, and five hundred thouſand pounds, a ſum ſo incredibly great, as may juſtly render the reading of the place ſuſpicious,

David orders the ark, &c. to be depoſited in the temple when finiſhed, Chron. xxii. 19.

unto belonging, which he told them ſhould have been there depoſited long ſince, if their foreſathers had minded the injunction God laid upon them, of raiſing a temple to him immediately upon their coming into the land of promiſe. Theſe counſels and exhortations of David were addreſs'd indifferently, both to his ſon and to the princes.

David is now cold, and worn out with age, 1 Kings i. 1.

David adviſed to make uſe of a warm young bed-fellow, V. 2.

Abiſhag is the perſon to ſupply the office, V. 3.

David was now but ſeventy years of age, and yet ſo worn out and ſpent with the infirmities of old age, and his blood ſo chill'd, that all the coverings and blankets they could throw over him would not procure him any heat; ſo that a council of phyſicians was called upon it, who unanimouſly agreed, that the beſt thing in the world for a man under thoſe decays, was a fair young bed-fellow; for the warmth being gentle and kindly, would relieve nature without force. They found out upon this, in the city, a very beautiful woman that came up to the nicety of the preſcription, and put her to bed to him. Her name was Abiſhag, and her buſineſs only to lie by him, embrace, and comfort him; which ſhe might ſafely and innocently do, the king being now paſt the temptations of all irregular diſpoſitions. But of this virgin we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak further hereafter.

David's fourth ſon Adonijah,

Claims the government by ſucceſſion, Ver. 5.

David had a fourth ſon, whoſe name was Adonijah; born to him by Haggith, and the next after Abſalom, as to his beauty, ſtature, and the gracefulneſs of his perſon; nay, and in his ambition too, he was not much unlike him. This Adonijah, Abſalom being dead, lays claim to the government, as the next in ſucceſſion; ſetting all his friends at work, by intereſt and popularity, to aſſiſt him toward the gaining of his point. He furniſhes himſelf with a pompous equipage of chariots, horſes, guards, and the like; while the good man his father innocently lets him go on, without the leaſt check or caution; nay, or ſo much as asking him the queſtion, what all this ſplendor and parade tended to. His chief accomplices were Joab the general, and the high-prieſt Abiathar; but Zadock the high-prieſt, and the prophet Nathan, Benaiah the captain of the guards, Shimei the king's friend, and the generality of the ſoldiery, were in a different intereſt, and oppoſed his meaſures.

Adonijah makes a mighty entertainment, Ver. 9.

Nathan adviſes Bathſheba to ſpeak of it to David, V. 11--14

Bathſheba tells David as Nathan directed her, Ver. 15--22.

As ſhe is telling her ſtory, Nathan comes to the door, V. 23.

Nathan's diſcourſe with David about a ſucceſſor, Ver. 27.

Adonijah's gueſts were feaſting, &c. Ver. 25.

Bathſheba being withdrawn, was called in again, V. 28.

David ſwears that Solomon ſhall ſit upon the throne that day, Ver. 29, 30.

Adonijah prepared a mighty treat in the Suburbs of Jeruſalem near the fountain in the king's gardens. To this entertainment he invited all his brothers, ſave only Solomon; and there was Joab alſo, and Abiathar; and the chiefs of the tribe of Judah: but for Zadock, Nathan, and Benaiah, and others of that intereſt, there was not a man of them invited. The prophet Nathan took notice of this to Bathſheba, the mother of Solomon. "Look ye, ſays "he, here's Adonijah ſetting himſelf up for "king, and David knows nothing of what's "done: wherefore let it be your care, as "well for your ſon's ſake, as for your own, "to look after this affair. Go you to David, "ſays the prophet, and when you have him "alone, mind him of his oath, that Solomon "ſhould reign after him; and yet here's Adonijah, "you may tell him, as good as upon "the throne already. While you are diſcourſing "this matter with the king, I may come "into the chamber to you, and ſecond your "information." Bathſheba follow'd the prophets advice, and went in to the king, where ſhe made her reverence; and after leave given her to deliver ſomewhat ſhe had to ſay, ſhe gave David an account of the affair in the very words the prophet had put into her mouth; "Telling him the circumſtances of Adonijah's "entertainment; whom he invited, and whom "he left out: adding withal, that the people "were in a ſuſpence what to do till he ſhould "declare his ſucceſſor, and that her own life "and her ſon's were both at ſtake upon the iſſue." While this diſcourſe was a-foot, the ſervants brought David word, that the prophet Nathan was at the door to wait upon him. He was immediately call'd in, and upon the very inſtant of entering the preſence, he asked David, in ſome confuſion, "whether or no he "had that day transferred his government to "Adonijah, and declared him his ſucceſſor; "for he has made, ſays he, a very ſplendid "feaſt, invited ſuch and ſuch perſons to it; "omitted ſuch and ſuch others; and now are "they eating, drinking, and making merry, "with healths and acclamations to the honour "of their new king Adonijah: but for myſelf, "Zadock the high-prieſt, and Benaiah the "captain of the guards, we are all ſtrangers "to the matter. Now it would be well, ſaid "he, to let the world underſtand whether this "be done with your privity and approbation, "or not." Bathſheba withdrew when the prophet came in, and was now by the king's order call'd for back again. She was accordingly brought to David, and he ſpoke to her after this manner: "Well, ſays he to Bathſheba, "the thing that I have ſworn formerly, "I do now ſwear over again, in the preſence "of the great God: Your ſon Solomon ſhall "reign after me, and ſit upon my throne; "and you ſhall ſee it done this very day." Upon which declaration and aſſurance, ſhe ſubmiſſively took her leave, wiſhing the king a long life.

David commands Zadock and Benaiah to anoint Solomon, king, V. 32,--34

And ſo to conduct him with ſhouts, and trumpets through the city.

David, upon this reſolution, ſent for Zadock and Benaiah, and bad them take the prophet Nathan, and the royal guards along with them; mount Solomon upon the king's mule, and carry him out of the city to the fountain that is called Gihon, there to anoint him with holy oil, and proclaim him king. This office being aſſigned to the high-prieſt and the prophet, command was further given, that they ſhould conduct him through the heart of the city with trumpets ſounding before him, and multitudes of troops following with ſhouts and rejoicings, crying, [Long live king Solomon] to the end, that the whole nation might take notice of it, that his father had declared him his ſucceſſor. David, for a concluſion, gave Solomon in charge to be ſure to govern, not only the tribe of Judah, but the whole nation of the Hebrews, according to the ſtricteſt rules and meaſures of piety and juſtice.

They place Solomon on his father's throne, with joy and acclamations, Ver. 39, 40.

Benaiah, after this, with an affectionate ejaculation for God's bleſſing upon Solomon, and the whole proceeding, went inſtantly away with the reſt of the company, according to their order, to execute the office aſſign'd them. They mounted Solomon upon the king's mule; conducted him out of the city to the fountain; anointed him with holy oil, and then brought him back again, attended with acclamations, and the unanimous wiſhes of a long and happy reign. They brought him afterward to the palace, and placed him upon his father's throne.

The noiſe of ſhouts and trumpets ſtartles Adonijah and his gueſts, 1 Kings i. 41.

Jonathan comes in, and tells them the whole ſtory, Ver. 42--48. The company ſlinks away, Ver. 49. Adonijah flies for ſanctuary to the altar, and begs pardon, Ver. 50.

Solomon forgives him for what was paſt, Ver. 52, 53.

This ſolemnity being over, the people gave up themſelves to jollity and feaſting, muſick, dancing, and all other chearful diverſions, to ſuch a degree of tranſport and rejoicings, that heaven and earth rang of it. The clamour of this extravagant joy coming to the ears of Adonijah and his gueſts, did not a little ſurprize them; Joab himſelf declaring that the noiſe he heard of ſhouts and trumpets did not at all pleaſe him. In a word, it gave ſuch a damp to their jollity, and diſreliſh to their dainties, that none of them had any appetite to enjoy what was before them. While they were in this muſing melancholy poſture, Jonathan, the ſon of Abiathar the high-prieſt, come running to them in great haſte, whom Adonijah was very glad to ſee, upon a miſtaken opinion that he brought good news with him. So Jonathan gave them the whole relation of the king's orders, and the proceeding concerning Solomon; which they had no ſooner heard, but every man ſlink'd away from the banquet to his own home. Only Adonijah being conſcious to himſelf of an indignity too great to be forgiven, fled for ſanctuary to the horns of the altar, and there begg'd for pardon. When Solomon came to underſtand how it was with Adonijah, and that he inſiſted upon ſome ſecurity to be given him for an indemnity and oblivion, with as much prudence as clemency, he granted him a pardon for what was paſt; but with a precaution, to have a care how he behav'd himſelf for the future; for if he ſhould ever be found in any ſuch practice again for the time to come, his deſtruction ſhould lie at his own door. So Solomon order'd him to be brought to him from his place of refuge, and when he had paid his duty and reverence to the new king, he bad him go to his own houſe again in peace, and to behave himſelf for the time to come like a good man, which it was highly his own intereſt to do.

A ſummons of all the princes to Jeruſalem, with the prieſts and Levites, 1 Chron. xxiii. 2.

The prieſts, apart from the reſt of the tribe, make twenty four families, 1 Chron. xxiv. 4.

They caſt lots, and the firſt that comes out is called the firſt family, and ſo in order to the laſt, Ver. 5--19.

The tribe of Levi is divided alſo into twenty four parts, to ſucceed in order, as the prieſts, Ver. 20, &c.

It was David's intention to have Solomon declared and recognized the king of the whole nation of Iſrael; in order to which end, he ſummon'd all the princes to Jeruſalem, together with the prieſts and Levites; and he found upon the roll thirty eight thouſand men among them, that were above thirty years of age; out of which number there were twenty four thouſand to attend the building of the temple; judges and their clerks ſix thouſand; four thouſand porters belonging to the houſe of God, and as many ſingers and muſicians, or players upon inſtruments; of which we have ſaid ſomewhat already. Theſe he divided into families, and upon ſeparating the prieſts from the reſt of the tribe, he found four and twenty of them; that is to ſay, ſixteen deſcended from Eleazar, and eight from Ithamar; appointing every family to officiate eight days, or from ſabbath to ſabbath, and ſo to do duty one after another. The lots of the whole were all caſt in the preſence of David, and of the high-prieſts Zadock and Abiathar, together with the heads of the tribes. The lot that came out firſt being enter'd upon the roll, [the firſt family] and ſo the ſecond, and the third, &c. to the four and twentieth, in order as it happen'd, which way of diſtribution continues in uſe to this day. He divided the tribe of Levi alſo in twenty four parts, to ſucceed one after another, according to the chance of the lot, in the ſame manner with the prieſts. But the preference was ſtill given to the poſterity of Moſes; to whom was committed the truſt and cuſtody of the holy treaſure, and the bounties and donations of princes and royal benefactors. He likewiſe order'd the whole tribe of Levi, and the prieſts, to attend the ſervice of God, day and night in their turns, according to the primitive preſcription and inſtitution of Moſes.

The army diſtributed into twelve diviſions, and each to do a month's duty by turns in Solomon's palace, 1 Chron. xxvii. 1.

Overſeers appointed of the king's revenue, Ver. 25--31.

David calls a general aſſembly, and addreſſes upon the ſubject of the temple, 1 Chron. xxviii. 1--10.

David enjoins a dutiful obedience to Solomon, ibid.

In the next place he made a diſtribution of the whole army into twelve diviſions, with their commanders in chief, tribunes, centurions, and their ſubordinates; every diviſion to conſiſt of twenty four thouſand * men, and each of thoſe diviſions to do a month's duty in their reſpective courſes, upon the guard of Solomon's palace, together with their tribunes and centurions; every part to have its diſtinct officer or judge; and he to be a perſon of a try'd integrity and juſtice. He appointed alſo overſeers of the king's income, vineyards, lands, huſbandry, flocks, and herds, &c. whom it would be needleſs to name in this place. When David had order'd matters as above, he call'd a general aſſembly of the Hebrew magiſtrates, the princes of the tribes, the officers of the army, and the managers of the revenue; and then raiſing himſelf upon an eminence, ſpoke to the people from his throne to the following effect:

“ I am now to give you to underſtand,
ſays he, my countrymen and brethren, that
“ I have had it a long time in my thought to
“ erect a temple to the Lord, and I treaſur'd
“ up a great quantity of gold, and a hundred
“ thouſand talents of ſilver toward the charge
“ of the undertaking; but it hath pleaſed God
“ in his providence, by the mouth of the prophet
“ Nathan, to put a ſtop to my deſign,
“ upon this conſideration, that he would not
“ have the foundation of his holy houſe laid
“ by hands that had been dipp'd in blood,
“ which mine have inevitably been, though in
“ the blood of your enemies, by reaſon of the
“ wars I have been forced upon, in the righteous
“ and neceſſary defence and vindication
“ of your liberties. But the prophet told me
further, that God would tranſmit the care
“ of it to my ſon and ſucceſſor, both to begin
“ and finiſh the work. You know very well,
“ ſays David, that our father Jacob had twelve
“ ſons; and that Judah was yet choſen by
“ common conſent to be ruler of all the reſt.
“ You know likewiſe, that I myſelf, though
“ there were ſix brothers of us, was advanced
“ by God to the government, and that none
“ of the reſt thought themſelves injur'd;
“ wherefore I muſt now require in like manner
“ of you, and of all my ſons, that you
“ ſubmit cheerfully and dutifully to my ſon
“ Solomon; and that you do it without any
“ murmuring, faction, or civil diſſention; for
“ it is from God's immediate command and
“ commiſſion that he derives his authority.
Put the caſe now that God ſhould have ſet
“ a ſtranger over you, how great a folly and
“ wickedneſs would it have been for you to
“ murmur at it? But how thankful ought
“ you now to be for the choice of ſo near a
“ relation, when you yourſelves are partakers

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* From whence it is evident, David's army at that time conſiſted of two hundred and eighty eight thouſand men.

“of the honour that is done to your brother. There is nothing I ſo much long for, as to ſee God's gracious promiſes take a ſpeedy effect; and the whole people without any more delay put into a full and laſting poſſeſſion of the bleſſings they are to enjoy under the reign of Solomon. All this, my dear ſon, will be made good, ſays David, and every thing ſucceed to your wiſh, ſo long as you govern according to piety and juſtice, with a reſpect to your duty both to God and man, upholding a reverence to the laws, and treading in the ſteps of your fore-fathers; but whenever you tranſgreſs theſe bounds, there is nothing but miſery and ruin to be expected as the conſequence.”

David delivers to Solomon a draught and model of the temple, with directions for utenſils, &c. 1 Chron. xxviii. 11, &c.

The materials and workmen are provided beforehand, 1 Chron. xxix 2.

Upon the finiſhing of this diſcourſe and charge, David gave his ſon, in the ſight of all his people, a draught of the form and model of the temple, from top to bottom; the foundation and the ſuperſtructure; the height and breadth of the fabrick; the private cells, their number, and dimenſions; what veſſels of gold and ſilver were to be provided, with directions for their preciſe weight. “David exhorting his ſon alſo, with all diligence and application, to go in hand with the building, preſſing alſo the princes and the tribe of Levi to contribute their aſſiſtance; not only in regard of his youth, and want of experience, but out of a reverence alſo to his divine commiſſion, which both entitled him to the government, and likewiſe authoriz'd and predetermin'd him to this province. And, ſays David, it will not be a work of any great difficulty neither; for the materials are provided to your hand; ſo many talents of gold, more of ſilver, ſtone and timber, carpenters, ſtone-cutters, and other workmen; a great treaſure in emeralds, and other precious ſtones over and above; beſide a further ſupply of [*] three thouſand talents of the pureſt gold, out of my own treaſury, for the adorning of the holy place, and the chariot of God, and the cherubims that are to cover the ark.”

The aſſembly pleaſed with what David delivered, undertake for large contributions in gold, &c. Ver. 6–9.

Jalus, of the line of Moſes, is made the treaſurer.

This ſpeech of David's was entertained with great cheerfulneſs, both by princes, prieſts and Levites, who were all zealous for the forwarding of the work, every one in his proportion. They offer'd, among them, to bring in [†] five thouſand talents of gold, a hundred [‖] thouſand of ſilver, ten thouſand ſhekels, and a maſs of iron not to be imagin'd. They that had precious ſtones, brought them into the treaſury, where they were depoſited in the cuſtody of one Jalus, of the race of Moſes. The people were infinitely pleas'd upon the whole matter, and David above all the reſt, to ſee ſuch an unanimous and univerſal agreement and willingneſs, both in princes, prieſts, and people, towards carrying on of the work; for which he bleſſed God with a loud voice, in the ſtile of “the father, and creator of Heaven and earth; the governor and protector of the Hebrews, and the bleſſed fountain of happineſs to the people committed to his charge;” concluding his devotions with a fervent prayer for the comfort and happineſs of the nation; and with particular wiſhes of peace of conſcience, and the bleſſing of an unſpotted innocence and integrity to his ſon. He called then upon the people to join with him in their thanks to Almighty God for all his mercies, who fell upon their faces and worſhipped; and coming after this to David, made their acknowledgments for all the benefits and advantages they had enjoy'd under his reign. The day following was a great day of ſacrifices; a thouſand calves, a thouſand rams, and a thouſand lambs, for a burnt-offering; and afterward, a great many thouſand victims more for peace-offerings. It was a day, in fine, dedicated to feaſting and jollity, both by king and people. Solomon was now a ſecond time anointed, declared, and owned by the people, for their lawful king; and Zadock, by the voice of the whole multitude, deſigned for their high-prieſt. Solomon was now conducted to the palace, and placed upon his father's throne, from which day forward, the people paid him their true allegiance.

Solomon anointed, owned, and declared a ſecond time king; and Zadock the high-prieſt, Ver. 22.

CHAP. XII.

David's laſt charge, prayer, and farewel to his ſon Solomon. His death and burial.

David was now ſinking apace, under the double weight of age and ſickneſs; and finding himſelf near his end, he called for his ſon Solomon to give him his counſel and his bleſſing, and ſo to take his laſt leave of him. “Son, ſays he, I am now going to my fathers; and you that I leave behind me, are in due time to come to me; which is no more than the paying of a common debt to nature. There's no returning from the grave, and when we are once gone, we have done with this world for ever; wherefore, while I am yet among the living, and before it be too late, pray let me mind you of the ſame things once again, that I have ſo often inculcated over and over to you heretofore; govern your ſubjects according to juſtice; worſhip that God from whom you have receiv'd your dignity as well as your being, as you are bound to do; obſerve his precepts, and keep his laws, as they have been handed down to you from Moſes; and have a care that you never forſake them, either for fear, flattery, or any other paſſion or intereſt whatſoever; for otherwiſe, you can never pretend to hope for the bleſſings of God's favour and providence. But if you behave

David's laſt words to his ſon Solomon, 1 Kings ii. 1–10.

It is religion and juſtice that ſupport government, ibid.

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[*] Three thouſand talents weighed three hundred, forty two thouſand, one hundred and eighty ſeven pounds, and ſix ounces; and their value in gold amounted to ſixteen millions, four hundred and twenty five thouſand pounds, Engliſh money.

[†] Five thouſand talents weighed five hundred and ſeventy thouſand, three hundred and twelve pounds, and ſix ounces, and their value in gold amounted to twenty ſeven millions, three hundred and ſeventy five thouſand pounds Engliſh money.

[‖] The weight and value of an hundred thouſand talents of ſilver, ſee above, p. 205; but the Scripture, 1 Chron. xxix. 6, 7. varies from this account, and ſays, “That the chief of the fathers, and princes of the tribes of Iſrael, &c. gave for the ſervice of the houſe of God, of gold, five thouſand talents, and ten thouſand drams; and of ſilver, ten thouſand talents; and of braſs, eighteen thouſand talents; and one hundred thouſand talents of iron.”

“ yourſelf with reverence and ſubmiſſion towards God, as you ought to do, and as I wiſh you may do, your kingdom will be eſtabliſh'd to yourſelf, and the ſucceſſion of it continu'd to your family, from generation to generation.

David minds Solomon of the murder of Abner and Amaſa, by Joab; and recommends to him the care of Barzillai's family, 1 Kings ii. 5--10.

“ Let me now mind you of the iniquity of Joab, in the murder of Abner the ſon of Ner, and of Amaſa the ſon of Ithra; two great captains, and worthy good men; and all this purely out of a malicious ſpite and envy. You may do by him as you think fit. The truth of it is, I had puniſh'd him myſelf, but that he was ſo popular, I durſt not meddle with him. As for the ſons of Barzillai the Gileadite, I muſt deſire you for my ſake to be very kind to them, and to do them all the good offices you can: not as an obligation, but in requital of the generous friendſhips I received from their father in the time of my baniſhment; which I reckon as a debt incumbent upon our whole family. For the ſon of Gera, Shimei the Benjamite, that hunted me with ſuch bitterneſs of curſing and reviling in the days of my perſecution, at Bahurim, and afterward meeting me at the river Jordan, obtain'd my pardon for it; you may take ſome warrantable occaſion to requite him yet for that affront.”

David has pardon'd Shimei; but leaves him at mercy, if he tranſgreſſes again, ibid.

David finiſhes his diſcourſe, and gives up the ghoſt, ibid.

So ſoon as David had finiſh'd this diſcourſe to his ſon about his government, the requiting of his friends, and the puniſhing of his enemies, he gave up the ghoſt, in the ſeventieth year of his age, after he had reign'd ſeven years and ſix months over the tribe of Judah at Hebron, and thirty three years more over all Iſrael, at Jeruſalem. He was a man of wonderful goodneſs, and endued with all the royal excellencies that might qualify a prince for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt. He was valiant, no man more; and himſelf perſonally in the head of all dangers, for the protection and defence of his people. He did more with his ſoldiers by his example, than by any imperiouſneſs of command. He was a judicious prince in the choice of his councils; of a ſingular preſence of mind, to make the beſt of what he had before him, and of as ſharp a foreſight for the improving of all advantages, and the obviating of difficulties to come. To all this, he was temperate and ſober, affable to all, tender toward people in diſtreſs, righteous and humane; which are all princely virtues. He was a prince, in ſhort, that never made an ill uſe of his power, ſaving only in the caſe of the wife of Uriah. He left a treaſure to his ſucceſſor greater than ever any other prince whatſoever left before him: and he was bury'd at Jeruſalem, with a ſolemnity of royal pomp and magnificence that was glorious to the higheſt degree: and over and above the ſplendour of the ceremony, his ſon Solomon depoſited in his monument an ineſtimable treaſure, of which we may form ſome tolerable Idea, from that which I have farther to ſay.

David the beſt of princes, and of men.

David an unexceptionable ruler, ſave only in the matter of Uriah.

He dy'd rich, and was buried at Jeruſalem, ibid.

Solomon depoſited a mighty treaſure in David's monument.

A matter of thirteen hundred years after this revolution, Hyrcanus the high-prieſt was beſieged in Jeruſalem, by Antiochus, ſirnamed the pious, and the ſon of Demetrius. They came to a treaty, and Antiochus offer'd for a certain ſum of money, to raiſe the ſiege, and draw off his army. Hyrcanus had no way to raiſe it, but by the opening of David's monument, and thence he took three thouſand talents; out of which he paid Antiochus the Sum † agreed upon for a compoſition, and ſo ſet the town at liberty, as we have ſhew'd elſewhere. It was king Herod's fortune, many years after this, to diſcover another cell of hidden treaſure, which he took away, to a prodigious value, but neither of them were come yet to the ſecret repoſitory where the king's aſhes lay; that privacy being ſo artificially contriv'd, and ſo far under ground, that there was hardly any coming at it; but here's as much ſaid already as needs upon this point.

Antiochus beſieged Jeruſalem.

Hyrcanus compounds to raiſe the ſiege for three hundred talents.

King Herod found another maſs of hidden treaſure long after.

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† In Book I. Chap. ii. of the wars of the Jews, Joſephus ſays the ſum agreed on was three hundred talents, which in weight amounts to nineteen thouſand nine hundred and ſixty pounds, eleven ounces, five penny weights; but does not tell us whether of gold or ſilver. If of the former, as is more probable, the ſum in value was equivalent to nine hundred fifty eight thouſand one hundred twenty five pounds. If of ſilver, to fifty nine thouſand eight hundred eighty two pounds ſixteen ſhillings and five pence. But learned men, not without reaſon, believe the whole ſtory to be no more than a fiction of the Rabbins, and blame Joſephus for his credulity in giving in to it.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK VIII.

From the Year of the World 2931 *to* 3048.

CHAP. I.

Solomon comes to the throne with an univerſal joy; only Adonijah tampers underhand with Bathſheba. Solomon cauſes Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei to be put to death; and depoſes Abiathar from the high-prieſthood.

WE have treated in the laſt foregoing book, of the life and character of David, his piety, and his converſation; the great ſervices, and the many good offices he render'd to his country; the terrible wars and combats that he underwent, with the hiſtory of his victories and ſucceſſes; and we have brought him to his end at laſt, full of years and honour, to ſleep with his fathers. Solomon, his ſon and ſucceſſor, came young to the government; but by the over-ruling will and appointment of God, however, and not without the ſolemn and declaratory conſent and approbation alſo of his father. When he was once advanced to the throne, the people came all running in to him, as is uſual upon ſuch changes, with congratulatory acclamations and multiplied wiſhes of long life and a happy reign.

Solomon enters upon the government with univerſal joy, 1 Kings ii. 12.

Adonijah makes an intereſt with Bathſheba, for his own ends, Ver. 13–17.

Only Adonijah, who had formerly made an attempt upon the government in the life-time of his father, applied himſelf in an artful way of addreſs to Bathſheba, the king's mother. She received him with great courteſy, and with large aſſurances of her aſſiſtance, if there were any thing in her power that ſhe could ſerve him in. Upon this encouragement he came preſently to his point; “Great princeſs, ſays he, I ſhall not need to tell you, that if I were diſpoſed to be troubleſome upon this turn of government, the right of priority, and the good-will of the people would be on my ſide; but, ſays he, ſince it has pleaſed God to devolve it upon your ſon Solomon, I am the king's moſt humble ſervant, and ſhall very well content myſelf within the bounds of my preſent condition. I have only one thing to beg of you, which is, that you will be pleas'd to uſe your intereſt with your ſon, on my behalf, that I may be permitted, with his good leave, to take Abiſhag to wife. She lay by my father David's ſide only to keep him warm in his extreme decay of heat, and undoubtedly he left her as good a virgin as he found her.” Bathſheba promis'd him the uttermoſt of what ſhe could do in the matter, and encourag'd him to hope well of the iſſue; for Solomon, ſhe doubted not, would moſt readily agree to gratify the joint requeſt of his brother and his mother, in a greater matter than this appear'd to be. This was a word of comfort to Adonijah from Bathſheba, who went directly to her ſon, to confer with him upon the matter. Solomon roſe up to meet his mother; and taking her in his arms, conducted her to his bed-chamber, where he placed her on his right-hand upon a chair of ſtate next to his own. Bathſheba was no ſooner ſeated, but ſhe enter'd preſently upon her buſineſs.

And under the appearance of a ſeeming reſignation, ib.

He begs Bathſheba's good word to her ſon, for leave to marry Abiſhag, ibid.

Bathſheba promiſes him her intereſt, Ver. 18.

Bathſheba moves Solomon to give Abiſhag to Adonijah, 1 Kings ii. 20, 21.

Solomon ſurpriz'd at the motion, diſcharges his mother, V. 22.

Solomon orders Adonijah to be put to death, Ver. 25.

And baniſhes Abiathar from his preſence, V. 26.

And depoſes him from the pontificate for joining with Adonijah, V. 27.

“Son, ſays ſhe, I have an humble ſuit to you, and it would trouble me not a little, if you ſhould refuſe it.” Pray what is it? ſays Solomon, not without ſome uneaſineſs at ſuch a preface, as if there were any thing for her to aſk, which a dutiful child could deny to his own mother. So Solomon entreated her to go on, and to depend upon his readineſs to comply with her in any thing he could do. “Well, ſon, ſays Bathſheba, I make it my requeſt then, that you will give Abiſhag in marriage to your brother Adonijah.” The king ſtarted up at that propoſal in a ſurprize, and diſmiſs'd his mother. “No, no, ſays Solomon, Adonijah has more ambitious deſigns in his head than the marrying of Abiſhag. Why does he not ſpeak plain rather, and put in his claim to the kingdom, as elder brother; which he might every jot as honeſtly do, and with one and the ſame trouble. Firſt, he deſires Abiſhag in marriage; and then he has fortify'd himſelf with great friends and intereſt to back his pretenſions: As Joab, the general for one; Abiathar the high-prieſt, for another, and the like.” Solomon at this rate deliberating and computing upon the preſent ſtate of things, ſent Benaiah, the captain of the guards, with a commiſſion forthwith to kill his brother; and then calling for Abiathar, the high-prieſt, he told him, that though he had deſerv'd to die, yet in regard of the ſervices he had done his father, and of the part he bore in bringing back the ark, his puniſhment ſhould be thus: “Get you gone, ſays he, immediately from this place, and let my eyes never ſee you more. Betake yourſelf to your own home; fix your habitation in the country, and there continue to the day of your death. You have been falſe to me in joining with Adonijah, and for that fault, this is your ſentence. You have made yourſelf unworthy of the honour of the prieſthood, and from this time forward you ſhall exerciſe the function no more.”

The ſacerdotal dignity tranſlated from the houſe of Ithamar, to that of Phinees.

The line of Zadock.

This was the cauſe of tranſlating the ſacerdotal dignity from the houſe of Ithamar (as God had foretold to Eli, the grandfather of Abiathar) into the family of Phinees, to Zadock. During the continuance of the Pontificate in the houſe of Ithamar, reckoning from Eli, the firſt that executed that office, there were of the family of Phinees, that led private lives, Boccias, the ſon of Joſeph; Jonathan, of Boccias; Mareoth, of Jonathan; Arapha, of Mareoth; Architob, of Arapha; and Zadock, the ſon of Architob, who was the firſt high-prieſt that was created under David.

Joab hearing of Adonijah's death, flies to the altar, V. 28.

Solomon cites him to a court of juſtice, V. 30. Joab refuſes to appear, ibid.

Solomon orders Joab's head to be cut off where he was, V. 31.

Solomon makes Benaiah generaliſſimo in Joab's place, and Zadock the high-prieſt in Abiathar's, Ver. 35.

When Joab heard of the death of Adonijah, being conſcious to himſelf of having cultivated his friendſhip, and ſtudied his intereſt more than the king's, he took up a very reaſonable apprehenſion that his own turn would be next, and ſo fled for ſanctuary to the altar; not doubting but that the veneration the king had for God, and for holy things, would be a protection to him. When Solomon came to underſtand that Joab had taken ſanctuary, he ſent Benaiah to cite him to a court of juſtice to anſwer for what he had done; but Joab refuſed to quit the altar, declaring, “That if he muſt periſh, he would rather die there than in another place.” Benaiah carry'd this anſwer of Joab to the king; who preſently order'd him to cut off his head where he was, as a juſt puniſhment upon him for the two deteſtable murthers of Abner and Amaſa, againſt all the meaſures of honour, humanity and juſtice; but the king gave it in charge to Benaiah, to ſee his body bury'd, for a memorial to poſterity of ſo execrable a wickedneſs, and likewiſe to acquit both himſelf and his father, of any rigour in the death of Joab. Benaiah, upon the execution of this commiſſion, was made general in Joab's place; and upon the depoſing of Abiathar the high-prieſt, the king aſſigned Zadock to ſucceed him.

Solomon confines Shimei to an houſe in Jeruſalem, upon pain of death never to ſtir out of it over the river, V. 36 --38.

Shimei croſſes the river, Ver. 40.

And Benaiah puts Shimei to death according to the king's order, V. 46.

Solomon, at the ſame time, appointed Shimei to build himſelf a houſe at Jeruſalem, and not to ſtir out of it, or paſs the river Kedron*, upon the peril of his life: neither was this menace ſufficient, without an oath, over and above, to perform what he had promiſed. Shimei ſeem'd very well ſatisfied with the conditions, and gave his oath for the obſervance of them. Hereupon he quitted his own country, and came and dwelt at Jeruſalem. About three years after this, it happen'd that two of Shimei's ſervants ran away from him; and the maſter hearing that they were at Gath, took a journey thither, in order to fetch them back again. Upon his return with his ſervants, the king it ſeems got notice of it, and took the double contempt ſo heinouſly, firſt of the command, and then of the oath, that he call'd Shimei to a ſevere account for the miſdemeanour. “Didſt not thou ſwear to me, ſays Solomon, that thou wouldſt never ſtir out of this city into any other, to the day of thy death? and like a falſe wretch as thou art, thou haſt now broken that ſacred oath, and for that perjury thou ſhalt die. Take this for thy inſtruction too, that divine vengeance, ſooner or later, finds out the delinquent; and that forbearance is ſo far from an acquittal, that it inflames the reckoning. The hand of God is in this judgment upon thee, not only for thy late perjury, but for thy ſins of ancient date; I mean thy ribaldry and inſolences againſt my father, in the depth of his diſtreſſes. Think of it, ſays Solomon, for God is juſt.” And ſo Benaiah put Shimei to death by the king's order.

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* Scr. Kidron.

CHAP. II.

Solomon marries the daughter of the king of Egypt, and repairs the walls of Jeruſalem. He's endu'd with the gift of wiſdom. The names of his great officers. He builds a temple, places the ark in it, erects a ſtately palace, fortifies Jeruſalem, ſubdues the Canaanites. His prodigious wealth. The love of women brings him to idolatry. Adad ſtirs up a ſedition againſt him. Jeroboam foretold that ten tribes of the twelve ſhall fall under his allegiance.

Gel. cap. 1. fol. 245.

Solomon being now ſettled in a profound peace, marries Pharoah's daughter, 1 Kings iii. 1.

He repairs the walls of Jeruſalem, ib.

Solomon had by this time all his enemies under ſubjection; his throne eſtabliſh'd, the minds of the people ſettled, and his government conſequently made eaſy to him. In this interval of a profound peace, both at home and abroad, he took to wife the daughter of the king of Egypt; fell to work upon rebuilding the walls of Jeruſalem, which he made much larger and ſtronger than they were before; and ſo apply'd himſelf to the office of his publick adminiſtration. He was very young, 'tis true, but want of years was never any hindrance or excuſe to him in the doing of juſtice, or in the execution of the laws, or in the paying of a religious reverence to the authority and doctrine of his dying father's precepts; for in one word, ſuch was the pregnancy, even of his early youth, that he ruled and managed every thing with a judgment that might have become the gravity of a moſt conſummated experience.

Solomon pays reverence to the precepts of his dying father, 1 Kings iii. 3.

Solomon goes to Hebron, and there ſacrifices upon Moſes's brazen altar, Ver. 4.

God bids Solomon in a dream ask what he will, and it ſhall be granted him, Ver. 5.

Solomon asks for a right underſtanding, and a ſound judgment, V. 6—9.

God is ſo well pleaſed with his choice, that he gives him riches and glory, over and above, Ver. 10—14.

Solomon awakes, worſhips, and returns to Jeruſalem, Ver. 15.

Now finding himſelf in this ſtate of quiet and freedom, he thought he could not do better than to addreſs himſelf to God by prayer and ſacrifice, in acknowledgment of theſe mercies; and upon that motion he went to Hebron *, where he offer'd upon Moſes's brazen altar, long ſince erected there, a thouſand victims for a burnt-offering. This piety and zeal was ſo acceptable to God, that the very night following he appear'd unto him in a dream; and to ſhew him that the ſervices of his heart and good-will ſhould not go unrewarded, he bad him ask what he would, and it ſhould be granted him. Solomon pitch'd upon the greateſt and the moſt valuable thing he could think of, and that which he concluded would be moſt agreeable to the approbation of the giver, and at the ſame time moſt advantageous to the receiver. It was not ſilver, nor gold, nor any of thoſe vulgar ſatisfactions, that young men, and the miſtaken part of the world commonly ſet their hearts upon, that he choſe as the only things worth asking: this, I ſay, was not Solomon's wiſh; but, “Lord, ſays he, grant me a right apprehenſion of matters, and a ſound judgment, that may enable me to govern this people according to truth and juſtice.” This choice of Solomon's was ſo acceptable to God, that he not only promis'd him what he deſir'd, but riches and glory over and above; and in the firſt place, ſuch a degree of underſtanding, and of a practical wiſdom, as no man, either publick or private, could ever pretend to before him; with a farther promiſe, that upon condition of his continuing juſt to the world, obedient in all things to God, and treading in the ſteps, and imitating the eminent virtues of his father, the government ſhould remain in his family for many ages. Upon theſe words Solomon awak'd, aroſe out of his bed immediately, worſhipp'd, and gave thanks, and ſo returned to Jeruſalem, where he ſacrificed to God before the tabernacle, and feaſted all his people.

The caſe of a live child, and a dead one; and which was the mother of the live child, Ver. 16, &c.

About this time there was a difficult caſe brought before him, which I ſhall give the reader a particular account of, partly for the nicety of it, and partly for the uſe it may be of to others, in exciting the like induſtry of ſearch and ſcrutiny, upon the like occaſion. There came to the king two common mercenary proſtitutes for juſtice. The plantiff told her tale firſt, and it was to this effect: “This woman, ſays ſhe, and I liv'd both in a lodging, and it was our fortune to be deliver'd each of us of a male child on the ſame day and hour. Within a matter of three days, this woman having overlaid her own child, and ſmother'd it, took mine ſoftly out of my arms as I was aſleep, and laid her's in the place of it. Early the next morning, when I was thinking to ſuckle my own infant, the child was not to be found, but a dead one laid in the place; for I know my own child by moſt infallible marks. I have preſs'd her for my child; but ſhe keeps it from me, and bears me down that it is her child ſtill, and I have no witneſs to prove the contrary. Now Sir, ſays the woman, I humbly beſeech your majeſty to ſee right done betwixt us.” “Well, ſays the king to the other woman, and what have you now to ſay for yourſelf?” “She laid no ſuch child there, ſhe ſaid, but the living child was her own, and ſo ſtood upon her juſtification.” People were all in the dark what judgment to make of it, for want of competent proofs, till Solomon bethought himſelf of this expedient. He order'd the two children, one living, and the other dead, to be brought, and one of his guards to take his ſword, and cut them both in halves, juſt in the middle, and ſo divide them betwixt the two pretended mothers, half of the one, and half of the other, to either of them. This was look'd upon to be a kind of a childiſh ſentence at firſt; but one of the women crying out earneſtly, and begging that her companion might rather have the child, and paſs for the mother of it, provided only that the life of it might be ſpar'd, and ſhe herſelf have the comfort of ſeeing it yet amongſt the living. This was all ſhe had to aſk, ſhe ſaid: The other woman all this while quietly ſubmitting to the judgment, and not without ſome ſeeming ſatisfaction at the calamity of her neighbour; a cruel, certainly, and a hard-hearted pleaſure! The king, in fine, adjudg'd the child to the right woman, upon the evidence of her tenderneſs and natural affection; highly condemning the wickedneſs of the other, that after ſhe had kill'd her own child, did what ſhe could to deſtroy that of her friend's too. This was ſo ſingular an inſtance of the king's wiſdom, ſagacity, and conduct, that from that day forward, the people honour'd and obey'd him, as a prince that acted by the guidance and direction of a divine impulſe.

Solomon adjudges the child to the right woman, ibid.

Solomon's governors and great officers, 1 Kings iv. 1—19.

He had his governors and great officers in all his provinces. There was Uri, the ſon of Hur, in the tribe of Ephraim, including Bethlehem. The ſon of Aminadab, ſon-in-law to Solomon, had the command of Dora, and the ſea coaſt. The great plain was under Baana, the ſon of Achil, and ſo as far as to the river of Jordan. The ſon of Geber had the government of the Gileadites and the Gaulonites, as far as Mount Libanus; within which command there were ſixty large and well fortified cities. Achinadab, that married Baſima, another of Solomon's daughters, had the government of all Galilee up to Sidon. Under Baanah was the government of the ſea coaſt about Aſher. Jehoſaphat commanded the mountains Itabyr and Carmel, and all the Lower Galilee, to the farther ſide of Jordan. The whole country of the Benjamites was under the government of † Subes; and the land beyond Jordan was under Tabar. Theſe were Solomon's governors, and he had one lieutenant-general to ſuperintend them all.

The people ſettled in a ſtate of peace,

So ſoon as the people found themſelves ſettled in a ſtate of peace and plenty, and out of

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* 1 Kings iii. 4. 'tis to Gibeon.

† Scrip. Shimei.

They apply themſelves to husbandry and trade.

Vaſt proviſions for the king's own table and entertainments, 1 Kings iv. 22, 23.

The number of his chariots, horſes, &c. Ver. 26.

fear of any diſtractions by war or tumult, they gave themſelves up to husbandry and improvements, and in a ſhort time advanc'd their fortunes and poſſeſſions (the tribe of Judah eſpecially) to a miracle. The king had likewiſe other officers, beſide thoſe beforementioned, over the Syrians, and other barbarous nations, between Egypt and Euphrates, to whom he committed the care of his receipts, thoſe people being his tributaries. The daily proportion of proviſions that theſe people furniſh'd every day for the king's own table and entertainment, was thirty chomers[*] of fine flower, threeſcore chomers of meal, ten fat oxen, twenty oxen out of the paſtures, and a hundred fat lambs, beſide deer, birds, fiſhes, and other contingent curioſities of the chace. He had ſo prodigious a number of chariots, that there were forty thouſand ſtalls provided for the horſes that belonged to them, over and above twelve thouſand horſemen that were of his guards; the one half being quarter'd in Jeruſalem, near his perſon, and the other half diſtributed into out-villages near the city; and the ſame officer that was commiſſary for the expence of the king's table, was appointed alſo to provide neceſſaries for the king's houſe, which way ſoever he mov'd.

Solomon's writings and compoſitions, Ver. 32.

Charms, incantations, and forms of conjuration.

Eleazar's way of caſting out devils in the time of Veſpaſian.

A root under the ſeal of a ring for the demoniack to ſmell to.

Another maſter-piece of Eleazar's, by a cup of water, naming Solomon often in the operation.

The wiſdom, in fine, and knowledge of Solomon, being a divine infuſion, was ſo far beyond the philoſophy and underſtanding of the antients, that the Egyptians themſelves, though reputed the wiſeſt of men, fell infinitely ſhort of him; and ſo did the great men of his age among the Hebrews, how highly ſoever celebrated and eſteemed; as for example, there was Athan, and Heman, and Calcol, and Dodan, the ſons of Hemahon. This wonderful prince compos'd a thouſand and five books of odes and poems, and three thouſand books of parables and ſimilies. He wrote the hiſtory of plants, from the cedar to the hyſſop; and ſo of cattle and beaſts of the earth, water-fowl and the birds of the air; for he underſtood the nature of all theſe creatures; ſtudied and philoſophiz'd upon it, and upon their reſpective proprieties and diſpoſitions. And he did not only know and underſtand (by a gift from above,) but likewiſe improve his knowledge and underſtanding of theſe things, for the help and benefit of mankind, even to the confuſion of the devils themſelves; for he compos'd charms and incantations for the cure of diſeaſes, and left behind him forms of conjuration, in writing, ſo effectual againſt evil ſpirits, that they fly before them, without ever daring to return; which way of remedy is much in requeſt with our people to this day. "I ſaw one[†] Eleazar, a countryman of mine, diſpoſſeſſing of people in the preſence of Veſpaſian, and his ſons, officers and ſoldiers, and his method was this: he applied a ring to the noſtrils of the perſon poſſeſs'd, with a piece of a certain root convey'd under the ſeal of it, being a ſecret of Solomon's. The demoniack did but ſmell to it, and the devil was drawn out by the noſe. The ſpirit threw the man down, but Eleazar adjur'd it never to trouble him any more; making frequent mention of Solomon's name in the time of the operation, and reciting charms and incantations of his invention. Eleazar, after this, was willing to ſhew the company a maſter-piece; ſo he ſet a cup, or a baſon of water, at a little diſtance from a man that was poſſeſs'd, and adjur'd the devil to overturn this baſon at his leaving the man, as a token to the company that he had quitted him. This being done, no body doubted of the admirable knowledge and wiſdom of Solomon." I have thought fit to inſert this narration for the honour of this king's wonderful and extenſive genius, and to ſhew how much he was in God's favour, and how eminent in all manner of excellencies.

Hiram, the king of Tyre, ſends a gratulatory embaſſy to Solomon, 1 Kings v. 1.

Upon the death of David, and the ſucceſſion of Solomon to the throne, Hiram, the king of Tyre, who ever had a great affection for the father, ſent a gratulatory embaſſy to the ſon, upon the news of his acceſſion to the government, expreſſing great joy to ſee it continued in the family. Upon the return of theſe ambaſſadors, Solomon laid hold of the occaſion, and wrote a letter to Hiram in theſe words:

King Solomon to king Hiram, greeting.

King Solomon's letter to king Hiram, about the building of the temple, Ver. 2–6. and 2 Chron. ii. 3–10.

"BE it known unto thee, O king, that my father David had it a long time in his mind and purpoſe to build a temple to the Lord; but being perpetually in war, in his days, and under a neceſſity of clearing his hands of his enemies, and making them all his tributaries, before he could attend this great and holy work, he hath left it to me in a time of peace both to begin and to finiſh it, according to the direction, as well as the prediction, of Almighty God. Bleſſed be his great name for the preſent tranquillity of my dominions; and by his gracious aſſiſtance, I ſhall now dedicate the beſt improvements of this liberty and leiſure to his honour and worſhip; wherefore I make it my requeſt, that you will let ſome of your own people go along with ſome ſervants of mine to Mount Libanus, to aſſiſt them in cutting down materials towards this building; for the Sydonians underſtand it much better than we do. As for the workmen's reward, or wages, whatever you think reaſonable, ſhall be punctually paid them."

Hiram was wonderfully pleaſed with Solomon's letter, and returned him the following anſwer:

King Hiram to king Solomon.

Hiram's anſwer to the letter above, much to Solomon's ſatiſfaction, Ver. 11–16.

"NOTHING could have been more welcome to me, than to underſtand that the government of your bleſſed father is devolved, by God's providence, into the hands of ſo excellent, ſo wiſe, and ſo virtuous a ſucceſſor; his holy name be praiſed for it. That which you write for, ſhall be done with all care and good-will; for I will give order to cut down, and to export

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[*] A Chomer, or Côre, contained about ſix hundred and five pints Engliſh meaſure; thirty of which amounted to eighteen thouſand, one hundred and fifty Engliſh pints, and threeſcore to thirty ſix thouſand and three hundred. This word in Scripture is tranſlated meaſures.

[†] See Cunæus de Rep. Hebr. lib. i. c. 32.

“ ſuch quantities of the faireſt cedars and cypreſs-trees, as you ſhall have occaſion for. My people ſhall bring them to the ſea ſide for you, and from thence ſhip them away to what port you pleaſe, where they may lie ready for your own men to tranſport them to Jeruſalem. It would be a great obligation, after all this, to allow us ſuch a proviſion of corn in exchange, as may ſtand with your convenience; for that is the commodity we iſlanders want moſt.”

The duplicates of theſe letters are ſtill extant.

The duplicates of theſe letters are extant to this day, both in our own, and in the Tyrian records; and they that have a mind to be better ſatisfied in the truth of this, let them only conſult the keepers of theſe regiſtries, and they ſhall find the matter of fact in thoſe papers to be juſt as we deliver it. I write this to acquit myſelf to the reader, by way of precaution, that I do not intermix any inventions of my own, or things curious, or but barely probable, for the ornament of the relation; but that I am willing to put every thing that I deliver to the ſtreſs of the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny; and, in truth, there can be no prevaricating in a ſubject of this quality, without extreme impiety and ſcandal; and I ſhall not take it ill to be blaſted for the worſt of forgers, if there ſhall be any thing found in my papers that will not abide the uttermoſt teſt.

Solomon orders Hiram a yearly preſent of wheat, oil, &c. 1 Kings v. 11. and 2 Chron. 10–16.

Upon the receipt of Hiram's letter, Solomon was wonderfully pleaſed with the frankneſs and humanity of the proceeding; ſo that in return for his goodneſs and reſpect, he order'd him a yearly preſent of two thouſand chomers of wheat[*], and likewiſe of two thouſand veſſels of oil, and as many of wine, of ſeventy two quarts a-piece. This was the firſt earneſt of a friendſhip betwixt theſe two kings; and it continued to increaſe to the laſt, every day firmer and ſtronger.

The king provides workmen; aſſigns their number, task, &c. 1 Kings v. 13, &c.

The king order'd his people to provide him thirty thouſand workmen, which he diſpoſed of in ſuch eaſy ways and methods of diſtribution, that their labour ſhould not be grievous to them. The number of them was thrice ten thouſand, and their poſt was to do duty for one month, by ten thouſand at a time, in cutting down wood upon Mount Libanus, and to be reliev'd at the month's end by the ſecond ten thouſand, and the ſecond, after another month, by the third; ſo that they had two month's liberty to be at their own homes; and ſo thus in a circle, every fourth month, each ten thouſand to take their turn over again. Their inſpector-general, or ſuperintendent, was Adoniram. Beſide theſe, there were ſeventy thouſand foreigners, formerly deſign'd by David, for the carrying of ſtones and other materials; eighty thouſand ſtone-cutters and maſons, and three thouſand and three hundred overſeers of the work. Their order was to make uſe of the largeſt ſtones they could get for the foundation, and to have them ſquar'd, and ready wrought upon the mountains where they grew, and thence to be carried whole to Jeruſalem; in which injunction Hiram's men were concern'd as well as any of the reſt.

Adoniram the overſeer, ib.

The time when Solomon began the building of the temple, 1 Kings vi.

Solomon was now in the fourth year of his reign, when he began this mighty work; and of that year, the ſecond month, which the Macedonians call Artemiſius, and the Hebrews Jar; five hundred ninety two[†] years from the Iſraelites coming out of Egypt; a thouſand and twenty years from Abraham's coming out of Meſopotamia into the land of Canaan; fourteen hundred and forty from the deluge; and from the creation of the world, three thouſand one hundred and two. It was alſo in the eleventh year of Hiram, the king of Tyre; and two hundred and forty years after the building of that city.

The foundation of it, 2 Chron. iii.

The foundation was laid prodigiouſly deep; and the ſtones not only of the largeſt ſize, but hard and firm enough to endure all weathers, and proof againſt the worm; beſide, that they were ſo morteſſed one into another, and wedg'd into the rock, that the ſtrength and curioſity of the baſis was not leſs admirable than the bulk and ornament of the intended ſuperſtructure, and the one every way anſwerable to the beauty and magnificence of the other. The walls were all of a white ſtone from the ground to the cieling. The height of the building was ſixty cubits[‖], the length as much, and the breadth twenty; over which there was another ſtage of the ſame dimenſions; ſo that the whole height of the building, from bottom to top, was a hundred and[**] twenty cubits, and it look'd toward the eaſt. The porch, or court next to the entrance, was twenty cubits in length, to anſwer the temple; ten[*†] in breadth, and a[*‡] hundred and twenty cubits in height. There was built round about it, and againſt the outward walls, like ſo many buttreſſes to ſupport it, thirty cells, or little houſes, in the form of galleries, opening one into another. The length and breadth of theſe cells was five and twenty cubits each, and the height twenty; and there were two other floors over this, of the ſame make and proportions; amounting altogether to the juſt height of the lower part of the fabrick, which we have been ſpeaking of; for theſe cells or galleries went no higher than the top of the firſt ſtory. They were all cieled with cedar, and every partition had its covering apart, independant one of another; but they were all coupled and faſten'd together, by long and large beams, in ſuch a faſhion, that they look'd but like one piece, and as if the very walls were the ſtronger for them. Under theſe beams were ſeveral curious varieties of carving, fret-work, gilding, &c. the walls all wainſcoted with cedar, and ſo illuſtrated with works in gold, that the dazzling ſplendor made every thing about it look glorious. The whole frame, in fine, was rais'd upon ſtones, poliſh'd to the higheſt degree of

The walls.

The dimenſions, Ver. 4.

The order the whole brick.

The and ornaments of

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[*] Viz. One million, two hundred and ten thouſand Engliſh pints.

[†] Joſephus departs from the Scripture in this account of years. See 1 Kings vi. as alſo in ſome parts of the building of the temple; for the comparing of which we refer the reader to 1 Kings vi, vii. and 2 Chron. ii, iii, iv.

[‖] A Jewiſh cubit, according to Calmet, was near twenty two Engliſh inches; ſixty cubits therefore muſt amount to ſomething more than an hundred and nine feet; that is, thirty ſix yards and a foot.

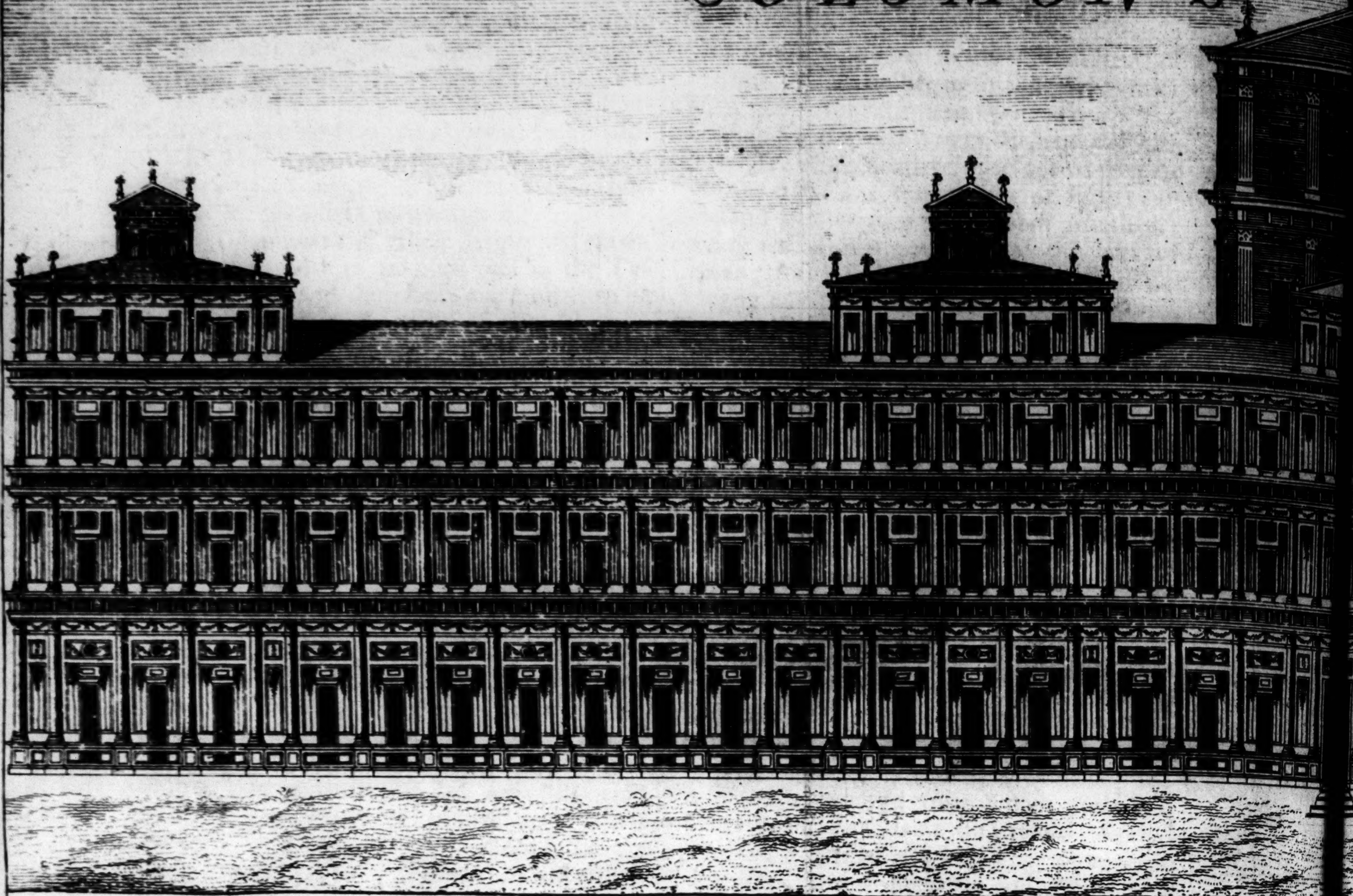
[**] Twenty cubits amounted to ſomething more than thirty ſix Engliſh feet; that is, twelve yards.

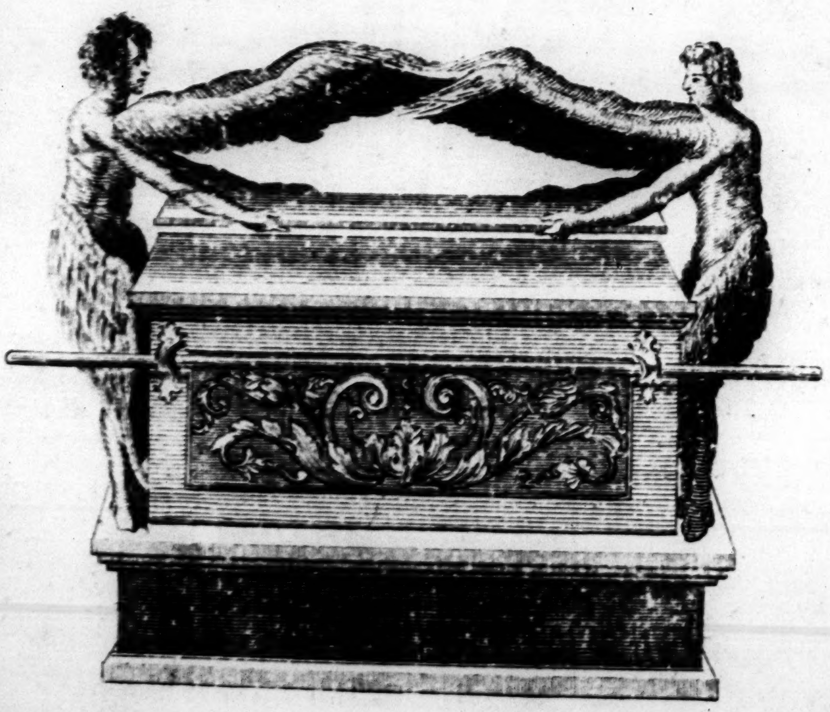
[*†] Ten cubits amounted to eighteen feet, and ſome odd inches; that is, to full ſix yards.

[*‡] An hundred and twenty cubits amounted to ſomething more than two hundred and eighteen feet, that is, ſeventy two yards and two feet.

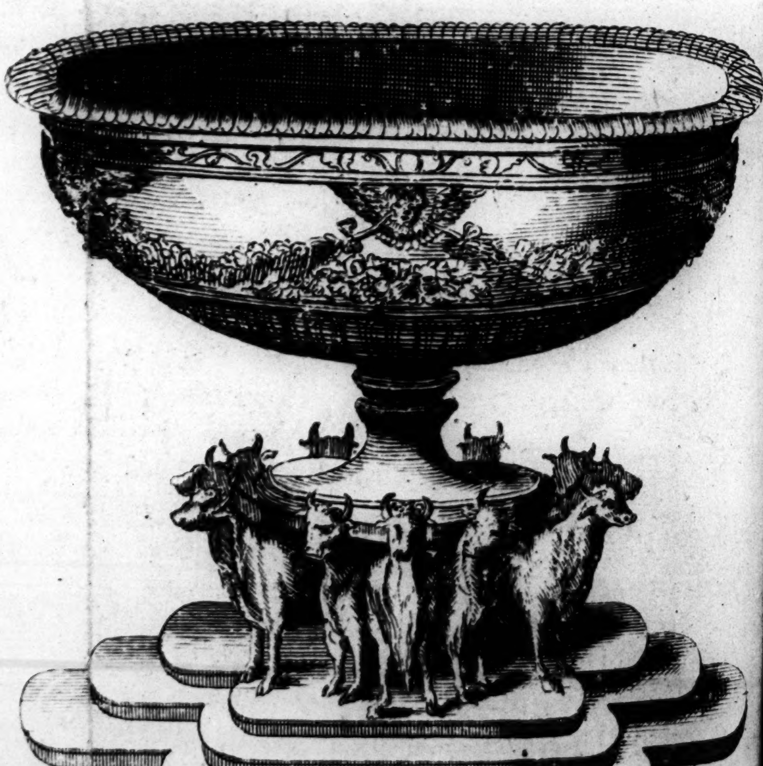
VIII. Chap. II.

SOLOMON'S

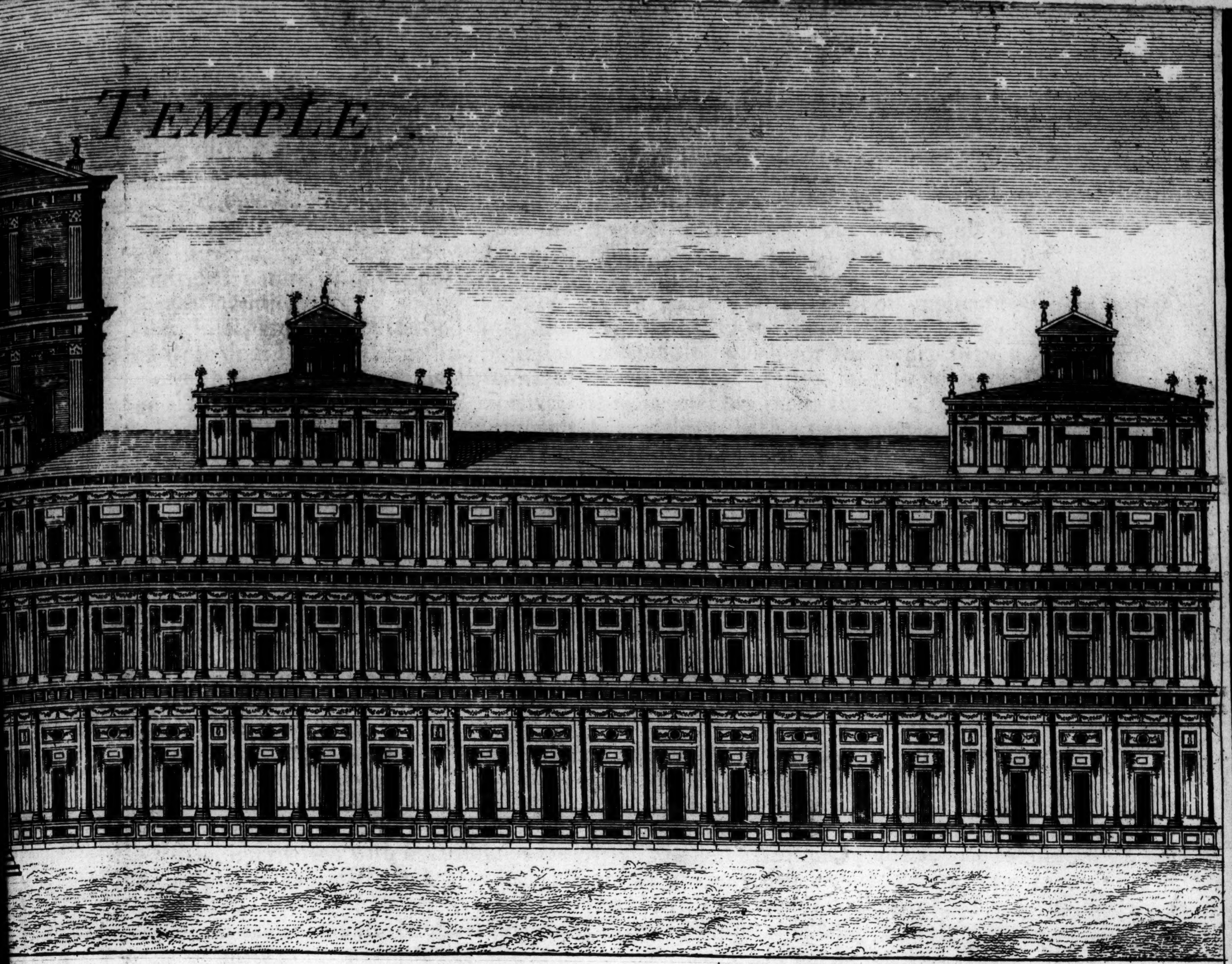




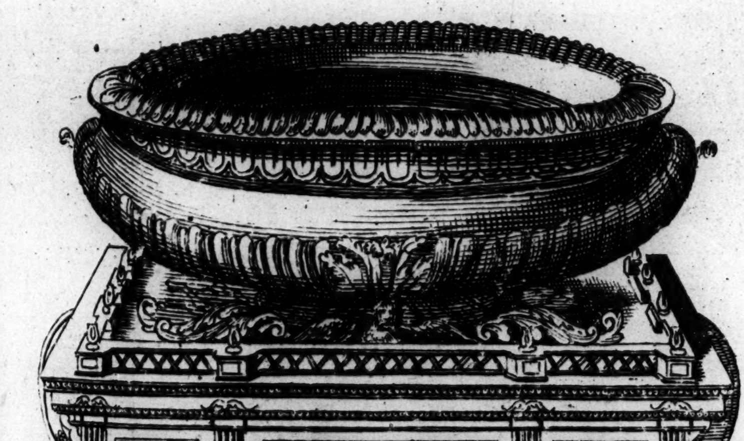
The Ark *of the* Covenant *with yͤ* Cherubims.



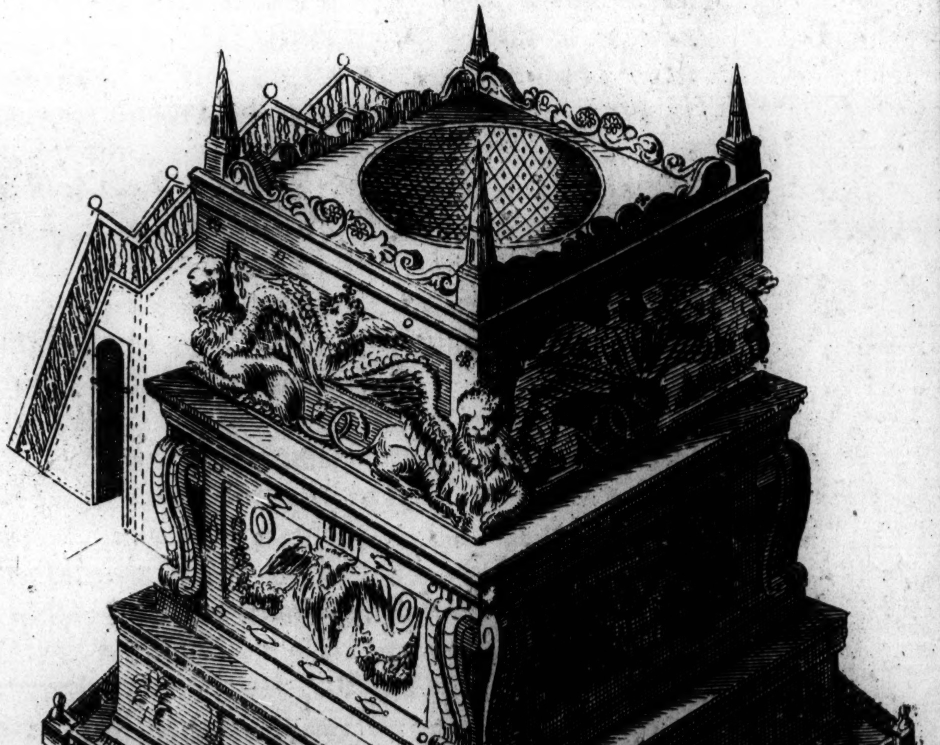
The Braſen Sea, *where the* Prieſts *uſed to waſh.*



waſh.



The Braſen Baſes and Laver wherein
the Sacrifices were waſhed.



The Braſen Altar of the Burnt Sacrifices
wherein yͤ Fire that came down from Heaven was kept
by the care of the Prieſts

Iohn Harris Sculp:

The curioſity in the putting of it together.

perfection, and ſo artificially put together, that there was no joint to be diſcerned, nor the leaſt ſign of a hammer, or of any working tool that had ever come upon it; all things being ſo adjuſted and accommodated, one piece to another beforehand, that upon the whole matter it look'd liker the work of providence and nature, than the product of art or human invention.

A contrivance for paſſages of communication.

A partition of it into two diviſions.

Now in regard that the ſecond ſtory had not a large door to it at the eaſt end of it, as the lower had, but only ſome ſmall doors to go in at, from the ſides above, Solomon contriv'd a pair of winding ſtairs to be cut through the thickneſs of the wall, for a paſſage to the upper part. The inſide of the temple was all lin'd with cedar; and the cramping of the timbers together with ſtrong irons, was a great ſtrength and ſecurity to the building. The king cauſed it to be laid in two diviſions; that is to ſay, the inner part, or holy of holies, of twenty cubits ſquare, which was inacceſſible; and the other of forty cubits [*], which was aſſigned to the uſe and ſervice of the prieſt. In the partition wall, betwixt the inner and the outward part of the temple, he built large cedar doors, which were richly gilt, and delicately carved, beſide choice curioſities of fancy and hiſtory, embroider'd upon a hanging veil before it, of rich ſilks and fine linnen, interwoven with beautiful flowers; ſome purple, ſome ſcarlet, and the colours all in perfection.

Two golden cherubims in the holy place, 2 Chron. iii. 10--13.

The holy ark in the middle.

The very floor, and the doors, all rich and glorious, with gold upon gold.

Solomon cauſed alſo to be made two cherubims of maſſy gold, which he dedicated to God in the holy place, both of a ſize; being each of them five cubits [†] high, and two wings, each of them of five cubits in length; which being ſtretched out, one touched the ſouth ſide, and the other the north; and with their other two wings, they met one another, over-ſpreading the holy ark in the middle. It is not for any man to deſcribe, or ſo much as to imagine a deſcription of theſe cherubims. And then the very floor of the temple was overlaid with beaten gold, the doors very large, and proportion'd to the height of the walls, twenty cubits broad, and ſtill gold upon gold. To ſpeak all in a word, it was gold all over, and nothing wanting, either within or without, that might contribute to the glory and magnificence of the work. There was a curious curtain, or hanging, put up at this gate, as at the other, but none at the entrance into the porch.

Solomon ſends for one Hiram from Tyre, a famous architect and worker in metals, 1Kings vii. 13.

Several curioſities of Hiram's making.

Solomon had heard of a famous man in Tyre for working in gold, ſilver, and other metals, whoſe name was Hiram. He was an eminent architect, over and above. His mother was of the tribe of Naphthali; and his father, by extraction, an Iſraelite. He ſent for this man to Tyre, and employ'd him in his buſineſs; and whereſoever Solomon had any thing to do that was difficult or curious, it was perform'd by Hiram. He caſt him two brazen hollow pillars of four fingers thick in the metal, [‡] eighteen cubits high, and [‖] twelve in circumference; two chapiters of braſs on the tops of the two pillars, five cubits each. Theſe were cover'd with a kind of braſs net-work; and below them were flowers or lilly-work of the ſame contrivance, with two rows of pomegranates hanging down, a hundred in each row. Theſe two pillars he placed in the entrance of the porch; one on the right-hand, which he called Jachin; and the other on the left, which he called Boaz.

The figure of the brazen ſea, 2 Chron. iv. 2--5.

He made a veſſel alſo of molten braſs, ſomewhat after the figure of a globe, cut off in the middle, which for the largeneſs of it he called his ſea. It was made goblet-faſhion; the diameter ten cubits from ſide to ſide, four fingers thick, with a twiſted pillar of one cubit over, under the middle of it for a ſupporter. Around this pillar were placed the figures of twelve bulls, or oxen; facing, by three and three, the four principal quarters of eaſt, weſt, north, and ſouth. They ſtood in a poſition lower behind than before; which was both an eaſing to the weight, and kept it firm and ſteddy. This ſea, or veſſel, held three thouſand baths, reckoning every bath at about ten Engliſh pottles.

Ten baſes of braſs for as many lavers, Ver. 6.

Hiram made alſo ten baſes of braſs of an oblong ſquare, and all of the ſame form and dimenſions; that is to ſay, five cubits in length each of them, four in breadth, and ſix in height. The ſeveral pieces were caſt apart, and then put together after this manner: there were four pillars, or underſetters, one to the corner of every baſe, which were ſo incorporated with the reſt of the work, that they ſerved not only to uphold the weight, but to keep the ſides tight one to another. Upon the ſquares were the figures of a lion, a bull, an eagle, &c. and the like images alſo upon the pillars, and upon the plates of the borders. The whole work was mounted upon four wheels, a cubit and a half over, all of caſt-work; nave, ſpokes, and every thing belonging to it; and it was a wonderful thing to ſee how true and accurately every inch of it was wrought. The angles were made good with emboſſed work of ſhoulders, hands, paws of lions, talons of eagles; with reſts or ledges of rail upon them to receive the laver; but ſo artificially fitted to the figures of thoſe creatures, as they were there repreſented upon the pannels, together with branches of palm-trees intermixed upon the ſame piece, that every thing look'd as natural as if it had been to the life.

Ten brazen lavers for ten baſes, ibid.

All placed in the temple, and fill'd with water.

This was the ſtructure of the ten baſes; and to theſe baſes he made ten lavers of the ſame metal, and of a roundiſh conchous form, each containing forty baths; the height [*†] four cubits, and the diameter as much. Theſe ten lavers were ſet upon as many baſes, which in their language they called Mechenoth. They were all placed in the temple; five of them on the left-hand, at the north ſide; and the other five at the ſouth ſide, on the right, looking toward the eaſt. In the ſame place ſtood likewiſe the brazen ſea. They were all fill'd with water; the ſea for the uſe of the prieſts to waſh their hands and feet with, upon entering the ſanctuary, before they went up to the altar; and the reſt of the lavers for cleanſing of the inwards, and other parts of the burnt-offerings.

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[*] Forty cubits amounted to ſomething more than ſeventy two feet; that is, to upwards of twenty four yards.

[†] Viz. Something above nine feet; that is, three yards.

[‡] Almoſt three and thirty feet; that is, near eleven yards.

[‖] Twelve cubits amount to ſomething more than twenty one feet; that is, above ſeven yards.

[*†] Four cubits amount to ſomething above ſeven feet; that is, two yards and a foot.

A brazen altar and veſſels belonging to it, 2Chron. iv. 1.

Several tables, Ver. 8.

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He erected moreover a brazen altar of twenty cubits in length, as many over, and ten in depth, for the ſervice of the holocauſts; providing all the veſſels thereunto belonging of the ſame ſtuff; as boilers, water-pots, fleſh-hooks, &c. He dedicated alſo a world of tables, and one of pure gold for the ſhew-bread, larger than the reſt. But there were a great many others yet of ſeveral makes and ſizes, not much inferior to that for the ſhew-bread, and ſufficient to hold twenty thouſand golden cups and veſſels, and twice the number of ſilver ones. He made a proviſion likewiſe of twelve thouſand candleſticks, according to the appointment of Moſes; and one of them to be applied by a peculiar dedication to the ſervice of the temple, and there to be kept with lights in them, burning day and night, after the direction of the law. The table for the ſhew-bread was placed on the north ſide, over-againſt the candleſtick which ſtood on the ſouth. Betwixt theſe two was the golden altar. This was all in the fore part of the temple of forty cubits, and a partition-veil betwixt that and the holy of holies, where the ark of the covenant was to be kept.

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* The Hin, according to Calmet, contained ſomething more than ten Engliſh pints. The Aſſaron was the ſame with the Gomor, or Omer; and, according to the aforeſaid author, contained ſomething more than ſix Engliſh pints.

† That is, ſeven hundred and twenty eight feet, or two hundred and forty two yards, and two feet.

were repreſented with the points of their wings touching one another, which look'd like a kind of cover and protection to the ark that was juſt under them. There was nothing more in it than the two ſtone tables, with the ten commandments engraven upon them, as God deliver'd them upon Mount Sinai. The candleſtick, table, and golden altar, ſtood in the ſame order now in the ſanctuary, as they did at firſt in the tabernacle, when they offer'd their daily ſacrifices. The brazen altar was placed directly againſt the door, for the better view of the magnificence of the worſhip on the other ſide; and then for the reſt of the holy utenſils and veſſels, they were all laid up together in the temple.

Nothing in it but the two tables with the ten commandments engraven upon them, 2 Chron. v. 10.

After the placing of the ark, a cloud deſcends, Ver. 13.

The ark being now diſpos'd of into its proper place, with all decency and reverence, and the prieſts withdrawn, there deſcended a cloud, which ſo fill'd and darken'd the place, that they could hardly ſee one another through it; not like an heavy winter's cloud, big with foul weather, but only ſuch a temperate breathing diffuſion, as by the benignity and ſerenity of its appearance was look'd upon to be rather a token of God's ſpecial approbation and acceptance of the work they were upon, and of his coming down to dwell among them in that temple as in his own houſe, than the effect of any natural cauſe.

in token of God's approbation.

Solomon's prayer for a bleſſing upon the work, 2 Chron. vi. 14, &c.

While the people's heads were taken up with theſe thoughts, Solomon ſtood up, and with a grace and majeſty becoming the dignity of the ſubject and occaſion, addreſſed himſelf in a ſhort prayer to Almighty God in words to this effect: “Lord, ſays he, thou that inhabiteſt eternity, and haſt raiſed out of nothing the mighty fabrick of this univerſe; the heavens, the air, the earth, and the ſea; thou that filleſt the whole, and every thing that is in it, and art thyſelf unbounded and incomprehenſible, look down graciouſly upon thy ſervants that have preſumed to erect a temple here to the honour of thy great name. Lord, hear our prayers, and receive our ſacrifices; thou that art every where, vouchſafe alſo to be with us; thou that ſeeſt and heareſt all things, look down from thy throne in Heaven, and give ear to our ſupplications in this place; thou that never faileſt to aſſiſt thoſe that call upon thee night and day, and love and ſerve thee as they ought to do, have mercy upon us.”

Solomon's diſcourſe to the people, upon God's power and providence, Ver. 1--13.

Upon the finiſhing of this prayer, Solomon made a diſcourſe to the people upon the ſubject of God's power and providence; telling them what wonderful things had been revealed to his father David in dreams and viſions; ſome already paſt, and others as yet to come, concerning himſelf, his name, his ſucceſſion to the throne, his building of the temple, the eſtabliſhment of the family, and the well-being and proſperity of the nation. “Now, ſays Solomon, a great part of theſe predictions being already verified, you are to thank God, not only for the comforts you enjoy, but for the good things alſo that are further promiſed, and to look upon the former only as the earneſt of greater bleſſings.”

Solomon's ejaculation upon the goodneſs of God, ibid.

After the ſpeaking of theſe words, the king turn'd his eye again toward the temple, and with his hand advanced. “Lord, ſays he, what are the moſt glorious works of man, in balance even with the ſmalleſt of thy benefits and mercies? or what can we that have nothing to give, pretend to do for thee that wanteſt nothing, when the very leaſt of thy bounties are above and beyond all requital? We can only render thee praiſe, acknowledgment, and thankſgiving; and that indeed is a prerogative faculty that thou haſt vouchſafed to mankind above all other creatures; ſo that this I am not only allow'd, but obliged to do, in the name of myſelf, my family, and the whole people of Iſrael, for all thy multiplied favours and infinite goodneſs towards us. Now having no other way of expreſſing our duty and affections, than by the means of bare empty words, that are only ſo much air drawn in and breath'd out again, be pleaſed to accept of our humble gratitude in that human capacity; firſt, for thy gracious goodneſs to my father, in raiſing him from a ſhepherd's crook to an imperial ſcepter; and in the ſecond place, for making good to thy ſervant Solomon all thy promiſes and predictions in his favour. Lord, continue thy bounties to us, as to thy choſen people; preſerve, proſper, and perpetuate the government to our family, by a conſtant train of ſucceſſions from generation to generation, according to thy promiſes to my father, living and dying. Lord, grant us all this; and to all mine, the virtues and the graces that may make them acceptable in thy ſight. I do further moſt humbly beſeech thee, to let thy holy ſpirit deſcend upon this temple, in the bleſſing of thy peculiar preſence. Heaven and earth I know are too little for thy majeſty and glory; and much more the workmanſhip of mens hands, in a fabrick of wood and ſtone; and yet I cannot but preſume to implore thy providence and protection over it. Lord, preſerve it from the power and rage of enemies, and be pleaſed to take care of it, as of thy own property and poſſeſſion; and if at any time hereafter thou ſhalt be mov'd in thy juſt diſpleaſure to puniſh this people for their tranſgreſſions, with famine, peſtilence, or any other judgment whatſoever anſwerable to the degree of the wickedneſs, Lord, be pleaſed upon their humble ſupplications to thee in thine own houſe, with prayers and tears, for mercy and forgiveneſs, to accept of their true repentance, and to remove thy judgment. This I beſeech thee, not for the Hebrews alone, but for the relief indifferently of all people whatſoever, that ſhall offer up their petitions to thee in this thy holy place. By this means it will appear to the whole world, that this is thy houſe, and we thy people; and that the Hebrews are not ſo inhuman, as to envy ſtrangers the common diſpenſations of the author and fountain of all our happineſs.”

He bleſſes God for the elevation of his family, and making good all his promiſes and predictions, ibid.

He implores the continuance of God's mercy and goodneſs, and his peculiar preſence in his holy temple, ibid.

Solomon proſtrates himſelf, and worſhips; riſes up and ſacrifices.

With theſe words Solomon caſt himſelf upon the ground, and after a little pauſe in that act and poſture of adoration, he roſe and offered ſacrifices in abundance; having the ſatisfaction alſo of an aſſurance, by a token effectually from God, that his oblations were accepted; for there fell a flaſh of fire from above, that ſhot through the air directly down to the altar, and conſum'd the offerings. This prodigy being ſeen by the whole multitude, they

A flaſh of fire from Heaven conſumes the ſacrifice, in token that God owns both the worſhip and the temple, 2 Chron. vii. 1.

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When they were now come to the holy of holies, where it was to be depoſited, the people withdrew, and the prieſts only that brought it, carried it in to the oracle, and there placed it under the figure of the two cherubims that

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* The Hin, according to Calmet, contained ſomething more than ten Engliſh pints. The Aſſaron was the ſame with the Gomor, or Omer; and, according to the aforeſaid author, contained ſomething more than ſix Engliſh pints.

† That is, ſeven hundred and twenty eight feet, or two hundred and forty two yards, and two feet.

were repreſented with the points of their wings touching one another, which look'd like a kind of cover and protection to the ark that was juſt under them. There was nothing more in it than the two ſtone tables, with the ten commandments engraven upon them, as God deliver'd them upon Mount Sinai. The candleſtick, table, and golden altar, ſtood in the ſame order now in the ſanctuary, as they did at firſt in the tabernacle, when they offer'd their daily ſacrifices. The brazen altar was placed directly againſt the door, for the better view of the magnificence of the worſhip on the other ſide; and then for the reſt of the holy utenſils and veſſels, they were all laid up together in the temple.

Nothing in it but the two tables with the ten commandments engraven upon them, 2 Chron. v. 10.

After the placing of the ark, a cloud deſcends, Ver. 13.

in token of God's approbation.

The ark being now diſpos'd of into its proper place, with all decency and reverence, and the prieſts withdrawn, there deſcended a cloud, which ſo fill'd and darken'd the place, that they could hardly ſee one another through it; not like an heavy winter's cloud, big with foul weather, but only ſuch a temperate breathing diffuſion, as by the benignity and ſerenity of its appearance was look'd upon to be rather a token of God's ſpecial approbation and acceptance of the work they were upon, and of his coming down to dwell among them in that temple as in his own houſe, than the effect of any natural cauſe.

Solomon's prayer for a bleſſing upon the work, 2 Chron. vi. 14, &c.

While the people's heads were taken up with theſe thoughts, Solomon ſtood up, and with a grace and majeſty becoming the dignity of the ſubject and occaſion, addreſſed himſelf in a ſhort prayer to Almighty God in words to this effect: "Lord, ſays he, thou that inhabiteſt eternity, and haſt raiſed out of nothing the mighty fabrick of this univerſe; the heavens, the air, the earth, and the ſea; thou that filleſt the whole, and every thing that is in it, and art thyſelf unbounded and incomprehenſible, look down graciouſly upon thy ſervants that have preſumed to erect a temple here to the honour of thy great name. Lord, hear our prayers, and receive our ſacrifices; thou that art every where, vouchſafe alſo to be with us; thou that ſeeſt and heareſt all things, look down from thy throne in Heaven, and give ear to our ſupplications in this place; thou that never faileſt to aſſiſt thoſe that call upon thee night and day, and love and ſerve thee as they ought to do, have mercy upon us."

Solomon's diſcourſe to the people, upon God's power and providence, Ver. 1--13.

Upon the finiſhing of this prayer, Solomon made a diſcourſe to the people upon the ſubject of God's power and providence; telling them what wonderful things had been revealed to his father David in dreams and viſions; ſome already paſt, and others as yet to come, concerning himſelf, his name, his ſucceſſion to the throne, his building of the temple, the eſtabliſhment of the family, and the well-being and proſperity of the nation. "Now, ſays Solomon, a great part of theſe predictions being already verified, you are to thank God, not only for the comforts you enjoy, but for the good things alſo that are further promiſed, and to look upon the former only as the earneſt of greater bleſſings."

Solomon's ejaculation upon the goodneſs of God, ibid.

After the ſpeaking of theſe words, the king turn'd his eye again toward the temple, and with his hand advanced. "Lord, ſays he, what are the moſt glorious works of man, in balance even with the ſmalleſt of thy benefits and mercies? or what can we that have nothing to give, pretend to do for thee that wanteſt nothing, when the very leaſt of thy bounties are above and beyond all requital? We can only render thee praiſe, acknowledgment, and thankſgiving; and that indeed is a prerogative faculty that thou haſt vouchſafed to mankind above all other creatures; ſo that this I am not only allow'd, but obliged to do, in the name of myſelf, my family, and the whole people of Iſrael, for all thy multiplied favours and infinite goodneſs towards us. Now having no other way of expreſſing our duty and affections, than by the means of bare empty words, that are only ſo much air drawn in and breath'd out again, be pleaſed to accept of our humble gratitude in that human capacity; firſt, for thy gracious goodneſs to my father, in raiſing him from a ſhepherd's crook to an imperial ſcepter; and in the ſecond place, for making good to thy ſervant Solomon all thy promiſes and predictions in his favour. Lord, continue thy bounties to us, as to thy choſen people; preſerve, proſper, and perpetuate the government to our family, by a conſtant train of ſucceſſions from generation to generation, according to thy promiſes to my father, living and dying. Lord, grant us all this; and to all mine, the virtues and the graces that may make them acceptable in thy ſight. I do further moſt humbly beſeech thee, to let thy holy ſpirit deſcend upon this temple, in the bleſſing of thy peculiar preſence. Heaven and earth I know are too little for thy majeſty and glory; and much more the workmanſhip of mens hands, in a fabrick of wood and ſtone; and yet I cannot but preſume to implore thy providence and protection over it. Lord, preſerve it from the power and rage of enemies, and be pleaſed to take care of it, as of thy own property and poſſeſſion; and if at any time hereafter thou ſhalt be mov'd in thy juſt diſpleaſure to puniſh this people for their tranſgreſſions, with famine, peſtilence, or any other judgment whatſoever anſwerable to the degree of the wickedneſs, Lord, be pleaſed upon their humble ſupplications to thee in thine own houſe, with prayers and tears, for mercy and forgiveneſs, to accept of their true repentance, and to remove thy judgment. This I beſeech thee, not for the Hebrews alone, but for the relief indifferently of all people whatſoever, that ſhall offer up their petitions to thee in this thy holy place. By this means it will appear to the whole world, that this is thy houſe, and we thy people; and that the Hebrews are not ſo inhuman, as to envy ſtrangers the common diſpenſations of the author and fountain of all our happineſs."

He bleſſes God for the elevation of his family, and making good all his promiſes and predictions, ibid.

He implores the continuance of God's mercy and goodneſs, and his peculiar preſence in his holy temple, ibid.

Solomon proſtrates himſelf, and worſhips; riſes up and ſacrifices.

A flaſh of fire from Heaven conſumes the ſacrifice, in token that God owns both the worſhip and the temple, 2 Chron. vii. 1.

With theſe words Solomon caſt himſelf upon the ground, and after a little pauſe in that act and poſture of adoration, he roſe and offered ſacrifices in abundance; having the ſatisfaction alſo of an aſſurance, by a token effectually from God, that his oblations were accepted; for there fell a flaſh of fire from above, that ſhot through the air directly down to the altar, and conſum'd the offerings. This prodigy being ſeen by the whole multitude, they all look'd upon it as a certain ſign of God's owning both the worſhip and the temple, which put them into ſuch an extaſy of joy, that they all fell down together, and unanimouſly join'd in the adoration. Solomon continued his praiſes and thankſgivings, perſuading and encouraging the multitude to do the like, in the contemplation of ſo clear an evidence of God's ſpecial favour toward them. The king charged the people to be inſtant with God in prayer, for the continuance of his goodneſs and graces to them, that they might live in holineſs and righteouſneſs, without any ſpot or blemiſh, and walk in the ſteps, and according to the divine traditions of Moſes, to their lives end: this being the ſure and the only way to render the Hebrews the happieſt people of all mortals. He minded them alſo, that their felicity was no way to be ſecured and augmented, but by the means by which it was acquir'd, as being not only the effect, but the reward of piety and juſtice. He told them further, that it was much eaſier to get what they wanted, than to keep what they had got, and bad them have a care, not to forfeit by any miſdemeanor what they had gain'd by their virtue.

Solomon diſmiſſes the aſſembly, 2 Chron. vii. 10.

The king made an end of ſpeaking here, and diſcharg'd the aſſembly, having firſt offered up in ſacrifices for himſelf and his people, twelve thouſand calves, and a hundred and twenty thouſand lambs. This was the firſt blood that was ſpilt in the temple; and the Iſraelites, with their wives and children, were all feaſted at it. There was celebrated at the ſame time before the temple, beſide this ſolemnity, the feaſt of tabernacles, which laſted fourteen days at the king's expence, with great jollity, magnificence, and ſplendor.

The feaſt of tabernacles, and the dedication of the temple happen'd together, 1 Kings viii. 65.

The ceremony being now over, the people returned to their own homes, V. 66.

The noiſe and pomp of things was now over, and all imaginable right done to the honour and piety of the occaſion; ſo that every man was now returning to his own habitation, but not without infinite acknowledgments of the king's wiſdom, care, and bounty in all reſpects, and prayers for the long life of Solomon, and the long continuance of the people under the bleſſing of his government. They went back, in fine, ſinging, rejoicing, and giving glory to God, with all things ſo much to their hearts content, that betwixt joy and good company, the time paſs'd away cheerfully and eaſily, without any ſenſe of tediouſneſs or trouble in the journey.

A voice tells Solomon, that his prayers are heard and granted, upon condition that he walk in the ſteps of his father; but if ever he or his ſubjects go over to ſtrange gods, they ſhall be cut off, and ſcatter'd over the face of the earth, like vagabonds; their temple ſack'd and burnt by Barbarians, and Jeruſalem laid in the duſt, 1 Kings ix. 2--9.

The ark being now brought into, and depoſited in the temple, the beauty and magnificence of that glorious ſtructure, with all due ceremony and ſolemnity expoſed, the congregation diſperſed, and returned home again. God appeared now a ſecond time to Solomon in his ſleep, and a voice told him, “That God had accepted his ſacrifices, and heard his prayers; that he would preſerve his temple, and make it the houſe of his dwelling; that is to ſay, ſo long as he himſelf, and his poſterity and people ſhould continue to walk before him, as David his father did, in pureneſs of heart; promiſing him, upon that condition, to advance him to the higheſt degree of earthly bliſs; to perpetuate the throne of Iſrael to his family; ſo that there ſhould never want a prince of that line, and of the tribe of Judah, to wield the ſcepter. But on the other hand, if ever they ſhould betray, and depart from, or forget the worſhip they profeſs'd, and run after ſtrange gods, they ſhould be quite rooted out from off the face of the earth, and Iſrael be no longer a people; but after being torn to pieces, and broken with wars, and other calamities at home, be forced away to ſhift for themſelves in the wide world, as vagabonds and exiles.” The voice told him further, “That in caſe of ſuch an apoſtaſy, his new erected fabrick ſhould, with divine permiſſion, come to be ſack'd and burnt by the hands of Barbarians, and Jeruſalem itſelf laid in rubbiſh and aſhes, by a merciless enemy; inſomuch, that people ſhould ſtand amazed at the very report of ſo incredible a miſery and diſtreſs, and be wondering one to another how it ſhould come to paſs, that a people who were but yeſterday the envy of all mankind, for riches, external glory and reputation, ſhould now all on a ſudden be ſunk and loſt to the laſt degree of wretchedneſs and contempt, and reduced to this deſpicable ſtate too by the ſame hand that raiſed them. To which queſtion, their own guilty conſciences ſhall make this anſwer: we have forſaken our God, we have abandon'd the religion of our forefathers, and of our country; and all this is juſtly befallen us for our ſins.” This was the ſubſtance of Solomon's dream, or viſion, as we find it tranſmitted to us in holy writ.

Solomon erects a royal palace, which was thirteen years a finiſhing, 1 Kings vii.

After the finiſhing of this temple; which, as we have ſaid already, was ſeven years in hand, Solomon enter'd upon the building of a royal palace for himſelf, which was full thirteen years more a perfecting. He was not ſo ſolicitous and intent upon the latter, as the former, which in truth was great and artificial to a miracle; and without God's peculiar bleſſing and aſſiſtance, could not have been completed in that compaſs of years. Solomon's court indeed was in appearance much inferior to the majeſty of his temple, not only for want of time to provide his materials, but the one was deſigned only for the honour and convenience of a temporal prince, and the other dedicated to the king of kings; ſo that the work was the longer a doing. It was, however, ſufficient to anſwer the end it was deſign'd for, being a work that redounded much to the glory both of prince and people. But it will be worth the while to ſay ſomewhat more particularly of the model and diſpoſition of this majeſtical fabrick, for the reader's better underſtanding of the whole, as well as for his curioſity and ſatisfaction.

The deſcription of the royal palace, with the offices and apartments, ibid.

There was erected, upon ſeveral rows of pillars, a fair ſpacious pile of building, in the nature and after the manner of a common hall for the hearing of cauſes. It was a * hundred cubits in length, † fifty in breadth, and ‡ thirty in depth; nor could it well be leſs, to receive the vaſt multitudes that came thronging thither from all parts for juſtice. It was ſupported by ſixteen ſquare columns, cover'd with Corinthian work, in cedar, and fortified with double doors curiouſly wrought, that ſerved both for the ſecurity and the ornament of the place. In the middle of this court, or hall, was another edifice of thirty cubits ſquare, and under-ſet with ſtrong pillars, in which quarter was a throne of ſtate, where the king himſelf uſed to ſit perſonally in judgment. Next adjoining to this royal court of juſtice, was the queen's houſe, and other apartments thereabouts, for diverſion and retreat, after the fatigue of cares and buſineſs, all fitted up with cedar, and raiſed upon huge ſtones of * ten cubits ſquare, which were partly plain, and in part overlaid with the moſt precious marble, after the faſhion of the moſt magnificent of palaces or temples. The rooms were hung with three depths of rich hangings, and beautified with images, in ſculpture of trees, plants, branches, leaves, &c. and all ſo miraculouſly wrought, that they appear'd to the eye to be all in motion. As to the remainder of the ſpace up to the cieling, it was all ſet out with delicate parti-colour'd figures, upon a ground of white; and then beſide all theſe, there was a great variety of other chambers too, for retirement or delight; long and large galleries; vaſt rooms of ſtate, and others for feaſting and entertainment, ſet out as rich as rich could be, with coſtly furniture and gildings; beſide, that all the ſervices for the king's table were of pure gold. But it would be an endleſs work to give a particular ſurvey of this mighty maſs of buildings; ſo many courts and other contrivances; ſuch an infinite diverſity of chambers and offices, great and ſmall; ſome under ground, others above, as vaults, turrets, and the like. In a word, the whole houſe was in a manner made up from top to bottom of white marble, cedar, gold, and ſilver, with precious ſtones here and there intermingled upon the walls, or cielings, after the manner of the adorning of the temple. There was alſo erected a very fair, large, ivory throne, with delicate carved work and engraving upon it, after the faſhion of a tribunal. There were ſix ſteps that led up to it; the figure of a lion at each end of every ſtep, and two lions more above; that is to ſay, one on either hand of the ſtate. As the king reſted upon his throne, there were arms put forth, as in a readineſs to take care of him, and to receive him; and the figure of a bullock placed in a proper poſture under him for his ſupport; the whole piece being cover'd all over with gold.

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* An hundred cubits amounted to upwards of an hundred and eighty two feet; that is, ſixty yards and two feet.

† Fifty cubits amounted to upwards of ninety one feet; that is, to thirty yards and one foot.

‡ Thirty cubits amounted to upwards of fifty four feet; that is, eighteen yards.

Solomon's throne, 1 Kings vii.

2 Chron. viii. 1.

These two magnificent ſtructures were twenty years a finiſhing; and it was a huge maſs of gold, and a greater of ſilver, beſide a mighty proviſion of cedar and fir, that Hiram the king of Tyre contributed to the perfecting of the work; and Solomon was not behind hand with him neither in his acknowledgments and preſents; for he ſent him every year great quantities of corn, wine, and oil, as a ſupply that Hiram, being an iſlander, ſtood moſt in need of, as has been obſerv'd heretofore. He beſtow'd upon him, moreover, twenty cities upon the borders of Galilee, not far from Tyre, which upon view and conſideration (not being much to his liking) he fairly declin'd the acceptance of, with a reſpectful excuſe to Solomon, that he had no need of thoſe cities. From this refuſal, that part of the country was called † Chabalon, which with the Phœnicians is as much as to ſay, It does not pleaſe me.

Many good offices betwixt Solomon and Hiram.

Hiram applies himſelf to Solomon for the ſolution of all difficult caſes.

Menander makes mention of theſe two princes.

Hiram had ſo great a veneration for the wiſdom of Solomon, that whenever he found himſelf at a nonplus for the underſtanding of any difficulty, or myſterious queſtion, he applied himſelf to this wiſe prince for the ſolution of it, who never fail'd of anſwering him to his ſatisfaction, according to the true reaſon and nature of the matter in hand. The hiſtorian Menander, that turn'd the Tyrian annals out of the Phœnician tongue into Greek, makes mention of theſe two princes as follows: “Hiram, ſays he, the ſon of Abibale, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Tyre. He liv'd three and fifty years, and reigned four and thirty. He annex'd a piece of forced ground, called the great field, to the iſland, and dedicated a golden pillar to Jupiter in his temple. He cut down materials alſo in abundance upon Mount Libanus, for the covering of holy places; and pulling down ancient temples, he built new ones to Hercules and Aſtarte. He erected a ſtatue for Hercules in the month of Peritius; and then in an expedition againſt the Eyceans, for not paying the duty of a tribute, as they ought to have done, he overcame them, and returned home again. In his days there was one Abdemonus, a young man that took upon him to give Solomon, the king of Jeruſalem, a reſolution upon all dark and myſterious queſtions that ſhould be put to him.” Dius writes alſo to this effect: “Abibale being now dead, Hiram his ſon ſucceeded him, who by filling up void places on the eaſt quarter of the town, enlarged the borders, and brought the temple of Olympian Jupiter, that before ſtood apart, and at a diſtance, into the compaſs of the city; enriching and adorning it with golden offerings to a very great value; after which, he order'd the cutting down of cedars upon Mount Libanus for the uſe of holy places.” He tells farther, “That Solomon, the king of Jeruſalem, often ſent problems and riddles to Hiram, upon the forfeiture of a great ſum of money, if he failed of expounding them. Thoſe difficult caſes were afterward not only unriddled by Abdemonus a Tyrian, but new propoſitions ſtarted by him, which Solomon himſelf not being able to reſolve, was obliged to refund the greateſt part of the money.” Thus far goes Dius.

And Dius ſpeaks of Hiram too.

Solomon repairs, fortifies, and enlarges the walls.

The walls of Jeruſalem were not at this time in a condition either for the defence or reputation of ſo famous a city, ſo that Solomon repair'd and enlarg'd them, with the addition of ſuch towers and other fortifications, as he found requiſite for the ſecuring of the place. He built ſeveral cities alſo of conſiderable note, as Aſor, Magedon, and Gazara, in the land of the Philiſtines, which Pharaoh the king of Egypt had formerly taken by aſſault; and razing it to the ground, put every creature in it to the ſword, giving it afterward to his daughter upon the match with Solomon. This city the king rebuilt, for the ſtrength of its ſituation, and the uſe it might be of to the government, as well in war as peace. He built likewiſe, not far from thence, Betachora and

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* Ten cubits amounted to upwards of eighteen feet; that is, ſix yards.

† Bochart reads Chabulon in his Geogr. Sacr.

He builds five cities alſo, beſide other places of pleaſure, 2 Chron. viii. 2–6.

A fair city called Thadamora, ibid.

for a watering place.

Baleth, beſide other places of pleaſure, in reſpect of the temperature of the climate, the delicacy of the fruits, and the conveniencies of excellent air and water. He poſſeſs'd himſelf after this, of the entrance into the deſart that lies toward Syria, where he built a very fair city, two days journey from the Upper Syria, one from Euphrates, and ſix from Babylon. Now the reaſon of erecting a city here at ſuch a diſtance from the habitable parts of Syria was this; that it might ſerve for a watering place (there being ſeveral ſprings and fountains in it) to thoſe that travell'd through that deſart. This town being built, wall'd, and ſtrongly fortified, was called Thadamora, which name it bears among the Syrians to this day. The Greeks call it Palmyra; and let this ſuffice for the hiſtory of Solomon thus far.

All the kings of Egypt, from Memphis, to the days of Solomon, were called Pharaohs.

Pharaoh, in the Egyptian tongue, ſignifies king, and ſo the name denotes office,

as with the Ptolemies and Ceſars.

Now in regard that I find many people inquiſitive how it comes to paſs, that the kings of Egypt, from Minæus the firſt founder of Memphis itſelf, which was long before our father Abraham, to the days of Solomon, being upward of thirteen hundred years, ſhould be all called by the name of Pharoah; and from what original they took their denomination, I ſhall give this plain and ſhort account of it for their ſatisfaction. Pharaoh, in the Egyptian language, ſignifies as much as king. My opinion is, that they were brought up by other names; and that upon coming to the exerciſe of a publick character, they exchang'd the diſtinction of the family for the common name of power. It was the ſame thing with the kings of Alexandria, who were educated by one name, and govern'd by another; being all call'd Ptolemies, from the firſt of their kings; and ſo it is with the Roman emperors too, who in caſe of ſuch an elevation, drop their private and hereditary names, and are all called Ceſars, with a reſpect to the character of a ſovereign power. This was it, perhaps, that made Herodotus of Halicarnaſſus, in his account of the ſucceſſors to Minæus the firſt king of Memphis, to reckon up three hundred thirty kings, referring to the number without mentioning their names, Pharaoh being one common name to them all. Now upon the coming of a woman afterwards to the government, he ſpeaketh of her by the particular name of Nicaulis, the appellation of Pharoah being only proper to the other ſex. Neither do I find in the whole hiſtory of our nation, that after Pharoah, the father-in-law of Solomon, there was ever any other king of Egypt known by that name. I am alſo well aſſured, that this Nicaulis was the queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, that came afterward to Solomon: but of this more hereafter. I have been the larger upon theſe particulars, to ſhew the harmony betwixt our memorials and thoſe of the Egyptians.

There were ſome ſtubborn Canaanites that refus'd allegiance to the Iſraelites. Solomon at length makes them tributaries, upon condition of furniſhing ſo many ſlaves, 2 Chron. viii. 7, 8.

There was ſtill a ſtubborn remainder of the Canaanites, betwixt Mount Libanus, and the city Amathe, who for ſome time diſputed their allegiance to the kings of Iſrael, till Solomon at laſt made them his tributaries, upon condition of furniſhing him yearly with ſuch a certain number of ſlaves, as was agreed upon to be employ'd upon tilling the land and other ſorts of drudgery; for the Hebrews were not upon any work that was coarſe and ſervile, neither would it have been reaſonable, when God had ſubdued ſo many nations to his power, for the conquerors to deſcend to do the buſineſs of their captives. As to the Iſraelites, their genius lay more toward arms, chariots, horſes, exploits of war, and military exerciſes. The Canaanites in the mean time were held to their labour, and ſix hundred officers of the king's put over them, to appoint them their tasks, and keep them to their work.

Solomon builds a fleet of ſhips. Hiram aſſiſts him to rigg them and man them, 1 Kings ix. 26, &c.

The king built a fleet of ſhips alſo in Ezon-Geber, an Egyptian bay upon the Red Sea. The port is now call'd Berenice, not far from the city of Elan, which in thoſe days was reckon'd to be under the juriſdiction of the Hebrews. In the building, fitting, and rigging out of this navy, Solomon was highly obliged to king Hiram for his generous aſſiſtance; for he ſent him as many expert pilots, and skilful mariners, as he had occaſion for, that ſerv'd the king's officers for guides to the land of Ophir, ſince called India, or the Golden Land, where having got together * four hundred talents of gold, they returned with it to the king.

Solomon's fame coming to the queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, 1 Kings x. 1.

She takes up a reſolution of giving him a viſit, Ver. 2.

The queen ſets forward for Jeruſalem with a royal train, and with magnificent preſents, ibid. Her reception is ſuitable to the quality and occaſion. She finds the king's wiſdom much above the fame of it, Ver. 3–5.

The queen looks upon the grove of Libanon as the maſter-piece of the whole fabrick.

The fame of Solomon's virtue and wiſdom was ſo advantageouſly repreſented, upon this occaſion, to Nicaulis the queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, that being a princeſs of extraordinary underſtanding herſelf, and a perſon every way accompliſhed, the very glory of the character gave her a longing impatience to hear and ſee the king himſelf; for, ſays ſhe to herſelf, what ſignifies all this hearſay, without experimental proof? Illuſtrious rumours ſpeak but the ſenſe or affection of the reporter; and after all, their ſplendid pretenſions fall ſhort, perhaps, and come to nothing in the concluſion. When ſhe had been debating the point for ſome time in her own thoughts, ſhe came at laſt to a reſolution, in contempt of all the riſques and difficulties of a long and tedious journey, to make him an honourable viſit, for the ſatiſfaction even of her curioſity, as well as of her inclination and judgment; and to enjoy the fruit and comfort of that wiſdom ſhe had heard ſuch wonders of. In this determination ſhe ſet forward toward Jeruſalem, with a train and equipage ſuitable to her royal dignity, taking along with her a number of camels, laden with gold; a great variety of rich perfumes, and precious ſtones. Upon her arrival the king receiv'd her with all poſſible honour, courteſy, and reſpect; and with ſo much eaſe and clearneſs ſolved all the difficulties ſhe propos'd, that it put her into an amazement to find his excellencies, in truth and effect, ſo much beyond what ſhe had heard of them in fame and report. She ſtood in great admiration at the majeſty and curioſity of his palace, the order and diſpoſition of the building, and at the king's incomparable prudence upon the main, through the whole contrivance and conduct; but ſhe was mov'd at nothing more than at the maſter-piece of that fabrick call'd the Grove of Libanon; the magnificent, and the regular courſe of his entertainments; the diſcipline and œconomy of the family, and the doing every thing with ſo peculiar a grace. She was likewiſe infinitely pleaſed with the ſight of the daily ſacrifices, and to behold

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* Four hundred talents in weight amounted to forty five thouſand ſix hundred and twenty five pounds Troy, and their value in gold was worth two million one hundred and ninety thouſand pounds Engliſh money.

The daily ſacrifices, and the order of God's worſhip tranſports her beyond all the reſt, 1 Kings x. 5.

with what application, care, and veneration, the prieſts and Levites perform'd their part in the worſhip. The conſtant courſe and practice of this orderly reverence ran in her head day and night, and her heart was ſo ſet upon it, that the more ſhe conſider'd it, the more ſhe found it to be ſtill her wonder and delight; nor did ſhe make any difficulty of owning as much to the king himſelf.

The queen's addreſs to Solomon, Ver. 6–9.

"GREAT prince, ſays ſhe, the credit of reports is ſo doubtful and uncertain, that without a demonſtrative and experimental confirmation of the truth of what we hear, we are forced to ſuſpend our aſſent for want of knowing what to believe, eſpecially where the fame of things biaſſes toward either extreme of good or evil; but in the queſtion of your incomparable faculties and greatneſs; that is to ſay, the internal advantages of the mind in a ſuperlative degree of knowledge and underſtanding, and the glory of your outward ſtate, the rumour has been ſo far from partial, that it falls ſhort even of a common juſtice; for though common fate ſaid as much to your honour as could be put in words, I have yet the happineſs at this preſent time to ſee much more than I heard. Bleſſed are the Hebrews; bleſſed the friends and people of Solomon, that ſtand ever before him, and hear his wiſdom; and bleſſed be God for his goodneſs to this land and nation, in placing them under the government of ſo excellent a prince."

Rich and curious preſents, Ver. 10.

HAVING proceeded thus far, this generous princeſs did not ſtop here at words and profeſſions, but, as a farther inſtance of the high reſpect ſhe had for the king, ſhe made him a preſent of twenty talents * of gold, aromatical ſpices, rich perfumes, and precious ſtones, to a prodigious value. They ſpeak alſo of a root of balſam that ſhe brought with her, which (according to a tradition we have) was the firſt plant of the kind that ever came into Judea, where it hath propagated ſo wonderfully ever ſince. Neither was Solomon wanting, on the other hand, in a ſuitable return of whatever he thought might be to the queen's liking and ſatisfaction; for he denied her nothing, and was much readier to give, than ſhe to aſk, even to the preventing of her aſkings.

Soon after this interview, the queen returns, Ver. 13.

After this reciprocal interchange of preſents given and taken, the queen went back again into her own country.

The arrival of Solomon's return-ſhips from Ophir.

ABOUT this time Solomon's fleet returned from Ophir, (otherwiſe called the land of gold) with ſtones for jewels, and pine-wood in abundance; the latter was made uſe of partly for pillars and ſupporters to the king's temple and palace, and partly for muſical inſtruments, as harps, cymbals, pſalteries, and the like, for the Levites to glorify God upon in company with their voices. It is to be noted, that for ſize and beauty, Solomon had never ſeen any of this ſort of wood comparable to it before. This was none of the wood that paſſes commonly upon the world for pine, in the way of trade, betwixt buyer and ſeller: this has ſomewhat of the grain of a fig-tree, only a little whiter, and more gloſſy. I thought it not amiſs to advertiſe the reader of a common miſtake, eſpecially being a queſtion that falls ſo naturally upon this occaſion into Solomon's ſtory.

The cargo of this plate-fleet, beſides the merchants adventures and preſents ſent him, 2 Chron. ix. 13, 14.

THIS plate-fleet brought the king † ſix hundred ſixty ſix talents of gold, over and above the merchants adventure, and what the governors and kings of Arabia ſent him for preſents. Of this gold he cauſed to be caſt two hundred targets, weighing ‡ ſix hundred ſhekels of gold each; and theſe were all hung up in the great hall of the grove of Libanon. His drinking cups were all of beaten gold too, garniſh'd with precious ſtones, and wrought with all the curioſity imaginable; and in ſhort, the reſt of his utenſils were of the ſame metal. There was no trading with money in this caſe; for the king had his ſhips in the ſea of Tarſus that merchandiſed with foreign nations; and in exchange for commodities of his own, brought him back gold and ſilver, great quantities of ivory, blacks, apes, &c. Going and coming, they reckon'd upon this expedition as a three years voyage.

His vaſt returns of gold and ſilver coſt him nothing more than commodity for commodity.

THE reputation of Solomon's greatneſs and wiſdom was by this time ſpread far and near, inſomuch that ſeveral great kings, for their own ſatisfaction ſake, were inflam'd with a longing deſire to ſee him, and laid hold of all occaſions, by their munificence, and other good offices, to ſhew the deſire they had to ſerve him. They ſent him gold and ſilver plate, purple robes, ſpices and perfumes of all ſorts, horſes, chariots, and mules for burden, ſuch as for ſtrength and beauty they thought might be moſt acceptable to the king; ſo that he had now an addition of four hundred chariots to what he had before; that is to ſay, a thouſand chariots, and ** twenty thouſand horſes, that for beauty and ſpeed were beyond all others; and for the better grace of the ſpectacle, they had the flower of the youth to ride and manage them. They were all proper goodly perſons, in *** purple veſts; their hair diſhevelled and flowing, to the great advantage of their motion, and ſuch an intermixture of golden threads with their locks, that the ſun playing upon them, irradiated their heads with a kind of glory. This was the guard, which with their arms and quivers, attended the king's chariot (himſelf mounted in it, cloathed in white) to a houſe of pleaſure he had at Ethan, not far from the city, which for the delicate gardens, walks, and fountains, and the fruitfulneſs of the place, he took great delight in.

Divers great princes preſent him with gold, ſilver, purple robes, ſpices, horſes, chariots, &c. Ver. 23, 24.

The royal magnificence of Solomon's guards, V. 25.

THIS prince had it in his nature to be neat and curious, and his providence looked ſo far, that there was hardly any thing ſo minute as

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* Twenty talents weighed two thouſand two hundred and eighty one pounds, and three ounces; and their value in gold amounted to one hundred and nine thouſand, and five hundred pounds Engliſh money; but in 1 Kings x. 10. and in 2 Chron. ix. 9. 'tis an hundred and twenty talents of gold.

† Six hundred and ſixty ſix talents weighed ſeventy five thouſand, nine hundred and ſixty five pounds, and ſeven ounces, ten penny weights; and their value in gold amounted to three million, ſix hundred and forty ſix thouſand, three hundred and fifty pounds Engliſh money.

† Six hundred ſhekels weighed eleven pounds, four ounces, ſeventeen penny weights, and twelve grains, and their value in gold amounted to five hundred and forty ſeven pounds, ten ſhillings, Engliſh money.

** 1 Kings iv. 26. and x. 26. and 2 Chron. ix. 25. 'tis twelve thouſand. See Bochart's Hieroz. lib. ii. c. 9. part 1.

*** Bochart fancies that he deſcribes them according to the faſhion of his own times, ibid.

His providence deſcends from the building of palaces to the care of the highways.

1 Kings x. 27.

not to fall under his care. He provided for the very paving of the highways that led to his palace at Jeruſalem, partly for the convenience of comers and goers, and partly for the honour of his own magnificence. He kept not many chariots about his perſon, but quarter'd them here and there by certain numbers in the adjacent towns; and theſe places were called his chariot-towns. Silver was as plentiful in Jeruſalem as ſtones; and cedars, which had never been ſeen in Judea before, were now as common as mulberry-trees. He gave commiſſion alſo to his Egyptian merchants to buy him a proviſion of chariots with two horſes, at the price of ſix hundred ſilver drachmas * a-piece; and theſe were to be ſent away to the kings of Syria, and beyond Euphrates.

Never a more glorious, wiſe, and powerful prince.

The latter part of his life blaſted the former, 1 Kings xi. 1–13.

His luſt made him mad upon women, ibid.

Strange women brought him to ſtrange practices and opinions, ib.

As he grew careleſs of the true religion, he was more apt to embrace a falſe one, ibid.

His bulls under the brazen ſea, was a breach alſo of the law.

Now as it is beyond diſpute, that this king was hitherto the moſt glorious, pious, the moſt incomparably wiſe, and powerful prince that ever ſat upon that throne; ſo is it no leſs certain, that he made the latter part of his life a ſcandal to the former, by departing from the precepts of Moſes, and the laws and religion of his forefathers, and blaſting ſo hopeful a beginning with ſo foul an end. The raging impotency of his luſt after women, tranſported him beyond all bounds, and the women of his own country would not ſerve his turn neither; for he took indifferently women of all nations, Sidonians, Tyrians, Ammonites, Idumeans, &c. quite contrary to the inſtitution of Moſes, which forbid the Hebrews any intercourſe of marriage with ſtrangers, wiſely foreſeeing that ſtrange women would inveigle men over to ſtrange gods too. And this was the true reaſon of the precaution againſt ſuch marriages; for the violation of one law is but a ſtep toward the breaking of another; and the taking of a prohibited wife does naturally lead to the embracing of a prohibited religion. But Solomon's ſenſual appetite was deaf to all counſels of ſobriety and reaſon. He had no fewer than ſeven hundred wives that were princeſſes, (the daughter of the king of Egypt for one,) and three hundred concubines; and the paſſion he had for the charms of their converſation carried him into compliances with them in the impiety of their practices and opinions, as the moſt effectual earneſt he could give them of his unchangeable tenderneſs and affection. As he grew more advanc'd in years, he felt the decay of age in his mind, as well as in his body, and ſtill as he became more and more careleſs and remiſs in the exerciſe of the true worſhip, he was the more eaſily prevail'd upon to join with theſe ſtrange women in a falſe one; not that this was the firſt breach of the law that he was guilty of; for he had tranſgreſs'd the rule, in the very figures of his bulls under his brazen ſea, and in the lions afterward that were ſet as a guard upon his throne; which was all directly againſt a poſitive inſtitution. He had at the ſame time in his own family the moſt glorious preſident for honour and virtue, that was any where to be found, in the example of his bleſſed father, whoſe piety and practice was ſo expreſly recommended to his imitation, that God inculcated the charge over and over to him in his ſleep; and upon the pain of his uttermoſt diſpleaſure, to be ſure to tread in his father's ſteps. This he neglected to do, and came, in the concluſion, to an ignominious end.

God foretold Solomon by the mouth of a prophet, that after his death his ſon ſhould be puniſh'd for the father's ſake, by a revolt of ten tribes, ib.

The word of the Lord came after this to Solomon, by the mouth of a prophet, telling him, "That his wickedneſs was no ſecret, " and he ſhould not paſs long unpuniſh'd; but " in regard of a promiſe from Heaven, to his " father, that he ſhould have no other ſucceſſor, the prophet told him that his govern" ment ſhould not be taken from him while " he was living; and that after his death, his " ſon ſhould ſuffer for the iniquities of his fa" ther; not that there ſhould be an univerſal " defection, but that ten tribes only ſhould " revolt, and the other two continue in their " allegiance to the ſon of Solomon for his " grandfather's ſake, and for the ſake of the " temple at Jeruſalem, which God had made " choice of for the place of his habitation." Theſe words wounded Solomon to the very ſoul, to ſee himſelf caſt down in a moment from the higheſt pitch of all ſublunary comforts and temporal glory, into the very depth of the contrary extreme.

Adad a ſpiteful enemy to Solomon, Ver. 14.

When Joab over-ran Idumea, he put all the males to death that were able to bear arms, Ver. 16.

Adad, then a child, fled to Pharaoh, who protected him, and married him to Taphines, Ver. 18, 19.

Upon David's and Joab's death, Adad deſir'd leave to go back, Ver. 21.

Some ſhort time after this denouncing meſſage by the prophet, God ſtirred up a bitter enemy againſt Solomon, whoſe name was Adad, an Idumean by birth, and a branch of the royal family; the ground of his animoſity being as follows: When the Hebrews over-ran the country of Idumea, under the command of Joab, who at that time was David's general; Joab having ſubdued the people, put to the ſword all the males he could find in the province that were able to bear arms, and this execution continued for ſix months. This ſame Adad, who in thoſe days was but a child, made his eſcape to Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, who not only received him with great humanity, but very generouſly gave him houſes, lands, and revenues for his entertainment, and took ſuch an affection further for him, upon his growing up into the world, that he married him to his own wife's ſiſter, whoſe name was Taphines, who bore him a ſon that was train'd up with the children of Pharaoh. In proceſs of time news was brought into Egypt, that David and Joab were both dead; and Adad upon theſe tidings deſir'd Pharaoh's leave to return into his own country. The king, not well pleaſed with his requeſt, ask'd him what he wanted, or what he meant by that earneſtneſs to leave the beſt friend he had in the world? for he preſs'd it over and over, but could not as yet prevail.

Solomon was now declining.

Pharaoh gives Adad leave to return, who goes to Idumea, to ſtir up the people againſt Solomon, Ver. 22, 23.

Adad finding no good to be done that way, goes for Syria.

Solomon being now in a declining condition, and the meaſure of his iniquity well-nigh full and ripe for judgment, God put it into Pharaoh's heart, whom he had hitherto reſtrain'd, to let Adad return; ſo that he came forthwith into Idumea, with a deſign to ſtir up the people to a rebellion againſt Solomon. But finding the garriſons ſo ſtrong, and the country in ſuch a poſture, that there was no poſſibility of ſucceſs by a ſurprize, he took new meaſures, and went from thence into Syria, where he join'd intereſts with one Rezon, a fugitive from his maſter Adadazer, the king of Zobah, and a famous captain of a body of banditti, that made ſpoil and ravage up and

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* The Hebrew drachma was of the ſame weight with the Grecian and Roman, and its value was ſix pence three farthings and three fourths; ſix hundred therefore muſt amount to about ſeventeen pounds of Engliſh money.

down

Adad and Rezon maſter that part of Syria, 1 Kings xi. 24, 25.

down at pleaſure. Adad ſtruck a league with this man; and with his aſſiſtance maſter'd that part of Syria, where he got himſelf to be declared king, and made ſo many inroads upon the land of the Iſraelites, that all things were in a confuſion with blood and pillage, even while Solomon himſelf was yet living.

Another conſpiracy headed by Jeroboam, upon the encouragement of a prophecy, Ver. 26.

Solomon finding Jeroboam a promiſing youth, prefers him, Ver. 28.

The prophet Ahijah's diſcourſe to him about the diviſion of the kingdom, and his reigning over ten tribes, Ver. 29--39.

Nor were theſe affronts and indignities from a ſtranger all that the king ſuffered; for a more dangerous conſpiracy was form'd againſt him at the ſame time, in his own kingdom, by Jeroboam, the ſon of Nebat; a man of a turbulent and ambitious ſpirit, and one who was poſſeſs'd with a notion that he had long ſince receiv'd from an old prophecy, of a ſtrange part that he was to play in the overturning of the government. Jeroboam being left by his father very young, and under the tuition of his mother, Solomon took notice of him as he grew up towards man's eſtate, for a youth of promiſing parts, and made him overſeer of his works, being at that time repairing and rebuilding the walls of Jeruſalem. He acquitted himſelf ſo well in that commiſſion, that Solomon gave him the military command of the tribe of Joſeph, as a conſideration for his induſtry and ſervice. As he was one day travelling out of Jeruſalem about his buſineſs, the prophet Ahijah, the Shilonite, met him upon the way; and after the formality of a ſalute, took him aſide, out of all ſight and hearing, and there laid hold of the garment he had on, and rent it into twelve pieces, bidding him take ten of them to himſelf; for it was God's will and order that it ſhould be ſo; "For he reſolved, said the prophet, "to tear the government from Solomon; and "for his promiſe ſake, to give the two contiguous tribes to the ſon of Solomon, and "the other ten to you, as a juſt puniſhment "for giving up himſelf to ſtrange women, and "to ſtrange gods; wherefore ſince you ſee "the ground of his rejection, let Solomon's "miſerable caſe be a warning to you, not to "do the ſame things yourſelf that ruin'd him. "Be juſt to all men; obſerve and protect the "laws; imitate David's virtues of piety and "religion, and you may promiſe yourſelf the "comfort and enjoyment of David's re"ward."

This prophetical prediction ran in his head.

A plot laid to ſeize Jeroboam, and diſpatch him; but he eſcapes, V. 40.

Jeroboam was not a little elevated with theſe words of the prophet; and being naturally of a very haughty and aſpiring ſpirit, every little thing that gratify'd his ambition made him reſtleſs and unquiet. The prophetical prediction would not out of his head, and the firſt thing he did, after he came to the army, was to tamper with the people againſt their ſovereign, and to ſet up for himſelf. But Solomon all this while was no ſtranger to the malice and practice of his deſigns; and there was a train laid to ſurprize him, and diſpatch him; but the plot was diſcover'd, and Jeroboam eſcaped to Shiſhak, the king of Egypt, where he waited the death of Solomon, for a fair opportunity to revive his pretenſion.

CHAP. III.

The death of Solomon. Rehoboam diſcontents the people. Ten tribes fall off, and declare for Jeroboam, who ſeduces them to Idolatry. He officiates as high-prieſt. The prophet Jadon reproves him. Jeroboam and Rehoboam do both forſake God.

Solomon's reign, life, death, and burial, Ver. 42, 43.

SOLOMON, in fine, liv'd to a great age. He * reign'd eighty years, died at ninety four, and was buried at Jeruſalem; the wiſeſt and the richeſt prince that ever was heard of; and in all other reſpects the happieſt, ſaving only the ſin of his ungovernable paſſion for women, and of thoſe dotages that he was led into, in his declining ſtate, by their arts; of which miſdemeanors, and the miſchiefs that afterwards accrued to the Hebrews, I ſhall ſay more hereafter.

Rehoboam ſucceeds him, ibid.

Jeroboam has notice in Egypt of Solomon's death, 2 Chron. x. 2.

He comes from thence to Sichem, and Rehoboam comes thither alſo, Ver. 1--3.

Some great men, with Jeroboam, adviſe Rehoboam not to bear ſo hard upon his people as his father did.

He takes three days time to conſider of it, Ver. 5.

Solomon being now dead, and Rehoboam his ſon (by Naama an Ammonitiſh woman) ſucceeding in courſe to the throne, ſome of the grandees ſent immediately into Egypt, to inform Jeroboam how matters ſtood, and to recal him. He came preſently, upon notice, to Sichem; and Rehoboam came thither alſo, propoſing to himſelf the calling of an aſſembly, and ſo to enter upon the government by the common declaration and conſent of the people. Upon this occaſion divers of the princes and leading men, together with Jeroboam himſelf, went to Rehoboam, and made him a diſcourſe, by the way of advice and reſpect, how his father had laid too heavy burthens upon his ſubjects, and that they were in hopes they ſhould find him eaſier; for it was his own intereſt and ſecurity ſo to be, and rather to make himſelf belov'd than fear'd. They recommended this humbly to his thought, and Rehoboam took three days time to conſider of it. The delay of his anſwer gave them ſome jealouſy what would be the reſult, eſpecially in a caſe (as they underſtood it) ſo eaſy, and ſo neceſſary to be reſolv'd immediately, and ſo well becoming the years and circumſtances of a young prince to appear courteous and obliging in. But they were not, however, quite out of hope yet, ſince he had not given them an abſolute and peremptory repulſe; but, till he had conſidered of it, only for a ſhort time ſuſpended his anſwer.

He conſults his father's friends and counſellors, who adviſe him to gentleneſs and moderation, Ver. 6, 7.

While this was a doing, Rehoboam adviſes with his father's friends and counſellors what anſwer to return them, who being both well affected to the publick, and well ſeen in the humour and diſpoſition of the common people, adviſed him by all means to treat them with courteſy and condeſcenſion; for he would gain much more upon them by a popular freedom, they told him, than by ſtanding ſtiff upon his points, in the formalities of majeſty and ſtate; there being no ſuch charm upon the hearts of the people, as graciousneſs and humility in the prince. Nothing could have been ſaid more to the purpoſe in general, or more eſpecially to his purpoſe in particular, having a kingdom in his eye. But his underſtanding was taken away by a judicial infatuation, to ſuch a degree, that he rejected their counſel, call'd a cabal to him of his own humour and years, told them what had paſs'd, and demanded their opinion upon the whole affair. They took the point into debate, and whether for want of experience and foreſight, or that God had blinded them, they came all to this agreement upon the queſtion. Rehoboam was to tell them, “That ſince they complain'd of his predeceſſor, they ſhould find his little finger heavier than his father's loins. If they thought themſelves ill uſed formerly, they muſt expect to have him uſe greater ſeverity towards them now; and that if his father had chaſtiſed them with whips, he himſelf was reſolved to chaſtiſe them with ſcorpions.” The king was ſo delighted with the miſtaken majeſty and dignity of this proud affronting anſwer, that upon the third day, when the people were gather'd together in the greateſt anxiety imaginable, betwixt hope and fear of the doom they were to receive, ſome fancying one thing, ſome another, the king appear'd, and paſſing over the opinion of his father's counſellors, gave the people for anſwer, the very ſyllables that the young men had put in his mouth, the providence of God having ſo order'd it, that the prophecy of the prophet Ahijah might be fulfilled. Theſe words were ſo many blows to them, and no leſs terrible in the hearing, than the dreadful things they threaten'd would have been in the execution; inſomuch, that they all cried out in a rage, as with one voice, “What have we to do with the houſe of David? let him take to himſelf the temple that his father built.” And the uproar look'd like a prologue to a general revolt. The ſedition was ſo outrageous, that Adoram, one of the king's officers in the treaſury, being ſent out to pacify them by laying the blame upon the intemperance of ſome hot-headed young men, the people ſton'd him to death, without ſo much as hearing him. Rehoboam look'd upon the malice of this violence to be levell'd at himſelf rather than againſt his officer; and he was much in the right; ſo that he preſently mounted his chariot in a fright, and in a hurry poſted away to Jeruſalem, to get out of the reach of the mutineers. The tribes of Judah and Benjamin, all as one man, ſtuck to him, and proclaim'd him for their king; but all the reſt of the people went over to Jeroboam, and from that day forward would have nothing to do with the houſe of David. Rehoboam had ſo great an indignation at the thought of this revolt, that he ſummon'd a full convention of the two tribes that ſtood firm to their allegiance, and drew out one hundred and eighty thouſand ſoldiers upon the muſter, propoſing to himſelf, with this body of men, to reduce the other ten tribes to their duty by force. While he was preparing for this enterprize, he was admoniſhed by a prophet from God not to engage himſelf in a civil war, eſpecially where the deſertion was in ſome meaſure the work of a divine direction.

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* The account Joſephus here gives us of Solomon's age and reign is moſt certainly falſe, as having the addition of forty years, not warranted by any authority of Scripture, which tells us that he came to the crown very young, and that he reigned in Jeruſalem over all Iſraël but forty years. See 1 Kings xi. 42. and 2 Chron. ix. 30.

He goes from them to a cabal of his own age and humour, 2 Chron. x. 8, 9.

The advice of Rehoboam's counſellors, Ver. 10, 11.

The people preſently broke out into ſo outrageous an uproar, that they ſtoned Adoram to death, Ver. 18.

Rehoboam takes his chariot in a fright, and poſts away to Jeruſalem, ib.

The tribes of Judah and Benjamin ſtand to Rehoboam, Ver. 17.

The other ten go over to Jeroboam, 1 Kings xii. 20.

Rehoboam muſters an hundred and eighty thouſand men out of the two tribes, 2 Chron xi. 1.

God admoniſhes Rehoboam not to engage in a civil war, Ver. 2--4.

We ſhall now in the firſt place give ſome account of the actions of Jeroboam, the king of the Iſraelites, and proceed from thence to the hiſtory of Rehoboam, and the two tribes, according to the order of the narration.

Jeroboam builds him two palaces, 1 Kings xii. 25.

Jeroboam built himſelf a palace at Sichem, which he made his place of reſidence; and for variety ſake, he built another at Penuel. This was a little before the feaſt of tabernacles, which was the thing that put theſe thoughts into his head. “If, ſays he, I ſhall now ſuffer the people to go up to Jeruſalem, and leave them at liberty for the celebration of that feſtival, they'll be ſo taken with the ſhews and ceremonies of the place, and of the religion, that they'll be in danger of changing their minds, perhaps, and of returning to their old king again, as well as to their old way; which may lead to the extreme hazard, even of my life as well as of my government.” Now for prevention ſake, he bethought himſelf of this expedient: He cauſed to be made two golden calves, and two temples to be built; the one at Bethel, and the other at Dan, which is a town ſituate at the head of the Leſſer Jordan. Theſe images were conſecrated in both places, and indicting an aſſembly of the ten tribes under his command, he made a diſcourſe to them to this purpoſe:

He deliberates upon the danger of letting the people go up to worſhip at Jeruſalem, Ver. 26, 27.

He builds two temples, and ſets up two golden calves, Ver. 28.

He conſecrates the temples and the images.

Jeroboam's plauſible way of ſeducing the multitude.

“I need not tell you, my countrymen, that God is every where, and not confin'd to any certain place; but wherever we are, he hears our prayers, and accepts our worſhip, in one place as well as in another; and therefore I am not at all of opinion for your going up to Jeruſalem at this time, to a people that hate you. 'Tis a long tedious journey, and all this only for the ſake of religion. He that built that temple was but a man, as every one here is; and the golden calves that I have provided for you, the one in Bethel, the other in Dan, are conſecrated as well as that temple, and brought ſo much nearer you, on purpoſe for the convenience of your worſhip, where you may pay your duty to God in ſuch manner as beſt pleaſes him. As for prieſts and Levites, I ſhall make ſuch a proviſion for you, that you ſhall have no want, either of the tribe of Levi, or of the race of Aaron. Let him that has a mind to enter into the ſacerdotal function, initiate himſelf into the prieſthood by the ſacrifice of a calf and a ram, according to the inſtitution of Aaron, who was the firſt of that order, and only ſo qualified.” This was Jeroboam's way of ſeducing the multitude into an Apoſtaſy from the laws of their God, and of their country; and he himſelf, conſequently, the capital cauſe and author of all thoſe calamities that afterwards befel the Hebrews; as foreign wars, routs, captivity, and the like; of which hereafter in their due time and place.

Jeroboam ſets up a worſhip at Bethel, Ver. 29, &c.

He does the high-prieſt's part himſelf, 1 Kings xiii. 1.

The feſtival of the ſeventh month was now drawing on, and Jeroboam took up a reſolution to worſhip the ſame way at Bethel that the two tribes did at Jeruſalem. There was an altar erected before the golden calf: he himſelf perſonated the high-prieſt, and went up with his own prieſts after the manner of the temple-worſhip. But as he was preparing to put fire to the offering in the ſight of all the people, there came a prophet from Jeruſalem in that very point of time, whoſe name was Jadon. He was ſent by God, and being advanc'd into the middle of the crowd, he addreſs'd himſelf in the king's hearing to the altar, in words to this purpoſe: “Altar, altar, Jadon's prophecy addreſs'd to the altar, foretelling the end of falſe prophets and ſeducers, 1 Kings xiii. 2.

Jadon's authority confirm'd by miracles, Ver. 5.

The withering of Jeroboam's arm, Ver. 4.

The wither'd hand reſtor'd, Ver. 6.

“ tar, ſays he, thus ſaith the Lord, there ſhall “ ariſe one out of the houſe of Judah, whoſe “ name ſhall be Joſiah; who upon thee ſhall “ put to death the falſe prophets, ſeducers, “ and impoſtors of thoſe times, and upon thee “ ſhall burn their bones; and to the end that “ no creature may doubt the truth of this “ prediction, the authority of it ſhall be now “ confirmed by a prodigy. The altar ſhall “ fall to pieces, and the fat of the ſacrifices “ upon it ſhall be ſpilt upon the ground.” The king was ſo inflam'd upon theſe words of the prophet, that he lifted up his hand againſt him, and commanded aloud that ſome body ſhould lay hold of him; but his arm was immediately ſo benumb'd and blaſted, that it was like a dead limb, and he could not draw it back again. The altar fell to pieces, as was preſag'd, and the fat of the ſacrifices was thrown upon the ground, as the prophet had foretold. The king, finding by what ſpirit the man ſpoke, and that he was no counterfeit, beſought him to pray to God on his behalf for the reſtoring of his wither'd arm; which being done, and the miracle wrought, Jeroboam thankfully acknowledg'd the benefit of the cure, and earneſtly preſs'd the prophet to ſtay dinner with him, who excuſed himſelf upon an injunction that God had laid upon him, not ſo much as to taſte either bread or wine in that city, nor to return the ſame way he came. This reſerve and ſobriety of the prophet made the king give more heed to what he ſaid, than otherwiſe he ſhould have done; ſo that he grew very uneaſy upon it in his forebodings concerning himſelf.

A falſe prophet that was Jeroboam's favourite, hearing what Jadon had done, and that he was return'd, follows him immediately to overtake him, Ver. 13, 14.

He finds him reſting himſelf under an oak, and invites him to a collation, Ibid.

Jadon excuſes himſelf; for he was forbidden either to eat or drink in that city, V. 16, 17.

The falſe prophet tells him that he came from God to invite him, Ver. 18.

Jadon goes with him, and God foretels him that a lion ſhall meet him by the way, and tear him to pieces, which fell out accordingly, Ver. 20--24.

The falſe prophet ſends his ſons for the body, and gives it a magnificent burial, Ver. 29--31.

THERE was in that town a certain falſe prophet, that was much in Jeroboam's good graces; not for the truth, (for he was a downright impoſtor,) but for the uttering of ſuch prophecies as he knew were pleaſing to his maſter, and ſubſervient to his intereſt. This man was old and crazy; and as he lay at this inſtant dozing upon his bed, his ſons brought him news of a famous prophet that was come from Jeruſalem, and what wonders he had done; with the ſtory of Jeroboam's wither'd arm, and the recovery of it at the prophet's interceſſion to God for him, and how he was now gone back again, and which way he went. The fame of this ſtranger created ſuch a jealouſy in the old man's head, for fear leſt he ſhould be ſupplanted in his maſter's favour, that he preſently order'd his ſons to ſaddle his aſs, which was immediately done, and the man mounted, and poſted away with all imaginable expedition to ſeek after the ſtrange prophet. He follow'd him ſtep by ſtep, till he came up to him at length as he was reſting himſelf under the ſhadow of a large ſpreading oak. After the formality of the firſt ſalute, the falſe prophet fell to expoſtulating with the other, why he would not be ſo kind as to call at his houſe, and do him the honour to take a collation with him. The ſtranger told him it could not be; for God had poſitively forbidden him either to eat or drink in that city. Nay, ſays the other, I can abſolve you in this point myſelf; for I am a prophet as well as you, and we are both ſervants to the ſame God; and it is by that God's expreſs command that I am come hither now to invite you to dinner with me. Jadon gave credit to this falſe wretch, accepted of his invitation, and ſo went along with him. While they were yet at dinner, and in the freedom of table-diſcourſe, God appeared to Jadon, and told him that he would not only puniſh him for his diſobedience, but the very manner of his puniſhment; which was, that he ſhould be torn to pieces upon the way by a lion, and that his body ſhould not be buried in the ſepulchre of his forefathers. It fell out accordingly, and perhaps God order'd it ſo, for the hardening of Jeroboam's heart, into a diſbelief of Jadon, upon ſo remarkable a miſcarriage; for in his way back to Jeruſalem, a lion tore him off from his aſs, and kill'd him; the aſs untouch'd and ſtanding ſtill, the lion couching by the carcaſs, like a guard to both. The relation of this diſaſter being brought to the falſe prophet, by ſome travellers that paſs'd that way, he appointed his ſons to fetch the body into the city, which being done, he gave it a magnificent burial, charging his ſons, whenever he died, to ſee his own body laid in the ſame monument; “ For, ſaid he, whatever this good man has “ ſpoken concerning the city, the altar, the “ prieſts, and the falſe prophets, it is all true. “ Now when I am dead, ſays he, and my “ bones depoſited with his, I am ſafe; for “ who ſhall know his bones from mine?”

The falſe prophet goes to Jeroboam, who tells him of the miracles Jadon had wrought.

The impoſtor ſhuffles them off, and ridicules them.

Jeroboam ſo abandon'd, that he never thought of God after, Ver. 33.

So ſoon as Jadon's funeral rites were well over, and the ſons competently inſtructed, away goes their wicked father to Jeroboam; who finding him exceedingly diſturb'd, ask'd him what he meant to trouble his head at that rate, for the words of a mad man? Well but, ſays the king, what do you think of the prodigy of the altar, and the miraculous loſs and recovery of my arm? (telling him both the ſtories at length.) The man, ſays he, is certainly a man of God, and a true prophet, he could never do all this elſe. The other in the mean time did, in ſhort, all he could to diſguiſe the truth with plauſible gloſſes and diſtinctions. As to the buſineſs of your hand, ſays he, 'tis very probable you had overwrought yourſelf, with carrying ſacrifices to the altar. The very wearineſs made it numb at firſt, perhaps; but after a little reſt, you ſee, it came to itſelf again. And ſo for the altar, it was new built; and not being thoroughly ſettled, it ſunk under the weight of an inſupportable burden of ſacrifices that were laid upon it. And what was your holy man's end at laſt? Why he was kill'd by a lion; and here's not the leaſt ſign or token of a prophet all this while, that I can find, either in word, life, or death. The king was ſo poiſon'd and corrupted with the vanity and mockery of theſe looſe inſinuations, that from thence forward he had no longer any thought of God or goodneſs; but on the contrary, abandon'd himſelf wholly to the love, ſtudy, and practice of all manner of wickedneſs; and to ſuch a degree too, that he did effectually bid defiance to all that was ſacred, either in Heaven, or earth; making it his buſineſs to find out new ſins, and in the event to outdo himſelf. But I ſhall paſs now to Rehoboam, according to the order of the relation.

Rehoboam builds and fortifies ſeveral ſtrong cities in the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, 2 Chron. xi. 5--10.

REHOBOAM, being king all this while of the two tribes beforemention'd, built and fortified ſeveral ſtrong and fair cities, as Bethlehem, Etan, Tekoa, Bethzar, Shoco, Adullam, Ipa, Mareſha, Ziph, Adoraim, Lachiſh, Azekah, Zorah, Ajalon, and Hebron, all in the tribe

of

These cities he garriſons and ſupplies with all manner of proviſions, 2 Chron. xi. 11, 12.

Prieſts, Levites, and laity come thronging to Jeruſalem from all parts to worſhip, Ver. 13–17.

Rehoboam's wives and children, Ver. 18, &c.

A diſſolute prince makes a licentious people, 2 Chron. xii. 1.

of Judah, beſide other towns, no leſs conſiderable, in the lot of Benjamin, which he provided with good garriſons and governors, and with corn, oil, and other neceſſaries in abundance, for their maintenance and defence; beſide many thouſands of ſhields and lances. While Rehoboam continued at Jeruſalem, there came up from all parts, great numbers of prieſts and Levites, and ſo many of the laity too, as made any conſcience of their ways, to worſhip there, quitting their countries to attend the duties of their religion. They were all ſick of Jeroboam's tyranny, and to ſee themſelves forc'd to the worſhipping of his calves, to the diſhonour of the true God. The diſcontent, in fine, was ſo great, that in three years time the power and intereſt of Rehoboam was mightily increas'd. This king's firſt wife was his kinſwoman, by whom he had three children, and he afterwards married Maacah, the daughter of Thamar, who was the daughter of Abſalom, by whom he had Abiah, and ſhe was a-kin to him too. He had ſeveral wives beſide, and children by them, but none ſo dear to him as Maacah. He had eighteen wives legitimate, and thirty concubines, by whom he had eight and twenty ſons, and ſixty daughters. But Abiah the ſon of Maacah was the perſon he deſign'd for his ſucceſſor, committing his treaſure and ſtrong holds all to his truſt. But it fell out to be with Rehoboam, as it fares commonly with other mortals; proſperity puffed him up, and in time ruin'd him; for the greater he grew in the world, the more liberty he took to be wicked; and he did not only contemn God and his holy commandments himſelf, but made his people as wicked too, out of a kind of reverence to his example. It is but according to the nature of human affairs, for ſubjects to be deprav'd by the exemplary ill manners of their ſuperiors; for the virtue, or the iniquity of the governor is, generally ſpeaking, ſome ſort of rule for the people to walk by; and it has the reputation of a kind of political virtue, to imitate the very vices of rulers. Not to do as they do, is tacitly to condemn their doings; as it happen'd under Rehoboam, where the people were wicked and licentious, for fear of diſpleaſing the king.

CHAP. IV.

Shiſhak king of Egypt lays ſiege to Jeruſalem. King Rehoboam meanly gives it up, and the temple is pillaged. Rehoboam dies, and Abias his ſon ſucceeds him. Jeroboam is foretold by the prophet Achias, of the utter ruin of himſelf and his whole family.

GOD avenged himſelf upon Rehoboam by the hand of Shiſhak the king of Egypt, not by Seſoſtris, as Herodotus miſtakes the matter. This ſame Shiſhak, in the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign, marched againſt him with a vaſt army. They reckon'd twelve hundred chariots, ſixty thouſand horſe, and four hundred thouſand foot; the ſoldiers being moſt of them Africans and Ethiopians. With this army Shiſhak broke in upon the Hebrews, and took into his protection ſeveral of their ſtrong towns, that render'd on their own accord. In all which places he left garriſons, and marched afterwards directly up to Jeruſalem, where Rehoboam and his people were block'd up in the town. The king in this ſtreight betook himſelf to prayers and ſupplications for victory over his enemies, but could not prevail for an anſwer to his ſatisfaction; and thereupon Sameas the prophet told him, for his greater terror, that God threaten'd to forſake all thoſe that forſake him firſt; which frighted them all into an acknowledgment of their wickedneſs, and of God's juſt judgment upon them for their apoſtaſy and diſobedience. Being now brought to the uttermoſt extremity of deſpair, the prophet told the king once again, that God was pleaſed ſo far to accept of their humiliation and repentance, that they ſhould not be utterly deſtroy'd and cut off, but only deliver'd up in ſubjection and ſlavery to the Egyptians, that they may learn upon experience, whether it be better to ſerve God or man. In this panick dread Rehoboam deliver'd up Jeruſalem to Shiſhak, upon certain conditions, but without any regard to faith, or honour, he broke his articles, pillag'd the temple, took away all the plate and treaſure, as well God's as the king's; gold and ſilver to an ineſtimable value, without leaving ſo much as one grain behind him. He carried away the golden ſhields and bucklers that Solomon had cauſed to be made, with the golden quivers that David took from the king of Sophena, and dedicated to the adorning of the temple. After which Shiſhak went back again with a prodigious booty. * Herodotus of Halicarnaſſaus takes notice of this expedition, only miſtaking the name, where he ſpeaks of the king of Egypt's march thorough ſeveral other countries, and of ſubduing the Paleſtine-Syria without ſtriking a ſtroke. Now this can only be underſtood of the conqueſt of our country by the Egyptians; for he tells of ſeveral pillars erected and left there, with the images of men cut upon them, with the privy parts of women, as an emblamatical way of ſtigmatizing the men for giving up their country without a blow. Now this Rehoboam was undoubtedly our king that gave up all for the asking. He ſays likewiſe, that the Ethiopians took up the cuſtom of circumciſing from the Egyptians. Now it is agreed on all hands, that the Philiſtines, and the Paleſtine-Syrians had it from thence; and it is as clear, that there are no other people in Paleſtine-Syria circumciſed but ourſelves. But of this every man has the freedom of his own thought.

Shiſhak marches againſt Rehoboam with a mighty army; garriſons ſeveral towns, and beſieges Rehoboam in Jeruſalem, Ver. 2–4.

The king in his diſtreſs has recourſe to prayers for victory. The prophet tells him, as he had forſaken God, God would forſake him, Ver. 6.

Rehoboam delivers up Jeruſalem to Shiſhak, and Shiſhak breaks his articles, and carries away pillage to an ineſtimable value, Ver. 9.

Herodotus Halicarnaſſaus makes mention of this expedition.

AFTER the departure of Shiſhak into Egypt, Rehoboam repair'd the loſs of the golden ſhields and bucklers, with the ſame number of braſs, and committed the care of them to his proper officers and guards; and ſo he led his life in a private quiet way, without any conſiderable adventure, or undertaking, his fear being a continual check upon him, in regard of the continual feuds betwixt Jeroboam and himſelf. He liv'd ſeven and fifty years; ſeventeen of them in a ſtation of ſovereign power. He was a man, weak and arrogant, and loſt himſelf, his government, and his reputation, by refuſing wiſe counſel, when it was given

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* Lib. II. c. ciii--cvi.

Rehoboam was buried at Jeruſalem, and his ſon Abias ſucceeded him, 2 Chron. xii. 16.

him. He was buried at Jeruſalem among the kings. His ſon * Abias ſucceeded him, in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam's reign over the ten tribes.

Jeroboam was a worker of iniquity, ſetting up altars in the high places, and making prieſts of the ſcum of the people, 1 Kings xiii. 33.

The prophet foretels the diſmal calamities that are to befal Jeroboam and his people, and the death of the child, 1Kings xii. 7--16.

And now we have ſpoken of the end of this king, it remains in the next place that we ſhew what became of Jeroboam. He was a worker of iniquity out of all bounds and meaſure. He was every day ſetting up and multiplying altars in the high places, and appointing prieſts to officiate out of the dregs of the people; which indignities and affronts, God, in his righteous judgment, avenged upon himſelf and his family. It happen'd at that time, that † Obimes, his ſon, fell ſick, and he bad his wife put herſelf into the diſguiſe of a private perſon, and go to ‡ Achias the prophet, being a man fill'd with the ſpirit of prediction, and the perſon who told him formerly, that he himſelf ſhould come to be king. “Go you, ſays he, to this prophet, and aſk him if the boy ſhall recover or no.” She dreſs'd herſelf according to her huſband's order, and ſo went to Shilo, where Achias at that time liv'd. As ſhe was upon the way toward the houſe, a voice from Heaven ſpoke to the prophet, (who was now dim-ſighted with age,) and inform'd him that the wife of Jeroboam was then coming to him; told him likewiſe her buſineſs, what queſtions ſhe would aſk him, and what he ſhould anſwer. Upon her coming to the door in the dreſs of an ordinary gueſt, the prophet call'd to her by the name of Jeroboam's wife. “Come in, ſays he, and never diſguiſe yourſelf for the matter; for he that told me who you are, and put the words in my mouth that I am to ſay to you, is not to be impos'd upon. Go therefore to your huſband from me, and tell him, that thus ſaith the Lord God; As it was I that rais'd thee out of a low condition to the dignity of a throne; and cutting off the family of David from the kingdom, gave it to thee; ſo, on the other hand, in return for all theſe bounties and benefits, thou haſt now moſt ungratefully caſt off him that exalted thee, and ſet up gods of thine own fancy, and of the founders making, in preference to the creator of Heaven and earth, and in contempt of my majeſty and power; wherefore I will now forthwith expunge thee and thy family out of the roll of mankind, give your carcaſſes to the dogs, and to the fowls of the air, and ſet up another king over my people that ſhall not leave one living man of the houſe of Jeroboam upon the face of the earth; and the very multitude ſhall not eſcape the ſtroke of divine juſtice neither; for they ſhall be exterminated out of the good land they were poſſeſſed of, and driven away, and diſperſed beyond Euphrates, for being wicked after their king's example, in adoring his gods, to the contempt of me and my commandments. Make haſte therefore to your huſband, and tell him as I have told you; and for what concerns your child, you ſhall find it dead when you come back; for the very moment you enter the city he ſhall breath his laſt. He ſhall be lamented, and buried with the ſolemnity of a publick mourning, as the only perſon of Jeroboam's family that had any thing of good in him.” The woman haſten'd away in a fright, upon what ſhe had heard; and miſerably bewailing the loſs of her ſon all the way ſhe paſs'd, went ſtraight to her huſband; and the more haſte ſhe made, the ſooner the child died; for being come to her journey's end, ſhe found the child dead, as the prophet foretold her, and ſo gave her huſband an account at length of the diſmal ſtory ſhe had in charge from the prophet.

CHAP. V.

Abias the king of Judah gets a victory over Jeroboam king of Iſrael. Abias dies, and leaves Aſa his ſucceſſor. The death of Jeroboam. Nadab his ſon ſucceeds him. Baaſha kills Nadab, and extirpates the whole race of Jeroboam.

Jeroboam draws out an army againſt Abias, 2 Chron. xiii. 3.

Abias advances with an army to Mount Samaron, and prepares for a battle, Ver. 3, 4.

Jeroboam, in defiance of all theſe judgments, made great levies ſtill, and marched out with an army againſt Abias the ſon of Rehoboam, who was then king of the two tribes in the right of his father; making little doubt of his ſucceſs againſt a prince of ſo little experience, either in government or arms. But Abias was ſo far from being terrified at this preparation, that beyond all expectation from a perſon of his years, he preſently drew together an army out of the two tribes, and advanced with it toward Jeroboam, in a certain place they called the ‖ Mount Samaron; and there encamping himſelf, he made ready for a battle. He had in his army four hundred thouſand men, and Jeroboam double the number. As the two armies were both drawn up, and ready to engage, Abias advanced to a little eminence upon a riſing ground, and from thence held up his hand to obtain a ſilence and an attention to what he had to ſay; which was preſently allow'd him, and the ſum of his diſcourſe was this:

Abias addreſſes himſelf in a ſpeech to the Hebrews, Ver. 4--12.

Jeroboam's violence and uſurpation, ibid.

“Good people, ſays he, you cannot be ignorant of God's promiſes, that this kingdom ſhould be continued to David and his poſterity for many ages. Now this being the very caſe, I cannot but wonder to ſee my father deſerted, and Jeroboam, his ſubject, advanced into his place, and you yourſelves in arms againſt the divine right of a government ſettled by God himſelf; and not content with that neither, unleſs you can force the rightful heir out of the ſmall remainder that is left him, when Jeroboam hath already by violence and uſurpation engroſſed the greater part of the kingdom to himſelf. But he is not long to enjoy the fruit of his wickedneſs; for God will call him to a ſevere account for his iniquities, and put an end to this courſe of rapine and oppreſſion, which he himſelf is ſo far from doing, that he makes it his daily buſineſs to continue and enflame a moſt impious ſedition; and what was the true ground and reaſon now at laſt of this defection? My father never did you any injury, only by the advice of evil counſel, Jeroboam himſelf being in the bottom of it, he had the misfortune to give you an anſwer expreſs'd in terms too harſh; upon which you all, in a great rage, abandoned

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* Scrip. Abijah and Abijam.

† Scrip. Abijah.

‡ Scrip. Achijah.

‖ Scrip. Mount Zemarim.

Rehoboam's want of years and experience, 2 Chron. xiii. 12.

Reflections upon the golden calves, altars, and high-places, ibid.

“your duty not only to my father, but to God himſelf, and to his laws, and all things that are ſacred. You ſhould have weighed matters with allowances for human frailty; you ſhould have conſider'd that my father was a young man, and one that did not ſet up for an orator; you ſhould have conſider'd him again as the ſon of Solomon too, your royal patron and benefactor. Now all this together might have aton'd, methinks, for a few unguarded expreſſions; and it would have been but reaſon, to have born a little with the ſon, for the father's ſake. But theſe are thoughts never came near your heart, I perceive; nor truly are they ever like to do, if a perſon may be allowed to judge by the army that is advancing againſt us. And what is it you have to truſt to at laſt? If in your golden calves, your altars, and your high-places, 'tis not your religion that you depend upon, but your wickedneſs; beſides that you have the laws of God and man to contend withal. Piety and juſtice will have the better of you in the concluſion; and you do manifeſtly fight againſt both in this cauſe, in fighting againſt us who have conſtantly aſſerted the worſhip and the reverence that we owe to the true God; not a god of wood, or ſtone, or the impoſture of a wicked king upon a credulous multitude, but God the maker of all things, and of all things that are made, the beginning and the end; wherefore let me adviſe you to repent of your paſt ſins and follies, and to betake yourſelves to ſounder counſels for the future; or if you muſt needs be contending, let it be for the defence of, and not in oppoſition to thoſe laws that have made you ſo great and happy.”

In this interim Jeroboam ſends a detachment to fall upon the king's rear, Ver. 13.

The prieſts ſound a charge, fall on, and give the enemy an abſolute rout.

Five hundred thouſand men kill'd upon the place, and their ſtrong towns taken, Ver. 14.

Abias dies, and his ſon Aſa ſucceeds to the government, 2 Chron. xiv. 1.

While Abias was upon his harangue, Jeroboam privately ſent a detachment to attack the king's rear, who came upon them ſo unexpectedly, that his people were not a little ſtartled at the ſurprize, till he himſelf encouraged them, and bad them caſt themſelves upon God; for the cauſe, he told them, was his, who was not to be over-reach'd by ſtratagem or policy. Theſe words of the king diſſipated their fears, and inſpired them with courage and reſolution; whereupon, having firſt invok'd the aſſiſtance of God Almighty, the prieſts ſounded the charge; at which, with a mighty ſhout, they attack'd the enemy, and puſh'd them ſo vigorouſly, that with the help of God, they put them to a total, abſolute rout, and made ſuch a ſlaughter, as cannot be parallel'd in any hiſtory, either Grecian or Barbarian. There were five hundred thouſand men ſlain upon the place; a victory never to be forgotten: their ſtrongeſt towns taken and plunder'd; Bethel, and Ithen, with their dependencies. After this blow, Jeroboam was ſo broken, that he was never able to make any farther attempt ſo long as Abias was living, who died not long after in the third year of his reign, and was buried at Jeruſalem, in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors. He left two and twenty ſons behind him, and ſixteen daughters, which he had all by fourteen women. Aſa his ſon ſucceeded him, whoſe mother's name was Maacha; and under his government the Iſraelites enjoy'd a ten years peace.

Jeroboam dies in the ſecond year of Aſa's reign.

His ſon Nadab ſucceeds him, 1 Kings xv. 24, 25.

This is all that we find written of Abias; and after him died Jeroboam, the king of the ten tribes, in the ſecond year of the reign of Aſa, and the two and twentieth of his own. His ſon Nadab ſucceeded him, and liv'd in a kind of competition for prophaneneſs and impiety, with the character of his father, and reigned only two years; in which time he led out an army againſt Gabathon, a city of the Philiſtines, being poſſeſs'd with an opinion that he might take it by a ſiege; but in the mean time he was cut off by the treachery of a familiar friend, whoſe name was Baaſha, the ſon of Machel, who ſeiz'd upon the government, and deſtroy'd the whole family; which made good the words of the prophet, “That the dogs ſhould eat him of Jeroboam's ſtock that died in the city, and that the fowls of the air ſhould eat him that died in the field.” This was the end of Jeroboam and his family; and the judgment was juſt upon them for their impious apoſtaſy.

The end of Jeroboam and his family, V. 27–29.

CHAP. VI.

Aſa the king of Judea was an excellent perſon. He gave a very great overthrow to Zaræus the king of Ethiopia. The king of Damaſcus joins againſt Baaſha the king of Iſrael, who is murder'd by Creon; and Elah, his ſon and ſucceſſor, aſſaſſinated by Zimri.

Aſa, king of Jeruſalem, a pious prince, 1 Kings xv. 11. and 2 Chron. xiv. 2.

Aſa's army, Ver. 8.

Zaræus marches againſt him with nine hundred thouſand foot, and an hundred thouſand horſe, and three hundred chariots, Ver. 9.

Aſa draws up in a valley called Saphatha, Ver. 10.

Aſa prays for a bleſſing upon his arms, Ver. 11.

A promiſe and aſſurance of victory.

Asa, the king of Jeruſalem, was a man ſo conſcientiouſly ſtrict, both in his religion, and in his morals, that he led a life, in word, thought, and deed, in a moſt ſcrupulous conformity to the laws of God and nature. He rectified all that he found amiſs in his government, purg'd his dominions from all extravagant luſts and foreign abominations. He had a ſelect body of men armed with lances and ſhields, to the number of three hundred thouſand of the tribe of Judah; and of the tribe of Benjamin he had two hundred and * fifty thouſand with bows and bucklers. In the tenth year of his reign, † Zaræus, a king of Ethiopia, marched againſt him with an army of nine hundred thouſand foot, one hundred thouſand horſe, and three hundred chariots. When he was advanc'd as far as Mareſa, a city in the dependency of Judah, Aſa went out to meet him, and rang'd his army not far from the city, in a certain valley called Saphatha. Upon the ſight of ſo prodigious a multitude of men, Aſa called out to God for his aſſiſtance, and that he would vouchſafe to proſper his arms, and give him victory over ſo formidable an enemy; for it was wholly in a dependence upon his divine goodneſs that he had now undertaken this enterprize; concluding with an ejaculation, that he wholly reſign'd himſelf to his bleſſed pleaſure, whoſe power was more than ſufficient to ſupply the want either of ſtrength or number. Upon this prayer of Aſa's, God was pleaſed to encourage him with a token and aſſurance of victory.

Aſa charges, and routs the enemy, with a mighty ſlaughter, Ver. 12, 13.

In this confidence Aſa charg'd the enemy, and with ſo great bravery, that with a mighty ſlaughter, and a total rout, he purſued them to the plain of Gerar; and there quitting the

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* The Scripture, 2 Chron. xiv. 8. ſays, two hundred and fourſcore thouſand that bare ſhields and drew bows.

† Scrip. Zerah.

Aſa returns to Jeruſalem, 2 Chron. xiv. 15.

Azariah ſtops them upon their march, 2 Chron. xv. 2-7.

A diſcourſe upon the bleſſings of obedience, and the danger of faultering in matters of religion, ibid.

purſuit, he took and rifled Gerar itſelf, and likewiſe the enemy's camp, with a vaſt booty in gold, camels, flocks, and herds. Upon gaining this mighty victory, through the goodneſs of divine providence, the king returned with his army to Jeruſalem, laden with the ſpoil. As they were upon the way, not far from the place, the prophet Azariah call'd to them to make a ſtand, and then told them as follows: “God hath been pleaſed, ſays he, to bleſs you with this glorious victory, in conſideration of your juſtice, your piety, and your obedience to his will and commandments; and if you go on as you have begun, you may expect the ſame providential advantages and ſucceſſes in all your affairs for the time to come. But if ever you depart from the precepts of your religion, you will find in all reſpects the clear contrary; and that the time will come, wherein there ſhall not be a true prophet among you, nor a prieſt anſwerable to the dignity of his function. Your cities ſhall be laid level with the ground; your nation ſcatter'd like vagabonds over the earth, without any ſeat or habitation that they can call their own; wherefore, ſays he, let me adviſe you while you have time, to apply yourſelves to the ſtudy and practice of virtue; and finally, to join with thankſgiving in the acknowledgment and enjoyment of the bleſſings of God's favour.” Theſe words of the prophet were a great rejoicing to the hearts, both of king and people, who thereupon made it their expreſs buſineſs, publick and private, one and all, to keep their religion ſacred and inviolate, in the obſervance of the laws; in order to which end, the king had his commiſſioners every where up and down through his dominions, to attend that care and duty.

Baaſha, king of the Iſraelites, kill'd Nadab, ſeiz'd the government, and reign'd four years, 1 Kings xv. 27, 28.

Gimon the prophet denounces deſtruction to Baaſha and his race, 1 Kings xvi. 1-4.

Baaſha inſenſible and harden'd.

THIS was the poſture of Aſa's affairs, the king of the two tribes. I ſhall now return to Baaſha, the king of the Iſraelites; who, when he had kill'd Nadab, the ſon of Jeroboam, ſeiz'd the kingdom to his own uſe. This prince reign'd four years, and his palace was in Tarſhiſh; a man, that for all ſorts of lewdneſs and impiety, went beyond either Jeroboam or his ſon; a tyrannical oppreſſor of his people, and of a ſtubborn and contumacious ſpirit toward God himſelf; inſomuch, that the word of the Lord came to * Gimon the prophet, commanding him to tell Baaſha, “That God had fully determin'd to root out him and his family from off the earth, as he had done Jeroboam before him, for his ingratitude to that power and goodneſs that raiſed him to the throne, and for his tyranny and impiety in the exerciſe of his government, without any regard to righteouſneſs or juſtice; two virtues that are, above all others, the moſt acceptable to God, and profitable to the people; telling him farther, that ſince he thought fit to make Jeroboam his example for all manner of iniquity, it was but reaſonable to have him as exemplary in his miſery and puniſhment.” Baaſha, after all theſe frightful denouncings, obſtinately ſtood his ground, as if it had been a point of honour to affront his maker; and as if the prophet had rather promiſed him a reward for his wickedneſs, that threaten'd him with the ſtroke of ſo dreadful a vengeance; ſo that he went on ſtill, heaping ſins upon ſins, and ſtrove every day to be worſe than other, without any care or thought how to avert the judgment, and reconcile himſelf to God; nay, without the leaſt motion or diſpoſition toward amendment or repentance. In the concluſion, he march'd with an army to Ramath, a place of ſome note, and a matter of ſome † forty furlongs from Jeruſalem. He took it, and fortified it, with an intent to make it the ſeat of the war, as a commodious ſtation for the advantage of making inroads into the dominions of Aſa. Now Aſa was not without ſome apprehenſion of the tendency of his deſign; and computing with himſelf how great a danger the neighbourhood of ſo powerful an army might bring upon his country, he ſent ambaſſadors preſently to the king of Damaſcus, with money and preſents, inviting him over to his alliance, out of a reſpect to the former friendſhip that had been betwixt thoſe two families. This king very willingly receiv'd the money and preſents; broke off with Baaſha, and enter'd into a league with Aſa; ſending an army ſome ſhort time after, into the territory of Baaſha; fell upon his towns and ſtrong holds in that hurry; burning ſome, and rifling others, as Achion, Dan, and Abelmaen. Upon the news of this incurſion, the king of the Iſraelites quitted Ramath, and went back to look to himſelf nearer home; but Aſa erected two ſtrong towns there out of the materials that Baaſha left behind him; calling the one Gaba, and the other Maſpha. This was the laſt of Baaſha's military adventures; for he was cut off by Creon, and buried in the city of Arſanes, his ſon Elah ſucceeding him; he himſelf being afterwards treacherouſly ſlain by Zimri, the maſter of one diviſion of his horſe, in the ſecond year of his reign, as he was drinking with Oſa, the ſteward of his houſe; a troop of horſe breaking in upon him, in the abſence of his guards and officers, who were then abroad at the ſiege of Gabathon, a city of the Philiſtines.

He marches againſt Ramath, takes and fortifies it, 1 Kings xv. 17.

A league betwixt Aſa and the king of Damaſcus, who invades Baaſha's country, Ver. 19, 20.

Aſa erects two conſiderable towns, Gaba and Maſpha, Ver. 22.

Baaſha cut off by Creon; his ſon Elah ſucceeds him, 1 Kings xvi. 6.

Elah baſely kill'd by Zimri, V. 10.

CHAP. VII.

Zimri murders Elah the king of Iſrael; and the army chuſes Omri king. He ſets fire to the palace, and burns himſelf with it. Ahab ſucceeds to Omri, a wicked prince. Elias foretels his ruin. Jehu anointed king of Iſrael; and Hazael king of Syria. Naboth ſton'd at the inſtigation of Jezabel.

Zimri advanced to the throne, ibid.

The race of Baaſha utterly extirpated, Ver. 11.

ZIMRI, after this exploit, advanced himſelf from maſter of the horſe, to the throne; and according to the prediction of Gimon, totally extinguiſhed the whole race of Baaſha; which was utterly rooted out for their wickedneſs, after the method of the deſtruction that befel Jeroboam. The news of the king's death coming to Gabathon when the army was before the town, and that Zimri, the aſſaſſin, had taken the government to himſelf, the army preſently choſe Omri, the captain of the guards, for their king, who raiſes the ſiege,

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* Scrip. Jehu, the ſon of Hanani.

† Forty furlongs, according to the meaſure of the ancients, amounted to juſt five miles, and were about four of Engliſh meaſure.

The army chuſes Omri for their king, who takes Tirzah, 1 Kings xvi. 16.

Zimri ſets fire to the palace, and burns it over his own head, Ver. 18.

Two factions, Ver. 21.

Omri reign'd twelve years, Ver. 23.

Samareon from Samer, Ver. 24.

Omri died at Samaria. Ahab his ſon ſucceeded him, Ver. 28.

Aſa reigned forty one years, and his ſon Jehoſhaphat came on next, 2 Chron. xvi. 13, 14. xvii. 1.

and immediately goes away to Tirzah, and takes it by ſtorm. Zimri finding the city without a guard, withdraws himſelf into a private apartment in the palace; ſets fire to it, and burns himſelf and the houſe together: this was in the ſeventh day of his reign. All things were now in a confuſion, and the people immediately divided into two factions; the one was for Thaman, and the other for Omri; but the latter carried it; for Thaman was ſlain, and Omri had the whole government to himſelf. This was in the thirtieth year of the reign of Aſa; and Omri govern'd twelve years, ſix at Tirzah, and the reſt at Mareon, which the Greeks call Samaria. He gave it the name of Samareon, from Samar, the man's name that ſold the mountain whereupon it was built. He differ'd little from the former kings, but in the degree of being ſtill worſe; for they all made it their buſineſs to alienate the people's hearts from the love and ſervice of God, by the repeated practices of daily wickedneſs; wherefore God in his wrath made uſe of them ſucceſſively for the deſtruction of one another, till, in the end, the whole race was extinct. This prince died at Samaria, and Ahab his ſon reigned in his ſtead. In the courſe of this reſolution we are given to underſtand how the wiſdom and providence of God interpoſes in human affairs, in ſhowering down bleſſings upon the righteous, and in the utter extirpation of the wicked; for the kings of the Iſraelites were in a ſhort time cut off, with their whole families, by the hands of one another; only Aſa the king of Jeruſalem, and of the two tribes, liv'd happily, and in the favour of God, to a great age, in conſideration of his piety and juſtice; and after a reign of one and forty years, departed this life with comfort. His ſon Jehoſhaphat, that he had by Abida, ſucceeding him, and no leſs a ſucceſſor to his father's virtues, than to his government, propoſing to himſelf the holineſs and the bravery of David for his example; as ſhall be ſhewn afterwards in its proper place.

Ahab ruled twenty two years. His abode at Samaria, 1 Kings xvi. 29.

A punctual imitator of Jeroboam, Ver. 33.

Ahab takes to wife Jezabel, the daughter of Ithobal, Ver. 31.

A woman of an impetuous, enterprizing temper.

Jezabel has prieſts for her idol-worſhip.

Ahab, the king of the Iſraelites, fix'd his reſidence at Samaria, where he ruled two and twenty years without any innovation in the government, ſaving only where he made things worſe than he found them. He was a faithful imitator of the worſt of his predeceſſors in the worſt of things, and moſt particularly of Jeroboam; not only in the worſhipping of his golden calves, but in the multiplying and ſuperadding of other heinous offences. He took to wife * Jezabel, the daughter of † Ithobal, then king of Tyre and Sidon, who drew him over to the idolatry of worſhipping her country gods. She was a woman of a raſh enterprizing temper; and of ſo impetuous and ungovernable a ſpirit, that ſhe had the confidence to erect a ‡ temple to Bel, the God of the Tyrians; to plant groves for ſuperſtition, of all ſorts of trees, and to appoint her prieſts and falſe prophets expreſly for that idolatrous ſervice. Now theſe were a ſort of people that the king was well enough pleas'd to have about him, being a man violently bent upon any daring or malicious wickedneſs, beyond all the kings his predeceſſors. There came to Ahab, about that time, a certain prophet, who was a Tiſhbite, and born in the city of Gilead. His meſſage was to tell the king, that from the time of his going away, there ſhould not be one drop of rain, or ſo much as the leaſt ſign of a dew in that province, till he came back again; confirming his prediction with a ſtrong aſſeveration that it ſhould be ſo. So ſoon as he had deliver'd his errand, he went away to the ſouthward, till he came to a torrent, where he might ſupply himſelf with water, and there he ſtopp'd for the preſent; the ravens, time after time, bringing him a ſupply of meat. The drought continuing and encreaſing, the channel was dried up; whereupon God warned the prophet to remove to || Sareptha, which is a town betwixt Tyre and Sidon; a voice from Heaven foretelling him, that he ſhould find a widow woman there that would feed and provide for him. He follow'd his order, and being come almoſt to the end of his journey, he eſpied a poor woman gathering of ſticks, not far from the port, which woman he underſtood by a divine impulſe, was to be his nurſe; ſo he called to her to give him a little water to drink; and as ſhe was going to fetch it, he ſpoke to her again to bring him a little bread too. The woman ſolemnly proteſted to him, that ſhe had nothing in the houſe, but one handful of meal, and a little oil, and that ſhe was now getting a few ſticks for a fire to bake a cake of it for herſelf and her ſon; and when that was eaten, they muſt even ſtarve; for ſhe had not one bit more in the world. "Well, ſays the prophet, good woman, go thy ways with a good heart, and hope for better things, and bring me a piece of it when it is ready; for I do aſſure thee, that when we have all eaten our fill, thy barrel ſhall never be without meal, nor thy cruiſe without oil, till God ſhall ſend rain upon the earth." The woman did as the prophet bad her, and found his words to be true; for they had all three ſuſtinence ſufficient, and the proviſion was ſtill recruited again as it waſted, till this miſerable drought was over. Menander ſpeaks of it in the hiſtory of Ithobal, a king of the Tyrians. "In his time, ſays he, there was an extreme drought for want of rain, that laſted from the month of Hyperberetæus, till the ſame month again next year. There were prayers indeed put up for the averting of the judgment, which were follow'd with mighty claps of thunder. This prince built Botrys in Phœnicia, and Auzates in Africa." This was undoubtedly the drought under Ahab; for it was in his reign that Ithobal was king of Tyre, as Menander has it in his commentaries.

A prophet with a meſſage to Ahab, that they ſhould have rain till he came back, 1 Kings xvii. 1.

Elias fed by ravens, Ver. 6.

The widow of Sareptha, Ver. 10.

She relieves the prophet, without waſting her ſtore, Ver. 15.

Menander mentions this drought.

At, or about this time, the woman's ſon of the houſe fell deſperately ſick; and the mother, in a paſſionate extravagance of raging and exclaiming for the loſs of her boy, laid the blame upon the prophet. "This man, ſays ſhe, that I have entertain'd, hath diſcover'd my ſins, and now brought this judgment upon me." The child being abſolutely given over for dead, the prophet bad the woman comfort herſelf, and deliver up her ſon into his arms, with an aſſurance that he would ſuddenly reſtore him to her alive again. He took him up, and carried him into his chamber, laid him upon his bed, and

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* Scrip. Jezebel.

† Scrip. Ethbaal.

‡ Scrip. Baal.

|| Scrip. Zarephath.

offer'd up a prayer to God for him. "Lord, "ſays he, this will look like an ill requital to "my preſerver, to have her ſon taken from "her while I am in the family. Be pleaſed "in thy infinite goodneſs to reſtore this inno"cent creature to life again." God was pleaſed upon the prophet's ſupplication, beyond all thoughts or expectation, to reſtore the child to life again, that the poor woman might not have any misfortune to complain of while the prophet was in the family. The child, upon this prayer, was reviv'd, and the woman with great thankfulneſs to the prophet, found herſelf now fully convinc'd, ſhe ſaid, that he was authoriz'd and directed by the ſpirit of God.

The prophet raiſes a dead child, 1 Kings xvii. 22.

The prophet ſent to tell Ahab there ſhall be rain ſuddenly, 1 Kings xviii. 1.

Ahab ſends Obadiah to find out graſs, Ver. 5.

Obadiah meets Elias, Ver. 7.

Elias bids Obadiah tell the king that he is coming, Ver. 8.

Ahab reproaches Elias, as the occaſion of this famine, Ver. 17.

Elias charges it upon Ahab himſelf, and his family, Ver. 18.

Elias directs a meeting upon Mount Carmel, and all Ahab's prophets to be there preſent, Ver. 19.

The prophets meet accordingly, to the number of about four hundred, Ver. 20.

Elias puts the cauſe to an iſſue, Ver. 21.

The whole multitude give it for Elias, Ver. 39.

Elias orders the four hundred prophets to be put to death, Ver. 40.

THE prophet, a while after this, by the commandment of God, was ſent to Ahab, to tell him that there ſhould ſuddenly be rain. The famine was now ſo pinching all over the country, and ſo general a ſcarcity of all neceſſaries for life, that not only the people were ready to ſtarve for want of bread, but the very cattle alſo, and other animals upon the point of periſhing, for want of food and forage; ſo parching was the drought every where. In this diſtreſs the king ſent for Obadiah, the overſeer of his ſtables and grounds, to come to him, and to ſearch every where about the brooks and rivers for graſs for his horſes and herds; charging him by all means to get * Elias the prophet to him, whom they had been looking up and down for, but could not find him; ſo the king walk'd on, and bad his overſeer to follow him; and when they had gone a while together, the king ſtruck off into one way, and Obadiah into another. This Obadiah was a very good and holy man; and at the time when queen Jezabel was in the heat of her bloody perſecution againſt the prophet, he concealed and protected a hundred of them in caves, and fed them with bread and water. The king and Obadiah were no ſooner parted, but the latter met Elias upon the way; and finding who he was, by his anſwer to the queſtion, he did him reverence. The prophet, after a while, deſired Obadiah to go to the king, and tell him that he was coming. "Why "what have I done, ſays Obadiah, to be ſent "of ſuch an errand, to a perſon that is at this "time looking after you to put you to death? "And there is no torment you are not to ex"pect whenever he catches you. But what "now, when I go to the king, if the ſpirit "that governs you as it pleaſes, ſhould carry "you another way, and when you are not to "be found, my head lies at ſtake to anſwer "for you? Pray be not ſo indifferent in a caſe "where my life is in ſo much danger. You "may aſſure yourſelf, I do not want affection "for your party, that ran the riſque of pre"ſerving a hundred of your prophets from the "rage of Jezabel, and to this day maintain "them in caves upon my own account." "Well, ſays the prophet, fear nothing; but "go to the king, upon my ſolemn oath, and "promiſe that I will come to him." So ſoon as Ahab underſtood that Elias was there, he mended his pace, and in haſte and indignation, advancing toward him, call'd out; "Are you, "ſays he, at this day the troubler of Iſrael? "Are you the occaſion of this drought and "famine?" Elias told him, with liberty and aſſurance, that it was Ahab himſelf, and his family, and their bringing in of foreign and falſe gods, and the ſuppreſſing of the true religion, that was the cauſe of all their miſery. "Pray, ſays the prophet, will you give order "for all the people to meet in a congregation "upon Mount Carmel, and let your own and "your wife's prophets be there alſo, (expreſ"ſing the very number of them.) Summon "likewiſe the prophets of your groves, who "are about four hundred, more or leſs." The king ſummoned them, and they met accordingly; Elias ſtanding in the middle of the throng, and calling out to them after this manner: "How long, ſays he, will you ſtand "wavering betwixt two opinions. If you be"lieve ours to be the true and the only God, "obey him, and keep his commandments; or "if you are rather of opinion for the worſhip"ping of ſtrange gods, adhere to them only." The people making no anſwer to what he ſaid, Elias went on, and proceeded to this challenge. "If, ſays he, you have a mind to be certainly "aſſured which worſhip is the right, here do "I ſtand, a ſingle prophet on the one ſide, to "defend the cauſe againſt the four hundred on "the other. I will take an ox and lay it up"on a pile of wood, without putting any fire "to it; let them do the ſame thing, and call "upon their gods to ſet their pile in a flame. "By this means you will be able to diſtinguiſh "the true from the falſe." The people were well enough pleaſed with the experiment propoſed, and Elias bad Ahab's prophets take an ox, as is ſaid before, and call upon their gods by their names, giving them the precedency of being the firſt to offer up the ſacrifice. When they had prayed, and call'd a good while, and without any effect, Elias turn'd their ſuperſtition to ridicule, and bad them cry out louder; for their gods might poſſibly be upon a journey, or aſleep, perhaps. At this rate they went on, with outcries and exclamations, from morning till noon, cutting and lancing their bodies, after the cuſtom of their way of worſhipping, and all to no manner of purpoſe. Now when it came to the other's turn to ſacrifice, and theſe phanatical prieſts were ordered to retire, Elias ſpoke to the multitude to draw nearer, and to view every where if they could find any fire that was ſecretly convey'd there. Upon their coming up, Elias took twelve ſtones to anſwer the number of the twelve tribes of Iſrael, and erected an altar out of them, cutting a deep ditch about it. The wood was fitted, and laid upon the altar; the ſacrifice upon the pile, and four veſſels of ſpring-water caſt upon the altar; ſo that it ran off, and fill'd the trenches. When every thing was ready, Elias call'd upon God, and beſought him to ſhew his power now for the conviction of a miſtaken and unbelieving people. While the words were yet between his lips, there fell a fire, as from Heaven, down upon the altar, that in the ſight of the people conſum'd the ſacrifice, and dried up all the water about the altar, and in the ditch. The Iſraelites, upon this prodigy, fell proſtrate upon the ground, and agreed in the adoration of one deity; confeſſing him to be the great and only true God; and for the reſt, they look'd upon them to be only the vain imaginations of weak men. The four hundred prophets were taken, and put to death by the command of Elias, who then bad the

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* Scrip. Elijah.

king to go to dinner, without troubling himſelf any farther.

When the king was gone, Elias went up to the top of Carmel, where he ſat down upon the ground, and laying his head upon his knees, order'd his ſervant to get up to a rock toward the ſea, and look about him, if he could ſee ever a cloud. He went up again and again, but ſtill ſaw nothing; at laſt, after the ſeventh time, looking about him, he ſaid he ſaw ſomething blackiſh in the air, about the bigneſs of a man's foot. So ſoon as Elias heard that, he ſent away immediately to Ahab, to make haſte to the city; for he would be taken in a very great ſhower elſe; and by the time he was come to the city of Jezreel, the whole air was dark and overcaſt, and there fell immediately a very heavy rain. The prophet, in the mean time, by the ſpecial aſſiſtance of God, ran before Ahab's chariot, till he came to Jezreel.

Jezabel threatens Elias for the death of her prophets, 1 Kings xix. 2. Elias flies to Beerſheba, Ver. 3.

The doctrine of one God is the crime laid to the charge of Elias, Ver. 10.

Elias commanded to anoint Hazael king of Aram, Jehu king of Iſrael, and in his own room to anoint the prophet Eliſha, Ver. 16.

When it came to the ear of Jezabel, the wife of Ahab, what wonders Elias had done, and how he had kill'd all her prophets, ſhe ſent him threatening meſſages, that his life ſhould anſwer for theirs. Elias, upon theſe menaces, fled to Beerſheba, which is in the fartheſt part of Judea, and bordering upon Idumea; in which place he left his ſervant, and ſo went away into the wilderneſs, where he laid himſelf down, as a man weary of life, and calling for death. "Lord, ſays he, I am not better than thoſe that are gone before me; and I find no temptations left me to the deſire of longer life." So he laid himſelf down under a tree, and there fell aſleep, till ſome body waken'd him, he knew not how, nor for what; and upon raiſing himſelf, he found meat and drink ſet before him, which he fed heartily upon, and in the ſtrength of that refreſhment he went forward to Mount Sinai, the place where, according to our tradition, God deliver'd the law to Moſes. There was a large convenient cave there, which he enter'd into, with ſome thought of taking it up for his habitation. While he was there, the queſtion was put to him, how he came to leave the city, and wander thus in the deſart. He heard the voice diſtinctly, but whence it came he knew not. His anſwer was, that upon the killing of the falſe prophets, and preaching the doctrine to the people of only one God, and that God only to be worſhipped, the queen for this crime threaten'd to have him put to death. He was commanded after this, by the ſame voice, to quit the cavern the next day, and receive his inſtructions how to govern himſelf for the future. The day following, he came out from his retreat; and immediately upon it, there was a great earthquake, and after the earthquake, the appearance in the air of a blazing fire, which fire was follow'd with a little pauſe of ſilence, and after that a ſtill voice, bidding him fear nothing, for his enemies ſhould not prevail againſt him; and ſo commanded him back again, by the way of Damaſcus, and there to anoint Hazael king of * Aram; and Jehu the ſon of Nimſhi king over Iſrael; and to anoint Eliſha alſo, of Abel, prophet in his room; for that God was reſolved to root out all the wicked from the land, by the ſtroke of divine juſtice; and thoſe that eſcaped the ſword of Jehu, to fall by that of Hazael. Upon theſe words Elias preſently returned according to his order, and found Eliſha the ſon of Shaphat plowing, in company of others, with twelve yoke of oxen. He went to him, and caſting his cloak over him, Eliſha immediately began to propheſy, quitted his oxen, and preſented himſelf to follow him; only deſiring to take leave of his father and mother before he departed for good and all. This was granted him, and upon his return from his parents, he became thenceforward a diſciple and companion to Elias; which ſhall ſuffice at preſent for the ſtate of his affairs.

Elias returns, and finds Eliſha at plow, Ver. 19.

Eliſha begins to propheſy; leaves his oxen, and becomes a diſciple of Elias, Ver. 20.

The ſtory of Naboth's vineyard, 1 Kings xxi. Ahab hath a mind to it, and Naboth will not part with it, Ver. 2, 3.

It happen'd that one Naboth of † Azar had a vineyard near the palace of Ahab, the king of Samaria, which lay contiguous to the king's grounds. Ahab had a mighty mind to take this parcel of land into his own gardens, and ſo was often ſoliciting Naboth to let him have it, either in exchange for ſome equivalent in another place, or otherwiſe for a ſum of money. Naboth excuſed himſelf, that it being his inheritance, and in ſo particular a manner the gift of providence, he prefer'd it to any other the king could beſtow upon him, and that he did not care to part with it, either for money or otherwiſe. This diſappointment upon another man's eſtate, was as grievous to Ahab, as if he had loſt his own; inſomuch, that he fell ſad and ſick upon it; refuſing to bathe as he was accuſtom'd to do, and forſaking his meat. Jezabel, upon this change, became very ſolicitous and inquiſitive to know the true reaſon of ſo wonderful an alteration, that her huſband ſhould all on a ſudden leave off bathing as he uſed to do, and forſake his meat; ſo that upon her importunity, he told her the ſtory of Naboth, and how brutiſhly and ſaucily he had behav'd himſelf. "I gave him, ſays Ahab, the moſt courteous words in the world, and in truth treated him, even below the majeſty of a king; for which civility, in fine, all I got was, to be put off at laſt with a flat denial." The queen, on the other ſide, bad him be of good cheer, and give himſelf no farther uneaſineſs upon that account; for ſhe would undertake to effect the matter herſelf, and make Naboth ſeverely ſuffer for the affront he was guilty of. Hereupon ſhe wrote letters in Ahab's name to the elders and chief men of Jezreel, to this purpoſe: "That they ſhould proclaim a faſt, call an aſſembly, and aſſign Naboth, upon account of his extraction, a place there among the principal men of the people; that they ſhould have three ‡ witneſſes ready, who would ſwear any thing, to give evidence againſt him, for ſpeaking blaſphemy againſt God and the king; upon which teſtimony he ſhould ſtand convict, and receive ſentence to be ſton'd to death by the people." Every thing was done according to the queen's direction, and Naboth convict, ſentenc'd, and ſton'd to death. Jezabel inſtantly upon the news of this ſucceſs, went to the king, and told him, that Naboth's work was now done, and that he might take poſſeſſion of the vineyard when he pleaſed, without putting himſelf to the expence of paying for it. Ahab was ſo

Ahab tells his wife the whole buſineſs, Ver. 6.

Jezabel undertakes it, Ver. 7.

An aſſembly called, Ver. 8--12.

Three witneſſes ſwear blaſphemy againſt him. Naboth convict, ſentenc'd, and ſton'd, V. 13.

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* 1 Kings xix. 15. 'tis, anoint Hazael to be king over Syria.

† Scrip. Jezreel.

‡ In 1 Kings xxi. 21. there is mention made of no more than two witneſſes.

overjoy'd

The prophet's prediction of what ſhould befal Ahab and his family, V. 17--24.

Ahab's true repentance reſpites the vengeance till the days of his ſon, Ver. 27, &c.

overjoy'd at what Jezabel told him, that the firſt thing he did was to take a journey to his new purchaſe: but God ſent Elias to him in his wrath, to charge him with the murder of the true owner of that vineyard, and the iniquity of his uſurping upon the poſſeſſion. When Ahab ſaw the prophet coming toward him, he went to him with a voluntary confeſſion in his mouth, and a tender of any ſatisfaction the prophet ſhould require. This he did to prevent the other's taxing him with the fact. Elias told him, by the direction, and in the name of God, "That where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth, they ſhould alſo lick the blood of Ahab and Jezabel; and that his whole race ſhould be rooted out for this flagitious cruelty, in taking away the life of an innocent man by calumny and ſubornation." Theſe words of the prophet brought Ahab to the ſenſe of a true and ſincere repentance. He mortified himſelf in ſackcloth and faſting, going bare-foot, and giving all manifeſtation of a hearty ſorrow for his ſins; ſo that God ſent the prophet once again to him with another meſſage; and to let him know, that in regard of his penitence and humiliation, the judgment denounced ſhould not be executed in his days, but in the days of his ſon it ſhould all come to paſs. Upon theſe words the prophet went his way.

CHAP. VIII.

Adad beſieges Ahab in Samaria, and is beaten off. He is worſted again the next year, and flies to Ahab for mercy; who treats him kindly, and diſmiſſes him, which the prophet reproves him for.

Adad, with thirty two confederate kings, makes war upon Ahab, 1 Kings xx. 1.

Ahab keeps to his ſtrong holds, and Samaria the chief, ibid.

Adad ſits down before Samaria, ibid. and ſends Ahab a ſummons, V. 2, 3.

Ahab's anſwer, Ver. 4. Adad ſends a ſecond embaſſy, Ver. 5, 6.

WHILE matters went thus with Ahab, Adad the king of Syria and Damaſcus levied a powerful army out of his whole kingdom; and being joined by two and thirty confederate kings beyond the Euphrates, he marched with this mighty force againſt Ahab, who did not think it reaſonable, upon ſo vaſt an odds of number, to venture a battle in the plain field; but choſe rather to draw his military men out of the open country into ſtrong holds, and fortified towns, and to keep themſelves upon the defenſive. He himſelf made choice of Samaria for his capital, which he reſolved to make good. The place was ſtrong by ſituation, good walls, and good works about it, and a good garriſon to defend it. The Syrian brought his army before it, and began in form to make his attacks, ſending a herald to Ahab at the ſame time, for licence to diſpatch ambaſſadors to him, with inſtructions to propoſe what he ſhould demand. This was granted, and the ambaſſadors ſent, and received; having a commiſſion, as they ſaid, to tell him, that his treaſure, his wives, and his children, were all at Adad's mercy; and that if he would acknowledge as much, and permit the other to take what he thought fit out of them, he would inſtantly quit the ſiege, and withdraw his army. Ahab ſent the ambaſſadors back with this anſwer; that he himſelf, and all he had was at their maſter's ſervice. The Syrian, after this demand and return, ſent yet another embaſſy; which was, that upon ſending his officers and ſervants to him next morning, they ſhould have free liberty to ſearch all his own lodgings, with the houſes and apartments of all his relations and domeſticks, and to take away with them whatever they ſhould think worth the while; and for the remainder, Ahab might keep it to himſelf.

Ahab calls a council upon it, Ver. 7.

Adad's propoſitions rejected, Ver. 9.

Adad ſends a third ſummons, Ver. 10.

Ahab returns him a more contemptuous anſwer, Ver. 11.

Adad gives orders for preſſing the town, Ver. 12.

Ahab aſſured by a prophet from God of a glorious victory, V. 13.

THIS meſſage was the leſs troubleſome to Ahab, becauſe it gave him a fair occaſion of calling a council, and furniſh'd him with matter for a very plauſible and ſeaſonable debate. "Look you friends, ſays he, I have had two propoſals ſent me from Adad; the former for an acknowledgment that myſelf, my wives, and children, are all at his mercy; and upon the terms of ſuch a confeſſion, he was to raiſe the ſiege. Now all this I yielded to, as I would part with any thing of my own intereſt for the ſake of the publick peace, and the common good of my people; but they are now come up to inſiſt upon a general ſearch and rifle, out of a mere captious humour to pick a quarrel with us; and nothing leſs, they ſay, will do. They began at firſt with my own particular concerns, out of an opinion I would have ſtuck there: but I am now to deliver up my country and my people alſo, which they know I will never do; and ſo that muſt be the quarrel of a war. But I am ready and reſolv'd at laſt to do only what you ſhall adviſe me to." The council cried out upon the inſolency of this Barbarian, with all the contempt imaginable, and gave their voices unanimouſly for a downright war; ſo the ambaſſadors were ſent away with this anſwer; "That the king would yet agree to their firſt demands; but that for the ſecurity and honour of the citizens, he would never conſent to the latter." Adad was ſo inraged at this anſwer, that he ſent a third embaſſy, which was much more peremptory and menacing than the former. "Tell their king, ſays Adad, that he values himſelf upon the ſtrength and ſecurity of his walls; but that I will, before he is aware, caſt up works that ſhall over-top them; and that it will be but every ſoldier a handful of earth to do his buſineſs;" giving to underſtand the incredible number of his people. To which Ahab replied, "That men of honour were to diſpute with their ſwords, not with their tongues." Adad happen'd to be at ſupper with his two and thirty confederate kings, upon the ambaſſador's arrival with this anſwer; and he gave orders in the ſame moment for the ſiege and the works; and for the doing of every thing, in fine, that might conduce to the taking of the town. Ahab, in the mean while, and his party, were as much diſpirited and hopeleſs as men could well be, till a certain prophet came to him, and diſperſed his fears with an aſſurance from God, that he ſhould prevail againſt that prodigious army. Ahab was now deſirous to know by what hands this victory ſhould be obtain'd. "By the ſons, ſays he, of the nobility, and you yourſelf at the head of them, to conduct them, and give your orders." So the king call'd them together to the number of two hundred and thirty two; and Ahab having information that the Syrian was in the height of his cups and luxury, the gates were thrown open of a ſudden, and theſe young heroes made a ſally. The information of this

Ahab gives the Syrians a total rout, Ver. 21.

A great ſlaughter, and a mighty booty, ibid.

The prophet cautions Ahab to provide for another encounter next ſpring, V. 22. Both ſides prepare accordingly, Ver. 23—25.

Adad encamps upon a large plain near Apheca, and Ahab over-againſt him, Ver. 26.

The armies face one another for ſix days, and fight, Ver. 29.

The Syrians utterly routed on the ſeventh, ibid.

was no ſooner brought to Adad, but he forthwith ſent out a party toward them with orders, that whether they came to fight or to treat, they ſhould bring them bound to him. Ahab in the mean time had the reſt of his army in readineſs within the walls, to iſſue out upon occaſion. Theſe great officers ſons firſt engag'd with the guards, kill'd a great many of them, and purſued the reſt up to their tents. When the king of Iſrael found that they ſucceeded thus far ſo well, he iſſued out with the remainder of the army, and made a furious charge upon the Syrians; took them at unawares, and routed them without any difficulty, having only men in drink, and without arms, to deal withal; ſo that they were forced to run for their lives, Adad himſelf eſcaping with difficulty, by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe. They had, in ſhort, the chace of them a great way, killing thoſe they overtook; and ſo with a mighty rich booty of gold, ſilver, and rich equipages that they took in the tents, and the very chariots and horſes of Adad, they march'd back again to the city. The prophet however adviſed the king after all this, to have an army in readineſs to take the field next ſpring; for Adad would give him occaſion for it; ſo Ahab prepares vigorouſly for it on the one hand, and Adad calls his friends together on the other, with the remains of his broken army, to adviſe how to manage it. Adad's friends were againſt his fighting any more in the mountains; for the Iſraelites God, they ſaid, was the God of the mountains; but if they had fought upon the plains, the Iſraelites would have been worſted. They gave counſel alſo for the diſcharging of the confederate princes from any further perſonal ſervice and attendance; only their troops to ſtay, and be ſupplied with good officers at the head of them; and in the mean time, their commanders might be levying recruits of horſe and foot to fill up their broken companies. The king was well enough pleaſed with this advice, and ſo applied himſelf to his preparations. In the beginning of the ſpring he march'd his army againſt the Hebrews, and pitch'd his camp in a large plain, not far from the city of Apheca. Ahab in the mean time, with his troops, advanced and drew up juſt over-againſt him, though by many thouſands inferior to the number of the Syrians. While they were facing one another, the prophet came to the Hebrews, with an aſſurance from God, that they ſhould be victorious, and that the enemies ſhould find the God of the mountains to be the God of the vallies alſo. The armies continued for ſix days in the ſame ſtation without moving; and upon the ſeventh they advanc'd on both ſides in a line, and join'd battle. It was hard fought at firſt; but when the Syrians found that they were not able to ſtand the ſhock any longer, they turn'd their backs immediately, and every man ſhifted for himſelf, in a direct rout, with the Hebrews cloſe at their heels. Betwixt thoſe, in fine, that were ſlain upon the purſuit, and thoſe that periſh'd by miſadventure in the confuſion of their flight, by their own chariots and men, ſome torn to pieces, others trampled upon, and trod to death, the overthrow was very great. Thoſe that got into Apheca, the only place they had to fly to, were not many, conſidering ſo mighty a body of men; and of them about ſeven and twenty thouſand were buried under the ruins of the walls, beſides a matter of a hundred thouſand that were ſlain in the battle.

Seven and twenty thouſand buried under the ruins of Apheca, and about an hundred thouſand ſlain in the battle, Ver. 30.

Adad, with ſome officers, lie hid in a cellar, ibid.

Commiſſioners ſent to Ahab in ſackcloth and halters, V. 31.

Adad begs his life, and Ahab grants it, Ver. 33.

Adad, with ſome of his truſtieſt officers and ſervants, got into a cave, and hid himſelf, where ſome of thoſe about him extolling the natural humanity and good nature of the Hebrews, upon the iſſue, adviſed their maſter to caſt himſelf at Ahab's feet for mercy, in confidence that upon ſuch an application and ſubmiſſion, it would not be refuſed him. The king agreed to try the experiment, and thereupon a certain number of his train were immediately dreſs'd up in the habit of ſupplicants and captives, cloathed in ſackcloth, with halters about their necks, according to the cuſtom of the country in ſuch caſes, and ſent to Ahab with a commiſſion to tell him, that Adad was his priſoner, and would ever own himſelf ſo to be; and that they came in his name only to implore his grace toward him for the ſaving of his life. "Well, ſays Ahab, I "am glad he is ſafe; and you may aſſure him, "that he ſhall be as welcome to me, as if he "were my own brother."

Ahab takes Adad into his chariot, and kiſſes him, ib.

Adad's acknowledgments, Ver. 34.

A league ſign'd and ſeal'd betwixt them, ibid.

Adad diſmiſſed with magnificent preſents.

The meſſengers, upon the ſolemnity of a ſacred oath that no violence ſhould be offer'd to his perſon, went away preſently to their maſter in the cellar, and brought him out to the king of Iſrael, who was at that time in his chariot. So ſoon as the priſoner had made his obeiſance, Ahab bow'd himſelf to receive him, taking him up to him with his right hand, and kiſſing him, giving him his faith and honour alſo for his abſolute ſecurity and freedom. Adad, on the other ſide, returning as large acknowledgments, with repeated proteſtations, that this generoſity and goodneſs ſhould never be forgotten; and in the mean time, he ſaid, he would reſtore again to the Hebrews all the cities and lands that had been taken from them, and that Ahab ſhould be as free at Damaſcus, as ever the other's father had been at Samaria. Upon this they proceeded to the ſigning and ſealing of a league, and the reciprocal interchange of oaths for the performance of covenants; and ſo Adad was diſmiſs'd, not without magnificent preſents.

After this blow given to the Syrians, a certain prophet, whoſe name was Micaiah, came to an Iſraelite, and bad him ſtrike him over the head; telling him withal, that it was God's will to have it ſo; but the man refuſing to do it, the prophet told him, he ſhould pay dear for his diſobedience; for he would come to be devour'd by a lion. This fell out accordingly; and the prophet, with the ſame words in his mouth, went afterwards to another, who immediately gave him a blow on the top of his head, that drew blood of him. Upon this he bound up his head, and went to the king with this ſtory, that he was a ſoldier, and a certain officer had deliver'd him a priſoner to keep, who had made his eſcape, and he himſelf was now forc'd to fly for it, for fear the officer that committed him to his cuſtody, ſhould put him to extremities now for letting him go. Well, ſays Ahab, and he would ſerve you but right neither. Upon which words the prophet unbound his head, to give Ahab to underſtand that he that told him this ſtory was Micaiah. He made uſe of this artful circumlocution to faſten the deeper impreſſion upon him; telling him in the end, that

God would call him to a ſevere account, for letting go ſo impious and blaſphemous a wretch as Adad, when he had him in his power; for the time will come, ſays the prophet, when this very Adad that you have now ſpar'd, ſhall be the death of you yourſelf, and the deſtruction of your army. Ahab was highly exaſperated at this liberty of the prophet, and order'd him to be impriſon'd; but he went home however with a heavy heart; for this diſmal prediction gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs.

Michaiah reproves Ahab for letting Adad go; and tells him he will be the death of himſelf, and the ruin of his army, 1 Kings xx. 42.
Ahab orders Michaiah to be impriſon'd, 2 Chron. xviii. 25--27.

CHAP. IX.

The piety, good fortune, and power of Jehoſhaphat. His ſon Jehoram marries the daughter of the king of Iſrael, and joins in a war with Ahab againſt Adad.

2 Chron. xvii.

TO return now from the ſtory of Ahab, and his affairs, to Jehoſhaphat king of Jeruſalem. This prince had not only enlarged his territory, and put garriſons into all the cities under his juriſdiction, but he had put men and governors into thoſe alſo in the land of Ephraim, that his grandfather Abias had taken from Jeroboam, the king of the ten tribes. This king never fail'd of God's bleſſing and protection in any of his undertakings; for he was a juſt and pious man, and not a day paſſed over his head, without doing ſome good thing or other that was acceptable to God. This integrity of his life and manners gave him a very high reputation among all the neighbouring kings, as appeared by the frequency and munificence of their preſents, which not a little contributed to the advancing even of his fortune, as well as of his fame.

Jehoſhaphat, a pious prince, Ver. 3, 4.

Jehoſhaphat orders commiſſioners from town to town, to take care of God's worſhip, Ver. 7--9.
Jehoſhaphat highly eſteemed both at home and abroad, Ver. 10, 11.
Jehoſhaphat's army, Ver. 14, &c.
Jehoram, the ſon of Jehoſhaphat marries the daughter of Ahab, 2 Chron. xxi. 6.

In the third year of his reign, he called together the elders and the prieſts that were under his juriſdiction, and gave them orders to have commiſſioners ſent from town to town, wherever he had to do, to attend the care of God's worſhip, and to ſee that Moſes's laws might be duly executed and obſerved. This care of his for the preſervation of their religion, was ſo great a ſatisfaction to all his ſubjects, that they were at ſtrife among themſelves, who ſhould be foremoſt in the promoting of ſo excellent a work. And the princes every where about him all this while, had ſo great a reverence for him, that they liv'd in a fair underſtanding one with another, and an inviolate peace. The Philiſtines paid their ordinary tribute with punctual juſtice; and the Arabians their annuity of ſix hundred and thirty lambs, and the like number of kids. Jehoſhaphat alſo fortified his great and ſtrong towns, and kept in conſtant pay a well-diſciplin'd army, to be ever in readineſs upon occaſion. Of the tribe of Judah there were three hundred thouſand ſhield-bearers, under the command of Edra; two hundred thouſand under Johanan; and of the tribe of Benjamin, two hundred thouſand archers, under the ſame officers. There was another captain alſo, by name Ochobat, that commanded a hundred and eighty thouſand men armed with bucklers; beſide the ſoldiers that were diſperſed into towns and garriſons. He married his ſon Jehoram, in fine, to Gotholia the daughter of Ahab, king of the ten tribes; and when he had an occaſion to go to Samaria, he was moſt magnificently received by Ahab; he, and all his military men about him, with corn, wine, fleſh, and other proviſions; and upon Ahab's entreaty, join'd with him in a war upon the king of Syria for the recovery of Ramath-Gilead, which had been taken, and was detained from him by that prince. Jehoſhaphat having an army of his own, not inferior to the others, promis'd him his aſſiſtance, and ſent for his troops from Jeruſalem to Samaria, where both the kings went out of the town, and each of them ſitting upon his throne apart, took a review of their forces, and paid the army. Jehoſhaphat upon this occaſion, was of opinion, if any of the prophets were to be got, to adviſe with them in this expedition againſt the Syrians, whether or no it might be a war at that time to be undertaken; for there had been a three years peace now betwixt thoſe two kings, ſince the Syrian was taken priſoner, and ſet at liberty again.

Jehoſhaphat joins with Ahab againſt the king of Syria, 2 Chron. xviii. 3.

CHAP. X.

The prophets conſulted about the war with Adad. Zedekijah tells Ahab that he ſhall be victorious. Michaiah the contrary. It comes to a battle, and Ahab the only man that falls in it; and Ahaziah his ſon ſucceeds him in the government.

Ahab conſults his prophets about the war with Adad, Ver. 5.
Ahab's prophets promiſe him victory, and Adad a ſecond time a priſoner, V. 6.
Jehoſhaphat ſends for the prophet Michaiah, Ver. 6--8.
Upon Michaiah's arrival, Ahab adjures him to ſpeak the truth, Ver. 15.
Michaiah anſwers him by an alluſion, Ver. 16.

AHAB call'd his prophets together about him, to the number of about four hundred, and order'd them to enquire, whether or no they ſhould be victorious in this war againſt Adad, and carry the city, which was the main point in queſtion. The prophets were altogether for the war; for the Syrian, they ſaid, ſhould be overcome, and made a priſoner, as before. Jehoſhaphat gave no credence to their words, but ſuſpected them to be falſe prophets, asked Ahab what other prophets there were, that he might have recourſe to, who made anſwer, that there was another indeed, (one Michaiah, the ſon of Imli,) but he hated the man; for he had propheſied ill ſucceſs to his affairs, and given out that he was to loſe his life in this action againſt the king of Syria; ſo that he had now put him in priſon for his pains. But Jehoſhaphat would needs have him ſent for however; and an eunuch, one of the bed-chamber-waiters, was diſpatch'd preſently to fetch him. This meſſenger was telling Michaiah, as they were upon the way together, what the reſt of the prophets ſaid, and how they were all agreed upon it, that Ahab ſhould be victorious. "Well, "ſays the other, I muſt not prevaricate with him "who made me; but by the grace of God, "what meſſage ſoever he ſhall think fit to put "in my mouth, ſhall be moſt faithfully re"ported to the king." Upon the prophet's arrival, Ahab adjur'd him to ſpeak the very truth of the matter, as he found it, without making it either more or leſs. "Why then, "ſays Michaiah, I ſaw all Iſrael ſcatter'd and "flying, and the Syrians purſuing them, as "ſheep that had no ſhepherd; by which re"preſentation God hath given to underſtand, "that all the reſt of the people ſhall return "ſafe, and Ahab only fall in the battle." The king upon theſe words, turning to Jehoſhaphat, "Well, ſays he, and do not you find it to be

“ true now as I told you, that this man is my enemy?” “No, ſays Michaiah, the words that I deliver are according to the expreſs direction and command of God; but you ſuffer yourſelf to be flatter’d by your falſe prophets into a war, upon the hope of victory, when you yourſelf are to fall in it.” This firmneſs and reſolution of the prophet made the king very uneaſy.

Zedekiah a falſe prophet calls Michaiah an impoſtor.

Zedekiah charges him with contradicting Elias.

The credit of the two prophets put to the teſt.

Zedekiah preſages victory to Ahab, Michaiah the contrary, 2 Chron. xviii. 10. and 16.

One of the falſe prophets, whoſe name was Zedekiah, ſtept out upon this occaſion, and in contempt of Michaiah, adviſed the king not to give any heed to what the prating fellow ſaid, for there was not one word of truth in it; and there needed no other proof of his being an impoſtor, than the prediction of Elias, who undoubtedly ſaw further into things to come than he did; for he had foretold, “That in the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, (who was ſton’d to death by his procurement,) in the field of Naboth, dogs ſhould lick the king’s blood alſo. Now this is a moſt palpable falſity, in contradiction to the prediction of a prophet of much greater authority than himſelf; for he will have it, that within the compaſs of three days, the king is to fall in the battle; but it ſhall be quickly ſeen, ſays the prophet, by what ſpirit this man ſpeaks. I will now give him a box on the ear, and let my hand wither upon doing of it, as Jeroboam’s did upon lifting up his hand againſt Jadon, when he would have had the prophet taken into cuſtody, if what he delivers to you be from Heaven. I take it for granted that you have heard of the ſtory.” Upon the uttering of theſe words he ſtruck the prophet; and Ahab finding that no judgment or miſchief follow’d upon it, was harden’d in his reſolution upon this war, by the ſtrange force of a fatality, that made him give more credit to falſe prophets, than to true ones; and ſo diſpoſed of cauſes, that they might be followed with ſuitable events. Zedekiah then made him horns of iron; and, ſays he, under the figure of theſe horns, is ſignified by God, the puſhing, and the breaking of all Syria. Michaiah, on the other hand, telling the falſe prophet, that in a very ſhort time he ſhould be call’d to an account for the vanity and falſity of his pretenſions, and be driven from one hiding-place to another to ſave himſelf. Ahab was ſo exaſperated at this liberty, that he appointed * Achamon, the governor of the city, to take him into ſtrict cuſtody, and to feed him with only bread and water, till he ſhould return.

*Scrip. Amon.

It comes to a battle, Ver. 29.

Ahab in a diſguiſe, ibid.

Jehoſhaphat taken for Ahab, V. 31

Ahab receives his death’s wound by a chance arrow, Ver. 33.

Upon Ahab’s death the camp breaks up, 1 Kings xxii. 36.

The two kings, upon this, advanced with their troops toward Ramath, and the king of Syria hearing of it, went out to meet them. It was agreed upon betwixt them, that Ahab ſhould put himſelf that day into the diſguiſe of a private habit, and the king of Jeruſalem appear in his royal robes, the better to evade the dint of the prophet’s preſage. But a providential fatality found out the king, though without any diſtinguiſhing marks about him of his regality; for Adad gave a ſtrict charge to his officers and commanders to fight, neither with ſmall nor great, but with the king of Iſrael. The Syrians, upon the firſt puſh, ſeeing Jehoſhaphat at the head of the army, immediately preſs upon him, taking him for Ahab; but when they found their error, they went off, and left him. They kept the field from morning till night, the one flying, and the other purſuing, but not one drop of blood ſpilt all this while; they only hunting after Ahab, and ſtill not finding him. But, in the end, one of Adad’s domeſticks, Aman by name, drew an arrow at a venture, that ſtruck the king through the joints of his armour into his very lungs. Ahab was willing to keep it private, for fear of diſcouraging his men; and ſo ſpoke to his charioteer to carry him a little out of the army, for he was mortally wounded. He kept his chariot, however, till about ſun-ſetting, though in great pain and torment, and then betwixt agony and weakneſs with the loſs of blood, he expir’d; and the night coming on, the Syrians withdrew to their tents; and ſo ſoon as ever they were advertiſed by a herald of Ahab’s death, the camp broke up, and every man departed to his own home.

Elias’s prediction of the dogs licking Ahab’s blood fulfill’d, Ver. 38.

Ahab was flatter’d and humour’d out of his life; and Ahaziah his ſon ſucceeded him, Ver. 40.

The king’s body was carried to Samaria, and there interr’d; and upon waſhing the blood off from the chariot in a fountain near hand, the prediction of Elias was verified; for the dogs licked up the blood, and the place was afterwards made uſe of for common women to bathe in. He died at Ramath, according to the prophecy of Michaiah; ſo that for the greater honour and authority of the revelation, the preſages of both the prophets were made good, to the eternal ſhame and confuſion of fawning and time-ſerving impoſtors, that ſquare all their judgments to their profit; and inſtead of telling us from God what we are to believe and do, give us effectually to underſtand what we are not to believe or do. Upon this occaſion I cannot but reflect upon the inſuperable neceſſity of our fate, which is not in this world to be avoided, even though it ſhould be foreknown. But we ſuffer ourſelves to be egg’d on with vain and fooliſh hopes, till we are hamper’d irrecoverably in the ſnare. This was the ruin of Ahab; he would not believe thoſe who told him the unpleaſant truth of things, but loſt his life by a fatal credulity toward thoſe who betray’d and humour’d him. This was his end, and Ahaziah his ſon reigned in his ſtead.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK IX.

From the Year of the World 3048 to 3224.

CHAP. I.

Jehoſhaphat gets a great victory over the Moabites, Ammonites, and Arabians. The wickedneſs and death of Ahaziah, as Elias had foretold it. Jehoram his brother ſucceeds him, who with the aſſiſtance of Jehoſhaphat, and the king of Idumea, overthrows the king of the Moabites. The death of Jehoſhaphat.

Jehu rebukes Jehoſhaphat for ſiding with Ahab, 2 Chron. xix. 2.

Upon Jehoſhaphat's repentance, God pardons him.

He ſettles religion, conſtitutes magiſtrates, Ver. 4, 5.

UPON Jehoſhaphat's return to Jeruſalem, after his joining with Ahab againſt Adad, the prophet Jehu met him, and gave him a rebuke for eſpouſing the quarrel of ſo impious and flagitious a wretch as Ahab. He told him how highly he had offended God in that alliance; but yet that he was graciouſly pleaſed, for the good that was in him, to paſs over what he had done amiſs, and to deliver him out of the hands of his enemies. Upon this admonition, the king reconcil'd himſelf to God by prayers and ſacrifices, appointed a general viſitation through all his dominions, with orders for inſtructing the people in the laws of Moſes, and in the religion of their forefathers. He alſo appointed magiſtrates in all their great towns and places, giving them charge to adminiſter juſtice to all men indifferently, to the poor as well as to the rich, without any reſpect to profit, favour, or affection; and, in fine, to diſcharge their duties, as in the ſight of an all-ſeeing God that knew the very thoughts of their hearts. When he had taken care for the eſtabliſhment of good order and manners in the ſeveral cities of the two tribes, he return'd to Jeruſalem, where he conſtituted judges out of the moſt conſiderable of the prieſts and Levites, enjoining them, by the way of precaution, to do juſtice impartially to all the people; or if there ſhould ariſe any controverſies of more weight than ordinary in any of their neighbour-cities, that ſhould be brought to them for judgment, that they ſhould not paſs ſentence, without all poſſible care and conſideration; for it would be a moſt ſcandalous and diſhonourable thing not to do punctual and accurate juſtice in a city where God had eſtabliſh'd his temple; and the king, his palace. He choſe the chief magiſtrates out of the number of his own friends; as Amariah the prieſt, and * Zebediah, of the houſe of Judah.

He appoints Amaziah for holy matters, and Zebediah for civil, Ver. 11.

The Moabites, Ammonites, &c. make war upon Jehoſhaphat, 2 Chron. xx. 1.

IT was at this time, that the Moabites and Ammonites made war upon Jehoſhaphat, aſſiſted with a mighty army of auxiliary Arabians, and encamped at Engedi, a city near the lake of Aſphaltites, about three hundred furlongs from Jeruſalem, and a place famous

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* Wherein 'tis to be obſerved, that Amaziah was conſtituted a judge in eccleſiaſtical affairs, and Zedekiah a judge in civil affairs; of which ſee Selden de Synedr. Hebr. Lib. II. c. viii. p. 244, 245. Ed. Amſtel.

for

Jehoſhaphat calls an aſſembly, and prays before the temple for a bleſſing upon his arms, 2 Chron. xx. 6--12.

for balſam and palm-trees. When Jehoſhaphat underſtood that they had paſs'd the lake, and broken into his country, he was not a little ſtartled at the ſurprize, and preſently order'd an aſſembly to be call'd; and then ſtanding before the temple, he betook himſelf to prayers, for God's bleſſing upon his arms againſt ſo powerful an invader; which was but according to the form and practice of our forefathers, upon the firſt inſtitution of that holy place; who, whenever they found themſelves in danger of being over-run by a foreign enemy, cauſed all the people to meet in a full congregation to implore God's aſſiſtance toward the repelling of that violence, and for the maintenance of that inheritance which the Lord in his infinite bounty had beſtow'd upon them, and their enemies would take away by force. Jehoſhaphat mingled his prayers with tears, and the joint ſupplications of the whole multitude, with their wives and children, went along with them.

A prophet ſtarts up in the middle of their devotions, Ver. 14, 15.

Victory promis'd them without ſtriking a ſtroke, Ver. 16, 17.

As they were in the fervour of their devotions, there ſtarted up a certain prophet in the middle of them, whoſe name was Jahaziel, crying out to the people, that God had heard their prayers, and would fight their battle, in favour of the religion they profeſs'd; appointing them, upon this, to be in readineſs the next day to march towards their enemies, whom they ſhould find encamped betwixt Jeruſalem and Engedi, at a certain aſcent, known by the name of Sis, which in Hebrew is as much as an eminence; telling them farther, that they ſhould not need to ſtrike a ſtroke, but only to ſtand looking on, as unconcerned ſpectators of an action wherein God would fight for them. After this declaration, both king and people fell proſtrate upon their faces; gave thanks, and worſhipped; the Levites in the mean while accompanying their hymns with muſical inſtruments.

A victory obtain'd without blood, Ver. 22, 23.

The booty ſo great, that it coſt three days to carry it off, Ver. 25.

The king, early next morning, went into the deſart, under the city of Tekoa, where he admoniſhed the multitude to put their truſt in God according to the prediction of the prophet, and that there was no need of ranging themſelves in form of battle, but only to ſet the prieſts with their trumpets in the firſt line, and the Levites with their ſingers, and ſo to move chearfully forward, with muſick and thankſgiving, as upon a day of victory, or deliverance from a common enemy. They were all highly ſatisfied with the king's advice, and ſoon after they put it in execution; for God ſtruck the Ammonites and their allies with ſuch a panick terror and conſternation, that falling foul upon one another, the outrage was ſo furious againſt their own people, that of ſo many thouſands of ſoldiers, there was not one man left alive. When Jehoſhaphat came to take a view of the valley where the enemy was encamped, he found it all cover'd with dead bodies; never ſo eaſy and ſo abſolute a victory gain'd without either ſweat or blood; ſo that Jehoſhaphat, in a tranſport of joy for ſo unexpected a bleſſing, gave his ſoldiers the pillage of the camp, and the ſpoil of the dead, which was ſo prodigious great, that it coſt them full three days to carry off the booty.

On the fourth day all the people gather'd together in a deep craggy valley, called the valley of Beracha, where they praiſed and bleſſed God for all the works of his power and mercy. From hence it was that the valley took its name, which is as much as to ſay, the valley of bleſſings; and it is ſo called to this very day. The king led his army from thence to Jeruſalem, where he paſs'd ſeveral days in ſacrifice and feaſting. The fame of this miraculous victory poſſeſs'd all foreign princes and nations wherever it came, with ſuch a reverence for the ſanctity and piety of Jehoſhaphat, that they look'd upon him as a perſon for whom God had a peculiar kindneſs, and kept up the ſame opinion of him to his dying day. But he was yet a friend all this while to the ſon of Ahab, king of Iſrael, and went ſhares with him in the ſetting out of ſhips for the traffick of Pontus and Thrace. But the deſign miſcarried, to their very great expence and damage; for the veſſels were not of a make and ſize for thoſe ſeas; ſo that, in ſhort, what with one thing and another, whether through ill conduct or foul weather, they were all caſt away, and ſo the project fell to the ground, and was never afterwards revived. Let this ſuffice for the hiſtory of Jehoſhaphat.

This action mightily advances the reputation of Jehoſhaphat, Ver. 27--29.

Jehoſhaphat a conſtant friend to Ahaziah, Ver. 35, 36.

Ahaziah had his palace in Samaria, 2 Kings i. 2.

Ahaziah the very image of Jeroboam, and ſeducer of Iſrael.

Ahaziah being in danger of his life by a fall, ſends to conſult the god Accaron about his recovery, ibid.

* Scrip. Ekron.

Elias meets the meſſenger, and bids him tell the king he ſhall die, Ver. 3, 4.

The king ſends an officer to ſeize Elias, Ver. 9.

Elias calls for fire from Heaven to conſume the officer, Ver. 10.

Ahaziah, the ſon of Ahab, and the king of Iſrael, had his royal palace in Samaria. He was a very wicked and prophane man, and one that altogether adher'd to the principles of his father and mother; beſide a certain emulation that he had to out-ſin Jeroboam himſelf, the capital ſeducer of Iſrael. In the ſecond year of his reign, the king of the Moabites revolted, and abſolutely refuſed to be any longer ſubject to the tribute he had formerly paid to his father. It happen'd that Ahaziah had a terrible fall down ſtairs one day, as he was paſſing from an upper chamber, that endanger'd his life. He was very ill upon it, and ſent to the god of the people of Accaron*, or the fly (as they call'd him) to know whether he ſhould live or die. Upon this occaſion the God of the Hebrews commanded the prophet Elias to go preſently and meet the meſſengers, and to aſk them whether the Iſraelites had not a God of their own; and if ſo, there was no need of conſulting a ſtrange god in the caſe; and therefore they had e'en beſt go back to the king, and tell him that he ſhould not recover. The meſſengers immediately took their errand from Elias, and with all expedition haſted with it to the king, who was in great admiration at the quickneſs of their return; and enquiring farther into the matter, they told him of a man they met, who bad them go no farther, and withal charging them to tell their king in the name of the God of the Iſraelites, that his illneſs was mortal. The king was very earneſt and particular with them to deſcribe the man; ſo they told him, he was a hairy man, with a leathern girdle about him. By this deſcription the king preſently concluded this perſon to be Elias, and ſo diſpatch'd away an officer with fifty ſoldiers to take him into cuſtody. The commander found him upon the top of a mountain; and ſo call'd him down to go along with him to the king; for that was his order, he ſaid; and if he would not go by fair means, he would make him go by foul. Elias told him, that to ſhew him the difference betwixt a true prophet and a falſe, he would now convince him by a prodigy, that he was no impoſtor. "If I am a "man of God, ſays he, let fire come down

“ from Heaven, and devour thee and thy fifty.” Upon which prayer a fire deſcended, and conſumed them all. The tidings of this dreadful judgment came no ſooner to the king's ear, but in a rage he ſent another officer, with the ſame number of men, and upon the ſame errand. The captain ſaid the ſame things over again, uſed the ſame menaces, and they were all deſtroy'd after the ſame manner. After this the king ſent yet again a third officer with his party. Now the man being a perſon of candour and civility, when he came up to Elias, he ſaluted him with reſpect. “ I need not “ tell you, ſays he, that I am under command; “ that I come upon this errand unwillingly, as “ they did likewiſe who came before me; “ wherefore I beſeech you be pleaſed out of “ pity to me, and my ſoldiers about me, to “ come down willingly, and follow us to the “ king.” Elias was ſo much mov'd with the modeſty and good-nature of the man, that he went down and follow'd him. When they had brought him into the king's preſence, the ſpirit of God came upon him, and he freely told the king, “ Thus ſaith the Lord; ſince you “ have an opinion of me that I am no God, “ nor able to foretel what will be the iſſue of “ your diſtemper; and that you have rather “ choſen to ſend to the god of the people of “ Accaron for your ſatisfaction, know for certain that it will be your death.”

A ſecond officer ſent on the ſame errand, and deſtroy'd after the ſame manner, 2 Kings i. 11, 12.

A third officer was ſent, Ver. 13.

Elias goes along with him,

and tells the king that this illneſs will be his death, Ver. 15, 16.

In ſome ſhort time this prophecy was fulfilled; and Ahaziah dying without iſſue, Jehoram his brother reigned in his ſtead; a man no way inferior to Ahab for a vicious and irreligious courſe of life; for he deliver'd himſelf up wholly to ſtrange gods, to the ſcandal and diſhonour of the religion of his foreſathers, though otherwiſe a man of induſtry, and well enough qualified for buſineſs.

Ahaziah dies without iſſue, and leaves the kingdom to his brother Jehoram, an impious prince, Ver. 17.

It was in his time that Elias was taken away from the converſation of men, and no manner of account given what became of him even to this day; but he left Eliſha, his diſciple, behind him, of whom we have ſpoken already. We find in holy writ the ſame thing atteſted of Enoch before the flood, as well as of Elias here, and that they were both taken away; but no mention made of the death of either of them.

Elias is tranſlated like Enoch, 2 Kings ii. 11.

No account of Elias's death.

Upon Jehoram's coming to the throne after his brother, he reſolved to make war upon Meſha the king of the Moabites, for refuſing to pay the yearly tribute of two hundred thouſand unſhorn ſheep, upon the account of what was formerly paid to his father Ahab; wherefore he began with levying an army at home, and after that ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Jehoſhaphat (upon the account of his having maintain'd an alliance with his father) to join with him, who not only promiſ'd for himſelf, but undertook likewiſe to engage the king of Idumea, having ſome tie upon him, in the party. When Jehoram came to underſtand how well he was like to be ſeconded, he went forthwith to Jeruſalem, where he was ſplendidly receiv'd and treated by the king of the place. Being there in council, the ways and method of the expedition were taken into debate, and 'twas agreed by common conſent for the army to ſteer their courſe through the deſart of Idumea, where the enemy would be leaſt aware of the deſign. The three kings, that is to ſay, of Jeruſalem, Iſrael, and Idumea, put themſelves upon their march, according to the reſolution of the council; and when they had wandered up and down for the ſpace of ſeven days, they fell into great diſtreſs for want of water, both for man and beaſt, till they were all within a very little of the uttermoſt extremity of deſpair. Jehoram eſpecially, who called out to God in an expoſtulatory way of impatience, “ What have theſe three kings done, ſays he, “ to be deliver'd up captives to the king of “ the Moabites, without the hazard of a battle?” Jehoſhaphat, on the other hand, as became a pious man, ſpoke comfortable words to Jehoram, adviſing him to enquire, if there were ever a prophet in the army to aſk counſel of God what was to be done under their circumſtances. A ſervant within hearing, told them that he had ſeen Eliſha the ſon of Shaphat there, the diſciple of Elias; and upon this information, the three kings, at the perſuaſion of Jehoſhaphat, went and found him out. When they came to his tent, which was a little out of the camp, they aſk'd him what would become of the army; Jehoram eſpecially, with a great deal of earneſtneſs. Why, ſays Eliſha to him, you ſhould have gone to your father's and mother's prophets for ſatiſfaction, without troubling other people; they would have reſolved you right no doubt. Jehoram importun'd him ſtill, intreating and praying for an anſwer, if it were but for the ſaving of ſo many mens lives that were ready to periſh. Eliſha ſwore ſolemnly to Jehoram, that if it were not for the ſake of Jehoſhaphat, who was a good and a pious man, he ſhould have had no anſwer from him at all. And upon this he order'd a muſician to be call'd, and as he was ſinging, the ſpirit of God came upon the prophet, who ſpoke to the kings to make ſeveral ditches in the channels of the torrent. “ And, ſays Eliſha, you ſhall ſee “ them all flowing with water, without either “ wind or rain; water ſufficient for yourſelves “ and your cattle, to all manner of purpoſes. “ Beſide that, henceforward you ſhall never “ feel any more drought; and this is not all “ neither; for God will bleſs you yet further “ ſtill, for by his grace and help you ſhall “ overcome your enemies, and ſcatter them, “ and ruin their plantations; lay their coun- “ try waſte, and dam up their rivers and “ their fountains.” The next day before ſunriſe, after theſe words of the prophet, there came down from Idumea, three days journey from the place, an impetuous torrent upon a mighty fall of rain, ſo that there was no longer any want of drink, either for horſe or man.

Jehoram reſolves to make war upon the king of the Moabites, 2 Kings iii. 6–8.

Jehoſhaphat joins with him, and undertakes for the king of Idumea, V. 9.

The three kings of Jeruſalem, Iſrael, and Idumea, march toward the deſart of Idumea, and are in great diſtreſs for want of water, Ver. 9, 10.

They aſk Eliſha, the diſciple of Elias, what will become of the army, Ver. 12--19.

Eliſha promiſes them water and victory, ibid.

Water ſupplied by a violent torrent, Ver. 20.

When the king of Moab underſtood that theſe three kings were advancing againſt him by the way of the wilderneſs, he raiſed all the force he was able to make, to meet them upon the borders, for fear of any inroad upon him by ſurprize. The two armies were by this time not far from the land of Moab, when the riſing ſun ſtriking upon the torrent, made the water look ſo red, that the Moabites took it for blood, vainly imagining, that the three kings had fallen to deſtroying one another in a rage for want of water, and that this torrent was a ſtream of their blood. In this confidence they went to their king only for permiſſion to rifle the enemy's camp, taking it for granted, that it was all abandon'd. Upon their application, they obtained leave to break

Theſe kings being upon their march, the king of Moab advances to meet them, Ver. 21.

The Moabites take the water of the torrent for blood, Ver. 22, 23.

The Moabites ſcatter'd and cut to pieces,

and their country laid waſte, 2 Kings iii. 25, &c.

The king of Moab ſacrifices his ſon. The kings relent upon this horrid ſpectacle, and break up the ſiege, ibid.

The death, age, and burial of Jehoſhaphat at Jeruſalem, 1 Kings xxii. 50, and 2 Chron. xx. 31.

in upon the enemy's pillage, and ſo in confuſion and out of order, with great precipitation advanced to the enemy's camp, as if there needed no more to the gaining of the booty, than the taking of it up; but they quickly found their miſtake to their coſt; for they were ſet upon on all hands in the attempt; part killed, and the reſt ſo ſcatter'd, that they had much ado to make their way home again. The kings, in the mean while, made an incurſion into the land of the Moabites, deſtroy'd their towns and cities, drove away all their cattle, and cover'd all the turf with the ſand and gravel of the torrent; cut down the beſt of their woods and trees, dam'd up the ſprings and fountains, and levell'd their walls to the ground; nay, the king himſelf was forc'd to take ſanctuary in a town, where he was afterward beſieged; and in ſuch danger of loſing it by an aſſault, that he attempted a ſally with ſeven hundred horſe upon the enemy's weakeſt quarter, to break through their body; but failing in his attempt, he was forc'd into the town again, where he enter'd upon the moſt horrid barbarous action that the uttermoſt diſtreſs or deſpair could put a man upon. He took his eldeſt ſon, the next heir to the government, and ſacrific'd him to God upon the walls, in the view of the enemy's army. The kings reflecting upon the force of an abandon'd deſperation, together with the viciſſitude of human affairs, and conſidering it were their own caſe too, were ſoften'd to ſuch a degree of compaſſion, that they broke up the ſiege upon it, and every man returned to his own home. Jehoſhaphat was at eaſe after this expedition, but he did not long outlive it. He died at Jeruſalem in the ſixtieth year of his age, and the twenty fifth of his reign; and he had in that city a moſt magnificent burial, ſuch a one as might become the imitator of David.

CHAP. II.

Jehoram the ſon of Jehoſhaphat ſucceeds his father. Eliſha works miracles. Adad beſieges Jehoram in Samaria. The miraculous raiſing of the ſiege. Hazael ſtrangles Adad, and uſurps the kingdoms of Syria and Damaſcus. The execrable impieties of Jehoram, and the dreadful judgment that Eliſha denounces againſt him.

Jehoram, the eldeſt ſon of Jehoſhaphat, ſucceeds his father, 2 Chron xxi. 1.

Obadiah ſhelter'd an hundred prophets againſt the outrage of Jezabel, 1 Kings xviii. 13.

JEHOSHAPHAT left behind him ſeveral ſons; and Jehoram the eldeſt of them, by his father's appointment, ſucceeded him in the kingdom. He bore the ſame name with his mother's brother the king of Iſrael, and the ſon of Ahab, who was then but newly return'd to Samaria from the war with the Moabites, and brought Eliſha with him. The holy ſcriptures make mention of ſeveral memorable paſſages of that prophet, which I ſhall account well worth the taking notice of in this hiſtory. The wife of Obadiah, Ahab's ſteward, applied herſelf to Eliſha, and told him, that he was no ſtranger to the outrageous violence of Jezabel againſt the prophets, and how her huſband conceal'd and preſerv'd a hundred of them from deſtruction, and took up money upon his own credit to feed them while they were in the cave; but that her huſband being now dead, the creditors threaten'd to make ſlaves of her and her children for the debt; wherefore ſhe entreated him for her huſband's ſake to procure her ſome preſent relief; ſo the prophet ask'd her what ſhe had in the houſe, who ſaid ſhe had nothing at all, but a little oil in a cruiſe. The prophet then bad her go borrow as many empty pots, or veſſels, of her neighbours, as ſhe could get, and keep her chamber-door ſhut, and put oil into all thoſe veſſels; for God would fill them all. The widow did as ſhe was order'd; and after the diſtributing of the oil, ſhe came back again to the prophet, and gave him a particular account of what ſhe had done, who adviſed her to ſell the oil, and diſcharge the debts; for there would be ſomewhat remaining, after ſatisfaction given to the creditors, for the relief of her children. By this means ſhe deliver'd herſelf from a troubleſome obligation.

Eliſha precautions Jehoram of a plot upon him by Adad, and ſaves his life, 2 Kings vi. 8, 9, 10.

Eliſha is beſet in Dothan, Ver. 13, 14.

Upon Eliſha's prayer a band of armed men are ſeen in the air, as a guard upon his perſon, Ver. 17.

The prophet one time having got notice of a conſpiracy againſt the life of Jehoram, and that Adad had treacherouſly planted an ambuſh to ſurprize him, he gave the king intelligence of it, with a caution to have a care of ſuch a certain place, where the Syrians had laid a plot to entrap him. This precaution kept the king from going a hunting, and diſappointed the plot. But Adad was in ſuch a rage when he found his malicious contrivance defeated, that he fell to ſtorming and railing at his own domeſticks, for a company of traitors, threatening them with no leſs than death itſelf, for diſcovering a deſign that no other perſons were privy to but themſelves. Some body made anſwer, that he had no need to accuſe his own friends and domeſticks of treaſon, or ſuſpect any of the party he had ſent to intercept the enemy, had betray'd his counſels, ſo long as he had Eliſha for a ſpy upon him, that lay perpetually prying into his ways and actions, on his maſter's behalf; and he had the faculty of diving into the moſt ſecret of his deſigns. The king preſently ſent his ſcouts abroad to enquire after Eliſha, and to learn where he was; and word was brought him, that he might be found at Dothan. Upon this intelligence he immediately diſpatch'd away horſemen and chariots to apprehend him. They went and beſet the town by night, ſo that there was no paſſing, either out or in; and early the next morning, a ſervant of the prophet's ran trembling to his maſter to tell him the news, how the town was begirt with a body of the enemy that were come to take him. Eliſha bad him have a good heart, and fear nothing; for his truſt and confidence was in the goodneſs and power of an overruling providence; and ſo he prayed to God for ſome ſpecial token of his preſence and protection, that might confirm his ſervant in a fearleſs reſignation to his holy will and pleaſure. The prophet's prayers were heard, and there appeared forthwith, in the ſight of the ſervant, a multitude of horſes and chariots round about Eliſha, as a guard upon his perſon. The conſideration of this ſuccour, as the ſervant underſtood it to be, put him out of all fear of any further danger for his maſter.

Upon Eliſha's ſecond prayer, Adad's ſoldiers are ſtruck blind, Ver. 18.

After this viſion the prophet pray'd once again that God would caſt a miſt before the eyes of theſe people, and ſtrike them with ſuch a blindneſs, that they might not ſee him, ſo as to diſcern him from another man. Upon the granting of this requeſt alſo, Eliſha caſt himſelf

ſelf into the middle of their troops, and ſo went from one to another, asking them for what, or for whom they ſought. They told him, for Eliſha the prophet. Well, ſays Eliſha, do but follow me to the place where he is, and you ſhall have him; ſo theſe men that were blinded in their underſtanding, as well as in their eyes, went after him without any difficulty or ſcruple, till at laſt he brought them into Samaria. Upon their entrance into the city, the prophet bad Jehoram cauſe the gates to be ſhut, and the Syrians to be ſurrounded. Eliſha, upon this occaſion, offer'd up a third prayer; which was, that God would reſtore the Syrians to their ſight again; whereupon the Syrians eyes were open'd; and to their great aſtoniſhment and admiration, they found themſelves coop'd up in an enemy's town, in the hands, and intirely at the mercy of their adverſaries.

The ſoldiers ask Eliſha himſelf where to find Eliſha, 2 Kings i. 19.

Eliſha leads them into Samaria, ibid.

Upon Eliſha's third prayer, the Syrians are reſtored to their ſight, and find themſelves in the hands of their enemies, Ver. 20.

While the Syrians were at a ſtand upon this unaccountable ſurprize, and at their wits end what to do next, the king propoſed to the prophet the putting of them all to death, which he abſolutely oppoſed, as a way of proceeding that would not ſtand with his honour and juſtice; and only to be allow'd of in caſes where men are overcome in battle. But theſe were people, he told him, that were guilty of no act of hoſtility upon his country, and only brought thither by the will and power of God, without any malicious intention, or but ſo much as the bare knowledge of what they did; and therefore the prophet gave his opinion for the treating of them with hoſpitality and reſpect; and after ſuch a generous refreſhment, leaving them to their own freedom. Jehoram took the prophet's advice, gave them a ſplendid and a liberal entertainment, and ſo ſent them back again, unhurt and ſafe, to their maſter. They gave the king, at their return, ſo particular an account of this wonderful ſtory, that his conſcience was ſtruck, upon the hearing of it, with a conviction, that the hand of God was manifeſtly in this prodigy, and that what the prophet deliver'd in the name of God, was no other than the dictate of a divine inſpiration. So that after this time, Adad never enter'd into any ſecret practice againſt the king of Iſrael; but reſolved, however, to make open war upon him, in confidence of his greater ſtrength and numbers.

Jehoram, by Eliſha's advice, leaves the ſoldiers at liberty, V. 23.

Upon the taking of this reſolution, Adad rais'd a mighty army, and march'd with his whole force againſt Jehoram; who finding himſelf too weak to venture his all upon the puſh of a field-battle, kept himſelf within the walls of Samaria, where he had good works and defences to truſt to. It was a ſtrong place, and Adad in ſome doubt whether to attempt it by aſſault, or by famine; but, however, ſiege was laid to the town, and the garriſon reduc'd to ſo miſerable a ſcarcity of proviſions, that an aſs's head was ſold for * fourſcore pieces of ſilver, and a † pint and an half of pigeon's dung (for ſeaſoning) for ‡ five pieces. There was nothing the king feared ſo much in this extremity, as leſt ſome body or other ſhould betray the place to the enemy, under the force and neceſſity of an inſupportable famine; ſo that Jehoram every day viſited the walls and the guards himſelf; took care that no ſpies ſhould enter privately into the town, and had a vigilant eye upon all motions and under-hand practices whatſoever.

Adad lays ſiege to Samaria, and brings it to great extremity, Ver. 24, 25.

As the king was attending his buſineſs, there came a woman crying to him for help; and Jehoram ſuppoſing ſhe had come to beg of him, turn'd her off with a kind of an angry rebuke; "I have no barns nor wine-preſſes, ſays he, "and what have I left me to ſupply your "wants?" The woman told him ſhe did not come to beg his meat, but to implore his juſtice, and to deſire that he would do her right in a controverſy betwixt herſelf and another woman. The king ask'd her what it was, and ſhe told him; "Sir, ſays ſhe, a certain neighbour of mine, and myſelf, that were ready "to die for want of food, came to an agreement betwixt ourſelves, having each of us "a little male child, to eat our children by "turns, barely to keep life and ſoul together. "Mine was kill'd and dreſs'd yeſterday, and "ſhe had her part of it; and now I ſhould "have my part of her child, ſhe breaks her "word with me, and has hid him." Jehoram, in a raging paſſion of grief and horror, rent his garment, raving and crying out, that he never knew what it was to be perfectly miſerable, till that inſtant; and all this might have been prevented, ſays he, for a word ſpeaking, if the prophet would but have interceded with God for me, on my behalf; but, ſays he, I'll have his blood for it; and in that heat diſpatch'd away an officer to cut off his head, who in the ſame moment ſet forward upon that commiſſion.

Two women covenant to eat their children by turns, Ver. 28, 29.

Jehoram imputes this miſery to Eliſha's not interceding for them, V. 31.

Jehoram gives order to cut off Eliſha's head, ib.

This outrageous diſpleaſure of the king's was no ſecret to Eliſha, who told his diſciples as he was ſitting with them at home, that Jehoram, that ſon of a murderer, had ſent an officer, who was then upon his way, to take off his head; wherefore, ſays he, do you watch and obſerve him; and when he comes near the houſe, be you ſure to ſhut the door upon him, only to put him to a little ſtand till the king himſelf ſhall come up, who hath now chang'd his mind, and is haſtening after as faſt as may be to prevent miſchief. They watch'd as they were directed; ſhut the door upon the men when they came, and kept them out till Jehoram appeared himſelf, who made all the haſte that was poſſible, for fear of being too late to countermand the execution of the order, and to ſave the life of the prophet.

Jehoram changes his mind, Ver. 32.

Upon the king's coming to Eliſha, he fell to reproaching of him, that he could have the heart to ſee him and his people in ſo many extremities of diſtreſs, without putting up one prayer to God for their relief. The prophet

The king goes to Eliſha, ibid.

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* The pieces here meant were Drachmæ; and the Hebrew Drachma was equivalent to the Roman Denarius, which according to Dom Calmet, and the beſt authors, weighed two penny weights, ſix grains, and three fourths, and was in value, ſix pence three farthings, and three eighths; fourſcore therefore muſt weigh nine ounces, two penny weights, and twelve grains, and in value amount to two pounds, five ſhillings, and ſeven pence half penny, Engliſh money.

† The word we have here tranſlated a pint and an half, is, in the original [illegible], and the ſame as the Roman Sextarius, which, according to the beſt authors, approached neareſt to that quantity of our meaſure.

‡ Five Drachmæ weighed eleven penny weights, nine grains and an half, and were in value worth two ſhillings and ten pence, ſeven eighths.

Eliſha promiſes him relief in twenty four hours, 2. Kings vii. 1.

gave him for anſwer, this promiſe and aſſurance, that by the ſame hour the next day Samaria ſhould be ſo abundantly ſtored with all ſorts of neceſſaries for life, that a * meaſure of fine flour ſhould be ſold publickly in the market for † one ſhekel, and two meaſures of barley at the ſame rate. The king and his court made no doubt at all of the truth of his predictions, having had ſo many proofs of their authority and credit: So that they comforted themſelves upon the preſage, as if it had been a thing already done, and made their preſent difficulties eaſy to them in the hope of what was to come; but a certain favourite, and an officer of the King, who commanded a third part of his army, told the prophet, as the king was leaning upon him, in a familiar way, “Eliſha, (ſays he) a body may as well believe, that it ſhall rain flour and barley from heaven, as what you have now foretold; for it ſeems to me incredible, even to the degree of an impoſſibility.” Well, ſays the prophet, make no queſtion of it; for you ſhall ſee it: But you ſhall only ſee it, without enjoying it: Which prediction was made good.

Ver. 2.

It was a cuſtom among the Samaritans, that no leprous perſons ſhould be ſuffer'd to live within the walls of the city; and at this time there were four lepers who had their habitations without the gates. The famine in the city was ſo extreme, that there was no proviſion to be expected from thence: ſo that whether they went back into the town, or ſtaid where they were, they had certain death before them the one way as well as the other. Upon this deliberation, they took up a reſolution of caſting themſelves upon the enemy. If they ſpar'd them, they ſhould live; or if they put them to death, it would be a gentler way of diſpatch. They agreed all four in this opinion, as the beſt expedient they had before them, and ſo ſlipt away by night into the enemy's camp; in which very point of time it pleaſed God to poſſeſs the Syrians with a panick terror upon the imaginary noiſe of horſes and armed men breaking in upon them; and in the ſtrength of this fancy and apprehenſion, they all ran in a great conſternation to Adad, and told him that Jehoram's confederate kings of Egypt, and of the iſlands, were juſt at hand, and within hearing of the march of the army. Adad gave the more credit to the deluſion, in regard that he himſelf labour'd under the ſame falſe imagination; ſo that in this unaccountable affright, the whole army broke up in confuſion, and every man did what he could to ſhift for himſelf, leaving their horſes, carriages, baggage, and their whole treaſure in the camp, without any other care in the world than how to ſave their lives. When the lepers came up to the out-ſkirts of the Syrians camp, they found all things in a profound ſilence, and a vaſt plenty of all neceſſaries: advancing farther, and entering into every ſingle tent, and finding them evacuated, they ate and drunk what they pleaſed, took as much gold and rich booty as they could carry away, without ſeeing ſo much as one perſon in the field. They loaded themſelves four times, and buried their burdens in a hole they digg'd for that purpoſe without the camp. They might now reaſonably conclude the enemy to be drawn off, and came upon this to blame themſelves for not giving Jehoram and the citizens an account of this wonderful deſertion, upon the firſt diſcovery of it. Whereſore they made all poſſible haſte back to Samaria, calling aloud to the watch from under the walls, that the enemy had totally abandon'd their camp; and upon this intelligence, in the ſame inſtant ſent by them to the king's guards, Jehoram preſently called a great council upon it, of his friends and officers, and gave his own opinion, that he looked upon it as a ſtratagem to draw his people into an ambuſh under that pretence. They might, ſays he, perhaps deſpair of ſtarving us, and ſo bethought themſelves of this invention to ſurprize us; and if they could but draw us out to take poſſeſſion of the booty, they might make an excurſion upon us from their places of retirement, cut our men to pieces, and with great eaſe make themſelves maſters of the city; and therefore, ſays the king, I am for providing againſt treachery, and being the more wary ſtill for this pretence, I cannot think they are fled away, and ſhould be loth to venture the main chance upon the credit of this intelligence. One of the council ſtood up, and with great reſpect to the king's opinion, judg'd it to be the true reaſon of the caſe. But this notwithſtanding, ſays he, it might be worth the while I conceive, to ſend out two horſemen upon the ſcout for diſcovery, as far as Jordan. If they ſhould happen to be taken, it will ſerve for a warning to others, however, not to expoſe themſelves too far; and then the loſs of two men would not be very great, who in caſe they eſcape the ſword, are in danger to die of the famine. The king was much of this counſellor's mind, and ſent away his ſcouts immediately for intelligence; who returned ſoon after with this report: That they had been ſo far, without ſeeing ſo much as one enemy; but that they ſaw arms, and corn, and ſeveral bundles of things, upon the way, that look'd as if the Syrians had thrown them down in order to make their flight the more expeditious. The king, upon this information, ſent out his People to the plundering of Adad's Camp, where ‡ they found a wonderful rich booty, in gold, ſilver, Horſes, and ſeveral ſorts of Beaſts; beſide ſuch an incredible proviſion of grain, that it look'd more like a dream than a truth: So vaſt a quantity, in ſhort, that the people preſently forgot their former ſcarcity in this ſuperabundance; for two meaſures of barley were ſold for one ſhekel, and a meaſure of flour at the ſame price too, according to the prediction of Eliſha. Now this meaſure contains about an Italian buſhel and a half: Only the officer before ſpoken of, that commanded the third part of the army, had no benefit by this relief, being poſted at the gate by the king's command to keep the people in order, that they ſhould not crowd one another to death upon the ſally they were to make. He himſelf was trodden to death in the throng.

The Syrians adandon'd their camp in a panick terror, V. 5-7.

Intelligence given to Samaria, of this diſſertion, Ver. 10, 11.

Scouts ſent out for diſcovery, confirm the report, Ver. 12-15.

The pillage of the Syrians camp is ineſtimable, V. 16.

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* The word here tranſlated meaſure, is in the original σάτον, the ſame as the Hebrew Seah; it was the third part of an epha, and contained ſomething more than 20 Engliſh wine pints.

† A ſhekel, as we have before obſerv'd, was not worth above two ſhillings and ſeven pence Engliſh money

‡ See Cotelerius's notes upon the ſecond volume of his Monumenta Eccleſ. page 578.

This was a judgment that befel him for his unbelief, in giving ſo little heed to what Eliſha foretold.

Adad eſcapes to Damaſcus.

Adad falls ſick, 2 Kings viii. 7.

Hazael conſults Eliſha about Adad's diſeaſe, who tells him he ſhall die, but bids him tell his maſter otherwiſe, Ver. 9, 10.

Eliſha foretels the miſerable fate of the Iſraelites, the death of Adad, and the promotion of Hazael, Ver. 12, 13.

Hazael ſtrangles Adad, and takes poſſeſſion of his palace, Ver. 15.

Adad was by this time gotten back ſafe to Damaſcus; and when he came to underſtand that all theſe alarums of chariots and horſemen that had given ſuch an irreparable rout to him and his army, were, in truth, only judicial impreſſions of affright and terror, without any other foundation, he look'd upon it as a declaration from Heaven againſt him; and the anxiety of that thought brought upon him a dangerous ſickneſs of body. Eliſha went then toward Damaſcus; and Adad being informed where he was, ſent Hazael, his particular and truſty friend, with a compliment and magnificent preſents, to meet him, and to enquire likewiſe of the prophet, whether the king ſhould out-live this diſeaſe or not, and what would be the iſſue of it. Hazael took forty camels, and loaded them with the choiceſt curioſities that either the court or the country afforded, advanced with them toward Eliſha; and meeting him upon the way, ſaluted him with great reverence, in the name, and by the order of king Adad; telling him, that he had in his commiſſion to offer him thoſe preſents, and likewiſe to adviſe with him about his diſeaſe, whether or no he might hope for any relief. The prophet told Hazael, that the king was to die; but charged him to ſay nothing of it to the king. This went to the heart of Hazael, and Eliſha fell upon that into an extreme fit of weeping, in the contemplation of the miſeries the people were to endure after the deceaſe of Adad. Hazael aſk'd the prophet what might be the cauſe of that exceſſive grief? "Why, ſays the prophet, I cannot forbear weeping to think of the calamities that you yourſelf are to bring upon the Iſraelites. You ſhall put the beſt of their men to the ſword, burn their walled cities, daſh their children to death againſt the ſtones, and rip up the children out of the bellies of their mothers." "Well, ſays Hazael, but how is it poſſible for me to compaſs all this miſchief?" "Why, ſays the prophet, it is declared to me by God, that you are to reign in Syria." And upon this diſcourſe Hazael left him, and returned to his maſter, with an account that he ſhould recover of his diſtemper. On the day following he made the king a viſit; and taking his opportunity, ſtrangled him with a wet cloth, and took poſſeſſion of his palace and government. He was a man of great intereſt and reputation with the people of Syria and Damaſcus; inſomuch, that to this day the memory of Adad, and of Hazael his ſucceſſor, is celebrated among the Syrians with divine honours, not only for their bounty and generoſity in general, but in particular for the pompous magnificence of the temples they erected at Damaſcus, and the care they took for the honour and ornament of the city. Their images, in fine, are carried about in a daily proceſſion, as in an oſtentation of their antiquity; whereas, in truth, they were not of above eleven hundred years ſtanding from their original.

The abominable wickedneſs of Jehoram the king of Judah, 2 Chron. xxi. 4—6.

The Idumeans fall off from Jehoram, Ver. 8.

The profligate impiety of Jehoram, Ver. 11.

Eliſha denounces dreadful judgments to befal Jehoram, Ver. 12.

The death of Adad ſet the heart of Jehoram, the king of Iſrael, much at eaſe, as it gave him a breathing time from wars and broils, and the comfort of ſeeing himſelf once again in a ſtate of peace. But Jehoram's nameſake, (I mean Jehoram the king of Judah,) of whom I have ſpoken already, was no ſooner enter'd upon the ſovereignty, but for a welcome to his reign, he began with the ſlaughter of his brothers, and of his father's friends; and briefly, with ſuch outrages, as if he had been upon a competition with the worſt of former kings, which ſhould be the wickedeſt; having alſo at his elbow his wife Gotholiah, the daughter of Ahab, an excellent inſtructreſs to all impious purpoſes, and the inſtrument of his idolatrous defection from the true worſhip, to the ſervice of ſtrange gods. Now though God would moſt certainly ſtand firm to the promiſe he made to king David, that he would never utterly extinguiſh the whole race, Jehoram did all he could yet to provoke a total extirpation, by a lewd daily courſe of freſh impieties and abominations. Idumea at this time revolted from Jehoram, and they made way to their apoſtaſy by the murder of their king, who had ever been faithful to Jehoſhaphat, and by ſetting up another in his place. Upon the firſt impreſſion of this affront, the king made a ſpeedy incurſion by night, with a good body of horſe and charioteers, into the enemy's quarters. But they were forc'd to content themſelves with burning and making a little havock upon the borders; and ſo falling off again, without daring to attempt any farther progreſs into the country. This expedition was ſo far from ſtriking any ſort of terror or apprehenſion into the deſerters, that, on the contrary, it ſerv'd for an encouragement to others to follow the example of their leaders, and to ſhake off their yoke likewiſe; Libnah rebelling alſo at the ſame time. Such, in ſhort, was the madneſs and folly of Jehoram, that he forc'd the Iſraelites up to the groves and high places upon the mountains, and there to worſhip falſe gods. He went on for ſome time in the defiance and contempt of law and religion, and all that could be ſacred either in Heaven or earth, till in the end there came a menacing letter from the prophet Eliſha to him to this effect; "That ſince he had audaciouſly and wilfully ſet himſelf up againſt the practice and example of his forefathers, and eſpouſed the impious ſuperſtition of the Iſraelites; and not reſting there neither, had likewiſe debauch'd the tribe of Judah, and the citizens of Jeruſalem, from the religion of their country, into the paganiſh ſuperſtitions of idolatry, in making gods of images, after the example of Ahab's violence upon his people to force them into theſe abominations." After the doing of all this, and the polluting his hands in the blood of his own brothers, and other good and righteous men, this judgment was denounced againſt him in the aforeſaid letter; "That his family and his people ſhould fall into the hands of a mercileſs enemy, that ſhould ſpare neither women nor children; that he himſelf ſhould be tormented with a lingering pain in the guts, till his bowels, by little and little, ſhould rot, and fall out." This was to be his miſerable condition, that ſhould bring him at laſt, though too late, to a ſenſe and a ſight of his wickedneſs. This, in ſhort, was the ſubſtance of the writing that was deliver'd to Jehoram in the name of Eliſha.

CHAP. III.

The Arabians break in upon Jehoram. His miſerable end. Ahaziah his ſon ſucceeds him.

Jehoram's country ravaged by the Arabians, 2 Chron. xxi. 16.

SOME ſhort time after this, an army of Arabians from the borders of Ethiopia, together with a medley of other Barbarians, broke in upon the kingdom of Jehoram, ravaged the country, rifled the palace, put the king's wives to the ſword, and all his children, one only excepted, Ahaziah by name, who very narrowly eſcaped the fury of the enemy. The king, after this publick calamity, fell into a diſeaſe, according to what the prophet foretold him; which was ſuch a kind of plague in the guts, that all people looked upon it as a juſt judgment of God upon him in his diſpleaſure; his bowels dropping daily out of his belly before his own eyes. The people inſulted over the carcaſs, and drew inferences from the exemplary manner of his puniſhment, to the degree of his wickedneſs, and that the wrath of God was upon him. They would neither vouchſafe him a royal funeral, nor a place in his father's monument. He lived forty years, and reigned eight; and the people of Judah placed Ahaziah upon the throne of his father.

He dies of a plague in the guts, Ver. 19.

Ahaziah ſucceeds him, 2 Chron. xxii. 1.

CHAP. IV.

Jehoram beſieges Ramoth, receives a wound, and retires to Jezreel. Jehu carries on the ſiege. Jehu anointed king of Iſrael, with a command to extirpate the family of Ahab. He marches directly to Jezreel, where Jehoram and his nephew Ahaziah were at that time together.

Jehoram beſieges Ramoth-Gilead, and leaves it to Jehu, Ver. 5, 6.

JEHORAM, the king of the Iſraelites, was in hope, after the death of Adad, that he might recover Ramoth of Gilead; and in that proſpect he levied a great army, and ſat down before it. At the ſiege he received a wound with an arrow from the bow of a Syrian. It was not mortal; but yet, ſuch as it was, he was obliged to withdraw to the city of Jezreel for the conveniencies of the cure, leaving his whole army behind him at the ſiege of Ramoth, under the command of Jehu, the ſon of Amaſis, who took the town by force. Jehoram propoſed upon his recovery, to make war upon the Syrians; and in the mean time Eliſha ſent one of his diſciples with holy oil to Ramoth, there to anoint and declare Jehu king, and to do it in the name of God, and by his authority and order. The prophet gave him ſome other things in charge alſo, and commanded him to be as expeditious as he could, and without making any perſon privy to his journey. When he came to the town, he found Jehu ſitting with the head officers of the army, as was foretold him by Eliſha; ſo he went up to him, and gave him to underſtand, that he deſir'd to have a ſhort conference with him in private. Jehu roſe up preſently, and the meſſenger follow'd him into his apartment. So the young man took out the oil, and poured it on his head; telling him, that God had choſen him king for the deſtruction of the houſe of Ahab, and to revenge the blood of the prophets, which againſt all right and reaſon was ſpilt by Jezabel; and that as Jeroboam the ſon of Nebat, and after him the family of Baaſha, were utterly rooted out, and deſtroy'd for their wickedneſs; ſo there ſhould be no remainder left of the wicked ſtock of Ahab. So ſoon as he had ſpoken theſe words, he convey'd himſelf out of the apartment in haſte, and with all imaginable privacy, that no body ſhould ſee him; Jehu returning forthwith to his place among the commanders. The officers had a great mind to know what that young man's buſineſs was; for he look'd, they ſaid, as if he were not right in his wits. Why you are not much out in your conjecture, ſays Jehu, for he did ſpeak effectually the words of a mad man. This ſuſpenſion did but make the officers more and more inquiſitive what it was he came about; ſo Jehu told them in plain terms, that he came to him with a meſſage from God to pronounce him king. At the hearing of theſe words, the commanders took every man his cloak, and laid them one upon another for Jehu to ſit down upon, inſtead of a throne; and when he had taken his place, they all ſaluted him king, with acclamations, benedictions, and the ſound of horns and trumpets, to congratulate his acceſſion to the throne. Jehoram was now under the ſurgeon's hands at Jezreel for the wound he had received at the ſiege of Ramoth; and his ſiſter's ſon Ahaziah was there at the ſame time too, to viſit him as he lay ſick of his wounds; ſo that Jehu took this opportunity of marching with his army to Jezreel, where he might ſurprize them both at once; precautioning his ſoldiers, as a proof of their fidelity to him, neither directly nor indirectly to give Jehoram any knowledge or intimation of the matter.

Jehu takes it by aſſault.

Jehu anointed king, with order to root out the houſe of Ahab, 2 Kings ix. 6.

Jehu is ſaluted king, with acclamations and benedictions, Ver. 13.

CHAP. V.

Jehu kills Jehoram and Ahaziah with his own hand.

THE ſoldiers executed their orders with great chearfulneſs, poſſeſſing themſelves of all the paſſes and avenues to the town, and keeping ſo ſtrict a guard upon them, that it was morally impoſſible to convey any intelligence into the place without diſcovery. While this was a doing, Jehu mounts his chariot, and with a party of choice men advances in all haſte toward the city. The king had a ſcout abroad to obſerve what people paſſed that way, and his ſcout finding Jehu at the head of the troops, poſted away immediately to Jehoram, with the tidings of a body of horſe upon their march. The king upon this diſpatch'd away an horſeman out of hand, with inſtructions to go up towards the party, and learn who they were. The meſſenger went, and did according to his inſtructions, inquiring alſo into the ſtate of the army; for the king, he ſaid, had a mind to know. Do not you trouble your head, ſays Jehu, with the buſineſs of the army, but fall off into the rear, and march along with them. The man did ſo, and the ſcout preſently gave the king notice of it, that his meſſenger had join'd the troops. Jehoram, upon this, ſent once again yet with the ſame inſtructions, and with the very ſame ſucceſs; when receiving no ſatisfaction upon the main, he took his chariot himſelf, and Ahaziah the king of Judah along

with

Jehoram and Ahaziah meet him in the field of Naboth, 2 Kings ix. 21.

Jehu ſtrikes Jehoram dead with an arrow, and orders the carcaſs to be caſt out into the field, according to the prediction, Ver. 25, 26.

The death of Ahaziah at Megiddo, Ver. 27.

with him, (who, as I before obſerved, being his kinſman, was come there to viſit him;) ſo they went out together to meet Jehu, who moved very leiſurely, and coming into the field of Naboth, Jehoram aſked Jehu how matters went in his army; the other anſwering with a bitter reflection upon the whoredoms and witchcraft of his mother. This gave Jehoram to miſtruſt, that that was no place for him to ſtay in: ſo he told Ahaziah that he was betray'd; and as he was driving away to make his eſcape, Jehu ſhot him thro' the heart with an arrow, ſo that he dropp'd from his chariot, and ſoon after commanded Bidkar, the captain of a third part of the army, to take the carcaſs, and caſt it out into the field of Naboth, calling to mind what the prophet Elijah had formerly ſaid to his father Ahab; to wit, that he and his family were to periſh in that place; which he himſelf had heard as he was ſitting in a chariot behind Ahab; and every thing fell out accordingly. Upon the death of Jehoram, Ahaziah apprehending his own life alſo to be in danger, turn'd off his chariot into a by-way, where he thought Jehu would not find him; but following him however to a certain bank, he wounded him with an arrow, which made him preſently leave his chariot, and take horſe to ſave himſelf by flight. He got off to the city of Megiddo, where he lay a while for his cure, and not long after dy'd of his wound; from whence he was carried to Jeruſalem, and there bury'd, after he had reign'd one year, and a wickeder man by much than his father.

CHAP. VI.

Jehu orders Jezabel to be put to death; with Ahab's ſeventy ſons, and all his relations; forty two perſons of the blood of Ahaziah, and all the prieſts of the Tyrian Baal: The temple alſo to be deſtroyed, which Ahab erected to the honour of that idol.

Jezabel is caſt down from a window upon the pavement, Ver. 33.

The dogs eat Jezabel's fleſh, as was foretold, Ver. 36.

AS Jehu came into Jezreel, Jezabel planted herſelf in a turret-window, ſet out gloriouſly with dreſs and ornament, to ſee his entry. As he was paſſing by, ſhe let fall this ironical ſcoff upon him: "a hopeful ſervant, "(ſays ſhe) to kill his own maſter!" Jehu, both ſeeing the woman, and hearing the words, call'd out to her to know what ſhe was, and bad her come down; but not coming immediately, he commanded the eunuchs that were then about her to caſt her down headlong; which they did, and the walls were bloody with the daſhing of the body in the fall. When ſhe came to the ground, the horſemen rode over the carcaſs, and trampled her to death. After this, Jehu and his friends marched forward to the palace to refreſh themſelves. When they had been there a while, Jehu order'd Jezabel's ſervants, out of reſpect to her quality, to ſee their miſtreſs bury'd; for, ſays he, ſhe was a king's daughter: But when they came to look for the body, there was nothing to be found but a piece of the ſkull, the palms of her hands, and the ſoles of her feet; the dogs having eaten up all the reſt. This providence gave Jehu more and more veneration ſtill for the divine ſpirit of Elijah, who had foretold, "that dogs ſhould eat the fleſh of "Jezabel in the field of Jezreel."

2 Kings x. 1.

Ahab's ſeventy ſons are put to death, Ver. 7.

Forty two of Ahaziah's relations are put to death, Ver. 14.

AHAB had ſeventy ſons, and all at this time in Samaria, where they were brought up: So Jehu wrote thither two letters, one to their governors, and the other to the magiſtrates of the place, wherein he gave to underſtand, that being well provided of horſes, men, arms, chariots, and other neceſſaries for war, beſide fortify'd towns and ſtrong holds, they ſhould do well to make choice of one of the fineſt, and the braveſt young men they could pick out of the whole race of Ahab, for their king, under whoſe conduct they might revenge the death of their lord and maſter. He writ to them in this ſtile, only to feel their pulſe, and to try how they ſtood affected to his intereſt. The perſons to whom theſe letters were addreſs'd, read them over and over with great care and conſideration; and agreeing upon the main, that it would not be ſafe, under their circumſtances, to oppoſe a power that had already been too hard for two great kings, the anſwer they reſolv'd upon was only in the way of a politick and civil excuſe, to let him know that they neither did nor would own any other lord and maſter than himſelf, and that they were to all purpoſes at his devotion. Jehu wrote them word back again that if they favour'd his intereſt, they ſhould forthwith ſend him the heads of all Ahab's ſons, as a token and teſtimony of their readineſs to ſerve him. The magiſtrates and the young mens tutors confer'd together about it; and without any ſcruple of tenderneſs or compaſſion, agreed among themſelves to cut off all their heads, and ſend them in baskets to Jezreel. The king and his friends were together at ſupper when the news was brought him that the heads were come: ſo he order'd them to be laid in two heaps before the gate, on each ſide one; and the next morning going out to view them, addreſſing himſelf to the people, "I had a hand (ſays he) in the death "of my maſter; but whoſe doing is all this?" His buſineſs was to ſatisfy the people that all this rigour upon the houſe of Ahab was not only according to the will of God, but anſwerable to what God himſelf had foretold by the mouth of the prophet. He deſtroy'd as many, in ſhort, of the family of Ahab as he could find, and returned afterward to Samaria. Falling into company upon the way with ſeveral of the kindred of Ahaziah, king of Jeruſalem, he aſked them whither they were going? They anſwer'd, that they were going to pay their duty to Jehoram and king Ahaziah, having heard nothing as yet of their death by the hand of Jehu. There were two and forty of them in number, and Jehu cauſed them all to be ſlain. He happen'd afterward to meet with Jonadab, a particular friend of his, and a very good and juſt man; who, after the firſt ſalutation, highly commended him for his zeal in rooting out the race and family of wicked Ahab, according to the command and appointment of God. Jehu then invited him into his chariot, to go along with him to Samaria; telling him that he ſhould now ſee he would ſpare no apoſtates, but put all the falſe prieſts and prophets to the ſword, every man of them, that had ſeduced the people from the religion of their forefathers into the idolatrous worſhip of falſe gods; accounting it a glorious ſpectacle for a good man to ſee the wicked puniſh'd according to their deſerts. Jonadab ſubmitted

A ſearch made after Ahab's relations, 2 Kings x. 17.

A project to deſtroy all the falſe prieſts and prophets at once, Ver. 19--23.

ted to the king's pleaſure, and waited upon him in his chariot to the city. Jehu, as ſoon as they came thither, cauſed a ſtrict ſearch to be made for Ahab's relations, and put them all to death as faſt as he found them; and being alſo reſolv'd that none of Ahab's falſe prophets or profane prieſts ſhould eſcape him, he circumvented them all by a ſtratagem. He appointed the people to meet in an aſſembly, telling them that if Ahab ſerved Baal a little, Jehu ſhould ſerve him twice as much, for he would worſhip double the number; and therefore he would have all the prieſts and prophets of Baal to be preſent, to a ſingle man; for he had a great ſacrifice to offer to the God of Ahab, whom they called Baal, and it ſhould be death for any prieſt to abſent himſelf. So he ſent his meſſengers up and down all over Iſrael, to ſummon the prieſts up to Samaria at the appointed day. Upon their arrival they had veſtments given them, which they put on. So Jehu took Jonadab with him into the houſe of Baal, where a ſtrict ſearch was made, that there might not be any perſon there preſent more than the ſervants of Baal; for Jehu would not ſuffer, he ſaid, any profane intruder to intermix in that holy worſhip. When Jehu found that they were all Baalites, and juſt entering upon the ceremony, he had fourſcore men ſet ready at the door, that waited only the word of command to break in upon the apoſtates. Their orders were to put all the falſe prophets to the ſword, and to vindicate the religion of their anceſtors, under this condition and penalty, that whoever ſhould ſpare the life of but any one of them, his life ſhould anſwer for the other's. The word was given, and they executed their commiſſion to the uttermoſt rigour. They ſlew them all to a man, ſet fire to the palace itſelf, and ſo purged the city of all its ſacrilegious abominations. This Baal was the Syrians idol, to whom Ahab dedicated an altar, in Samaria, for the ſake of Ithobal his father-in-law, king of Tyre and Sidon, and aſſign'd them prieſts and prophets, and other neceſſaries appertaining to their religion. Now Jehu aboliſh'd the rites and ceremonies of this worſhip, but permitted the Iſraelites to go on ſtill in the adoration of their golden calves. This ſeverity of his againſt that impious generation was ſo far pleaſing to him, that he ſignify'd to him by his prophet that his poſterity ſhould ſit upon the throne of Iſrael to the fourth generation.

Baal's prieſts all cut off to a man, V. 25.

The Iſraelites ſtill go on, worſhipping their golden calves, V. 29.

CHAP. VII.

Athaliah meditates a revenge upon the houſe of David, for that of Ahab. Jehoiada the high-prieſt ſaves Joaſh, the ſon of Ahaziah king of Judah; ſets him upon the throne, and cauſes Athaliah to be put to death.

Athaliah propoſes to avenge herſelf upon the family of David, for the havock made in the family of her father Ahab, 2 Kings xi. 1, 2, 3.

WHEN Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab king of Iſrael, and the widow of Jehoram king of Judah, came to underſtand what havock Jehu had made in her father's wicked family, king Jehoram her brother aſſaſſinated, her ſon Ahaziah dead of his wound, and the whole ſtock upon the point of being utterly rooted out, ſhe form'd a reſolution of going the ſame way to work with the houſe of David, and not to leave ſo much as one man alive of the family, to pretend afterward to the kingdom of Judah. This was her determination, and it was none of her fault that it was not executed: For of all the ſons of Ahaziah, there was only one that eſcap'd; and the manner of his deliverance was this: Jehoſhabeth, the ſiſter of Ahaziah, and the wife of Jehoiada the high-prieſt, coming into the palace, ſhe found a male child of about a year old, whoſe name was Joaſh, among the dead bodies of the ſons of Ahaziah, which the nurſe it ſeems had hid there. She convey'd it away by ſtealth to her own lodgings, and ſo into the temple, where ſhe conceal'd and took care of it, through the whole ſix years of Athaliah's reign over Jeruſalem and the two tribes, and no one of her council all this while was privy to the ſecret but her own huſband.

All Ahaziah's ſons put to death, but Joaſh, and how he came to eſcape, ib.

Jehoida joins with five captains to depoſe Athaliah, and ſet up Joaſh the right heir, V. 4--12.

IN the ſeventh year Jehoiada enter'd into an aſſociation with five captains, to force the government out of Athaliah's hand, and transfer it to the right heir; ſhewing them the child that was then preſent: So that their buſineſs was now only to interchange an oath of faith and ſecrecy, and ſo apply themſelves to the execution of the deſign; which they did immediately, and not without great hope and confidence of ſucceſs. The captains that Jehoiada had engaged in this enterprize, travell'd all over the country, with ſummons to the prieſts and Levites, and ſeveral of the principal men in their tribes, in the high-prieſt's name to go up to Jeruſalem; where Jehoiada told them, that they were now call'd up for advice, about the common good of the publick; and that he would lay the whole matter before them; but it muſt be kept private however; beſide that the caſe requir'd not only ſecrecy, but help. Upon this he gave them their oath of ſecrecy, and then told them the whole ſtory without any further ſcruple, ſhewing them the child likewiſe that he had taken into his care and preſerv'd. “This child, (ſays he) is your king, and a branch of that family, which God hath both promiſed and foretold (as you know very well) ſhall never be wanting to ſupply the throne of David. Now it is my advice, that you divide yourſelves into three bodies; one third to be upon the guard of the king in the temple; a ſecond third to ſecure the paſſes and avenues that lead to it, and the remainder to guard the open gate that leads to the palace. As for thoſe that have no arms, let them be in the temple, if they think fit; but no armed man to be admitted there, if he be not a prieſt.” Jehoiada gave order alſo for a ſelect number of prieſts and Levites to ſtand with their ſwords drawn, as a guard about the king's perſon, and to kill any man whatſoever, that ſhould preſs into the temple with a weapon about him; and to ſecure the life and ſafety of the king, at what rate ſoever. They were all pleas'd with the advice and contrivance of the high-prieſt. So that the next thing to be done, was the putting the project in execution. Jehoiada, upon this, open'd a magazine of armour that David had long ſince ſtor'd up in the temple, delivering out lances, arrows, and what other military weapons were there depoſited, to the centurions, prieſts, and Levites; who planted them-

The high-prieſt ſummons the prieſts, Levites, and the principals of the people up to Jeruſalem.

Joaſh is preſented to them as their king, ibid.

Orders given for the ſecurity of the temple, and the perſon of Joaſh, ibid.

themſelves as a guard upon the temple quite round it; and ſo ſtrictly beſet the doors, that not a perſon was let in that had no buſineſs there. The child was now produc'd with a royal crown upon his head, and being anointed with holy oil according to form, the high-prieſt pronounced him king; which ſolemnity was accompanied with innumerable acclamations, and wiſhes of happy life, and victory over all his enemies, by the univerſality of the people.

Joaſh is produced, crowned, anointed, and pronounced king, with an univerſal joy and acclamation, 2 Kings xi. 12.

Athaliah in a rage, Ver. 13, 14.

The clamour of this outcry and proclamation was a terrible ſurprize to Athaliah, who preſently haſted away with her guards, from the palace to the temple, where ſhe herſelf was admitted by the prieſt, but the ſoldiers that follow'd her were kept out by the guards that were poſted there by Jehoida for that very purpoſe. So ſoon as Athaliah ſaw the child upon the throne, and with a royal crown upon his head, ſhe tore her garments, and call'd out with a loud voice to kill that traiterous uſurper. Jehoida, on the other ſide, commands the officers to ſeize that woman, and carry her away to the brook of Kidron, and there to put her to death; but the temple was not to be polluted with the blood of a ſorcereſs. Order was likewiſe given, that if any man ſhould attempt a reſcue, they ſhould put him to death. They that had the charge of this commiſſion, carried her out of the gate by the paſſage of the king's mules, and there diſpatch'd her. So ſoon as this plot againſt Athaliah had taken effect, Jehoida call'd all the people and ſoldiers together, into the temple, and gave them an oath of allegiance and fidelity to the king, for the ſafety and defence of his perſon, and the honour and preſervation of his government. After this, the king himſelf took an oath of a religious reverence to God, and for the obſervance of thoſe laws that Moſes received from heaven, and tranſmitted to the people. In the next place the people haſted in great numbers to the houſe of Baal, a temple that Athaliah, together with her huſband Jehoram, had erected, in contempt of the true God, and to curry favour with Ahab. This temple the multitude deſtroy'd from the very foundations, and kill'd Mattan, one of Baal's prieſts, who was then in waiting. But for the care of the holy temple, that was committed to the charge of the prieſts and Levites, according to the inſtitution of David, Jehoida appointing two ſolemn ſacrifices to be offer'd up every day, with incenſe, according to the direction of the law; appointing porters alſo out of the number of the Levites, for the keeping of the temple, that there might not any pollution get into it by ſtealth. When all things were thus diſpoſed of, Joaſh was conducted out of the temple into the palace, by the captains, the governors, and all the people, where being placed a ſecond time upon the throne, and received with repeated acclamations, the people gave themſelves up for ſome days to mirth and feaſting, and not a ſoul of them but was ſatisfied with the death of that wicked woman. Joaſh was ſeven years of age when he began to reign. His mother's name was Zibia, of Beerſheba. He was a moſt ſtrict obſerver of the laws and religion of his country, ſo long as Jehoida liv'd. When he came afterwards to years of maturity, he married two wives, with the approbation of the high-prieſt, and had children by them of both ſexes. Let this ſuffice for the hiſtory of Joaſh, how he eſcaped the ſnares of Athaliah, and afterward ſucceeded to the government.

Athaliah put to death by the command of Jehoiada, Ver. 16.

The people take an oath of fidelity to God and the king, Ver. 17.

The multitude demoliſh one of Baal's temples, V. 18.

God's worſhip re-eſtabliſhed, ibid.

Joaſh conducted from the temple to the palace, and a ſecond time proclaimed king, Ver. 19.

Joaſh a pious prince ſo long as Jehoiada liv'd, 2 Kings xii. 2.

CHAP. VIII.

The death of Jehu. Joaſh ſucceeds him, who orders the temple of Jeruſalem to be repair'd. The death of Jehoiada. The apoſtaſy of Joaſh. Zachary ſton'd to death. Hazael beſieges Jeruſalem. Joaſh delivers up all his treaſure for the raiſing of the ſiege, and is ſlain by the friends of Zachary.

Hazael makes a ſharp war upon the Iſraelites, 2 Kings x. 32, 33.

HAZAEL, the king of Syria, made a bloody war upon the Iſraelites and their king, laying waſte a great tract of land to the eaſtward beyond Jordan, particularly in the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manaſſes, and ſo in Gilead and Batanea; not only burning and pillaging, but putting man, woman, and child to the ſword alſo, wherever he came, without either mercy or quarter; and all this was done with little or no difficulty of oppoſition from Jehu neither, being a man that ſpent his whole time in a ſtupid contempt of God's religion and holy laws. He died, having reigned ſeven and twenty years over Iſrael, and was buried at Samaria, Jehoaſh his ſon ſucceeding him.

A tax toward repairing of the temple, but nothing done in it, 2 Chron. xxiv. 4, 5.

In the days of Jehoram and Athaliah, and of their ſons, the temple was gone quite to ruin for want of care and repairing; ſo that Joaſh the king of Jeruſalem ſent for Jehoiada the high-prieſt, to give him orders about it; which was, that he ſhould ſend prieſts and Levites into all the quarters of his dominions, to charge every man at * half a ſilver ſhekel a head, toward repairing the breaches and decays of the temple. But notwithſtanding this command, there was nothing done toward it at preſent; for Jehoiada very well knew, that the people would not at that time be over-forward to lay out money to ſuch a uſe. But Joaſh afterward, in the three and twentieth year of his reign, finding the project of ſo good and needful a work to be totally forgotten and laid aſide, he charged the high-prieſt and the Levites with the care of it once again; and not without blaming them, in ſome degree, for the former neglect of their duty. This put Jehoiada upon bethinking himſelf how the buſineſs might be brought about without any grievance to the people; and in the end he fix'd upon this expedient. There was a wooden cheſt provided, cloſe wrought and lock'd, with a ſlit through the cover of it, to receive what pieces of money ſoever ſhould be put into it. This was to be placed near the altar, and the people invited to ſhew their good-will upon this occaſion toward the work in hand, in proportion to the zeal they had to the true religion and God's ſervice. The whole multitude was ſo well pleaſed with this method and contrivance, that they brought in gold and ſilver in a kind of emulation who ſhould contribute moſt. The

The high-prieſt finds out an expedient for a voluntary contribution, that does the work, Ver. 8--11.

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* Viz. About one ſhilling and three pence half penny in our money.

cheſt was every day open'd, the money counted, and regiſter'd by the clerk of the treaſury, and then lock'd up again by the prieſt, who had the keeping of the key; and all this was done in the preſence of the king.

Artiſts and materials provided, 2 Chron. xxiv. 12, 13, 14.

When they had gotten treaſure enough to begin withal, the king and the high-prieſt hir'd carpenters, maſons, and other artificers; provided the largeſt and the choiceſt timbers that were to be gotten, and went in hand with the reparations, employing the overplus, (which was very conſiderable,) after the finiſhing of that work, upon cups, chalices, goblets, and other veſſels for holy uſes, over and above the oblation of daily ſacrifices; and this order was exactly obſerv'd while Jehoiada liv'd; but in the hundred and thirtieth year of his age he died; a man of ſignal probity and juſtice, and ſo highly eſteem'd of, as a friend to the houſe of David, that his body was depoſited in the ſepulchre of the kings.

After Jehoiada's death, Joaſh falls off, the princes and miniſters following his example, Ver. 17, 18.

After his deceaſe Joaſh fell off from his former zeal and care for religion, and the princes of the people quickly follow'd his example, to the degree of valuing themſelves upon the contempt of holy things and duties. Upon this abominable apoſtaſy, both of the king and of his miniſters, God ſent prophets to them to expoſtulate and reaſon the matter with them, and to convince them of their wickedneſs; but they were ſo reprobated and harden'd in their iniquity, that neither the example of their forefathers, and their families, that had been cut off and rooted out, for the ſame contempt, nor the threatenings of the prophets, wrought any thing upon them; but the king cauſed Zachariah, the ſon of the high-prieſt Jehoiada, to be ſton'd to death in the very temple, without any regard to the merits and good counſels of his father.

Zachariah ſtoned to death, Ver. 21.

And what was his fault, but the exhorting of both king and people to repentance, and to the adminiſtration of equal juſtice; and not without a premonition of the grievous judgments that would befal them, if they perſiſted in their iniquity? Zachariah, with his laſt breath, appealed to God, both as his judge and as his witneſs, "That the crime he died for was only the "giving of good advice, and being the ſon "of a father that had deſerved ſo well from "Joaſh; and that the death he then ſuffer'd "was but the reward of thoſe ſervices."

Divine vengeance overtakes Joaſh; Hazael deſtroys his country, and frights him into a compoſition for all his treaſure, 2 Kings xii. 17, 18.

It was not long after this that divine vengeance overtook the king himſelf; for Hazael, the king of Syria, made an inroad into his country, plundered and deſtroy'd Gath, in the firſt place, and from thence marched to Jeruſalem, where the king himſelf had taken ſanctuary. Joaſh was ſo affrighted at the approach of the Syrians army, that he compounded for himſelf and the city, and deliver'd up all the treaſure of the temple, as well what was dedicated to God, as the donatives of particular kings, as a bribe to Hazael, to purchaſe exemption from the danger that then threaten'd him, and ſecurity for the future; which he accepted of, being a prodigious ſum of money, and ſo raiſed the ſiege upon it.

Joaſh falls ſick, and is murder'd by the friends of Zachariah, 2 Chron. xxiv. 25.

Joaſh, after this, fell into a deſperate fit of ſickneſs, and the friends of Zachariah took their revenge upon him by ſurprize, for the murder of the ſon of the high-prieſt. He was buried at Jeruſalem, at the age of forty ſeven years; but a man of ſo exemplary a wickedneſs, that they would not allow him the honour of a ſepulchre among the kings his predeceſſors.

CHAP. IX.

Amaziah ſucceeds Joaſh. Jehoahaz implores God's aſſiſtance againſt Hazael, and obtains it. His ſon Joaſh ſucceeds him. Eliſha foretels the ruin of the Aſſyrians. The death of Hazael, and the government deſcends to his ſon Adad.

Amaziah ſucceeds Joaſh to the kingdom of Judah, 2 Chron. xxv. 1.

Jehoahaz in the twenty firſt year of Joaſh, came to be king of Iſrael, 2 Kings xiii. 1.

The worſt of kings, Ver. 2.

AMAZIAH ſucceeded Joaſh his father in the government of Judah, and in the one and twentieth year of Joaſh, Jehoahaz the ſon of Jehu enter'd upon the government of Iſrael in Samaria, and reigned ſeventeen years; not ſo much after the example of his father, as after that of the worſt of his former predeceſſors, who liv'd in an open defiance of God and all goodneſs.

Hazael makes good all the ill that Eliſha had foretold of him, Ver. 3.

The king of Syria, in the mean time had brought down his mighty power to the miſerable pittance of ten thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe to truſt to, over-running ſeveral of his cities, and killing vaſt numbers of his people. This calamity of the Iſraelites was foretold by Eliſha in his prediction to Hazael, when he told him that he ſhould kill his lord, and poſſeſs himſelf of the government of Syria and Damaſcus. In this unhappy juncture, Jehoahaz had recourſe to God by prayers and ſupplications, for deliverance from the power and oppreſſion of Hazael. Upon which humiliation of his, that gracious God, who not only cheriſhes the innocent, but pardons the penitent, and chuſes rather to correct and to reform the wicked, than to deſtroy them, was prevail'd upon to deliver him from the burden of a ruinous war, by a timely peace, and to reſtore his dominions to their former ſtate of happineſs and plenty.

Joaſh the ſon of Jehoahaz, king of Iſrael and Samaria, Ver. 9.

After the death of Jehoahaz, Joaſh his ſon came to the government of Iſrael and Samaria, in the ſeven and thirtieth year of the reign of Joaſh, king of Judah, this king and the king of Jeruſalem being both of a name. He held the government ſixteen years; an excellent man, and intirely the reverſe of his father in his way of life and converſation.

Eliſha falls into his death-ſickneſs, and Joaſh makes him a very affectionate viſit, Ver. 14.

The prophet Eliſha was now far gone in years; and being at this time upon his laſt bed of ſickneſs, Joaſh made him a viſit in his extremity, and out of a tenderneſs to ſee the good man labouring in his agonies, burſt out into tears and lamentations; treating him in the ſtile of the father, the defender and protector of his country; for ſo long as he liv'd, the people were ſecure, he ſaid, againſt all their enemies, even without any need of arms, through the benefit and bleſſing of his prayers and predictions; but that whenever he was taken away, they ſhould be left naked and defenceleſs, at the mercy of the Syrians and other enemies; and therefore, for his own part, he had infinitely rather leave the world with him, than ſtay in it without him.

This compaſſionate ſoftneſs wrought ſo far upon the prophet, that to comfort the king, he call'd for a bow and arrows, laid his hand upon it, and bad him bend it and ſhoot. He ſhot thrice, and then gave over; ſo Eliſha told him, that if he had let fly more ſhafts, he ſhould have ruined and deſtroyed the whole kingdom of the Syrians; but ſince he gave it off at the third ſhot, he muſt content himſelf with three ſeveral victories over them; wherein he ſhould recover the countries they had taken from his father. The king went his way upon theſe words; and the prophet expired ſoon after. He was a man celebrated for his juſtice, and without all diſpute highly in God's favour, as appears by the hiſtory of the wonderful things he did, and the miracles that he wrought in abundance, as the account of them ſtands ſacred upon the records of the Hebrews to this day. They gave him, in fine, a pompous and an honourable interment, anſwerable to the dignity and merit of ſo great a ſaint. It happen'd, after this, that a traveller was kill'd upon the way by thieves, and the body thrown into the prophet's monument; which, upon the bare touch of Eliſha, was immediately reviv'd; ſo that both dead and living, this prophet wrought miracles.

Eliſha tells him of three victories he ſhall obtain againſt the Syrians, 2 Kings xiii. 19.

Eliſha's death and character, Ver. 20.

A dead carcaſs reviv'd by the touch of Eliſha's body, Ver. 21.

Hazael was now dead, and the kingdom of Syria devolved by an hereditary right to his ſon Adad, who was overthrown by Joaſh in three battles; and all that country recover'd to the Iſraelites again, which his father had wreſted from them, according to the prediction of Eliſha. Upon the death of Joaſh, Jeroboam his ſon enter'd upon the government.

The kingdom of Syria deſcends from Hazael to his ſon Adad, Ver. 24.

Jeroboam ſucceeds Joaſh, 2 Kings xiv. 16.

CHAP. X.

Amaziah defeats the Amalekites, Idumeans, and Gabilites. He apoſtatizes. Joaſh overcomes and takes him priſoner. He delivers up Jeruſalem to ſave his life. He is kill'd by his own people, and his ſon Uzziah ſucceeds him.

IN the ſecond year of Joaſh king of Iſrael, Amaziah came to the government of the tribe of Judah, in the city of Jeruſalem. His mother's name was Jehoadan, a native of the place. He had a wonderful reverence for juſtice, even in the tenderneſs of his youth; and began his adminiſtration in revenging the death of his father upon the heads of thoſe perſons who had treacherouſly murder'd him, under a cloak of friendſhip. He brought the aſſaſſins all to publick juſtice, but ſpar'd their children, according to the laws preſcribed by Moſes, who thought it unreaſonable to puniſh the children for the iniquity of the fathers. After this he made a levy in the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, of the choiceſt young men that were to be found, of about twenty years of age, little over or under, and found the number to amount to three hundred thouſand; all which he liſted, and ſet centurions over them. He treated with the king of the Iſraelites for one hundred thouſand auxiliaries, at the rate of an * hundred talents of ſilver for the hire of them, and the money paid down, being fully determin'd to make war upon the Amalekites, the Edomites, and the Gabilites. He was juſt upon the point of marching againſt them, when a man of God adviſed him by all means to diſmiſs the Iſraelites; for they were a wicked generation, and would certainly be deſtroyed, together with thoſe that join'd with them; beſide that he had a ſufficient force of his own, with God's aſſiſtance, to overcome the enemy. The king having already parted with his money, was not a little troubled at the thought of loſing both his pay and his men; but yet upon the prophet's inſtance to reſign himſelf wholly to the will of God, under whoſe protection he ſhould be ſure to want nothing, he diſcharg'd his auxiliaries, with this compliment at the farewel, That he frankly beſtow'd that treaſure upon them as a bounty, which they had received only as a hire. Immediately upon parting with his mercenaries, he advanc'd with his own proper troops againſt the people abovementioned, whom he overcame, and cut off ten thouſand of them in one battle, and carried away ten thouſand more to the top of a great rock, that over-looks Arabia, where they were all thrown down the precipice and deſtroy'd; and ſo Amaziah return'd home again with a great booty. But in the mean time the Iſraelitiſh mercenaries took it ſo heinouſly to be turn'd off after ſo ſlighting a manner, and without any colour of reaſon for it, that to revenge the affront of that contempt, they made an outrageous inroad into the king's country, laying all waſte as far as Bethſemere; putting three thouſand people to the ſword, and carrying away a great number of their cattle.

Amaziah began his adminiſtration in the bringing the murderers of his father to juſtice, Ver. 5.

He made vaſt levies of his own people, and dealt with the kings of Iſrael for an hundred thouſand mercenaries, but diſmiſs'd the Iſraelites, 2 Chron. xxv. 6.

Amaziah gives the Amalekites a great overthrow, V. 11.

The mercenaries make an outrageous inroad into the king's country, V. 13.

Amaziah was ſo puffed up with the conceit of this victory, that he had no longer any veneration for that God who was the author of it, but went over from his worſhip to the idols of the Amalekites. The prophet, upon this, went to the king and told him, that he could not but wonder at his confiding in thoſe powers, that were ſo far from being able to protect their ſervants, that they could not defend themſelves, but were taken priſoners by the Hebrews, and carried away like ſlaves to Jeruſalem, with the reſt of the ſpoil. Theſe words of the prophet highly provok'd the king's wrath, inſomuch, that he bad him at his peril, not to meddle any further in a buſineſs that did not concern him. The prophet's anſwer was, that for the future he would be quiet; but aſſuring him withal, that God would take ſevere vengeance on him for this wicked and idolatrous innovation in religion.

Amaziah, in the pride of his heart, goes over from the true God to idolatry, Ver. 14.

Amaziah was ſo tranſported with vanity and inſolence upon his late ſucceſs, that without any regard to the hand of divine providence, he wrote an imperious letter ſome time after to Joaſh, the king of the Iſraelites, commanding him and his people to pay the ſame allegiance to him, which they had formerly render'd to his anceſtors, David and Solomon; or in caſe of their refuſal, to expect a deciſion of the cauſe by the ſword; to which ſummons Joaſh returned this anſwer:

Amaziah writes an imperious letter to Joaſh, Ver. 17.

King Joaſh to king Amaziah, greeting.

"IT happen'd once upon a time, betwixt
" a cypreſs-tree and a thiſtle, upon Mount
" Libanus, that the thiſtle ſent to the cypreſs,
" ſaying, Give thy daughter to my ſon to
" wife; whereupon a wild beaſt went and trod
" down the thiſtle. Make uſe of this example
" for your own inſtruction, and to moderate
" your ambition, without aſpiring to

Joaſh anſwers it with the fable of the cypreſs and the thiſtle, Ver. 18.

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* An hundred talents weighed eleven thouſand, four hundred and ſix pounds, three ounces, and their value in ſilver was worth thirty four thouſand, two hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen ſhillings, Engliſh money.

“things out of your reach. Have a care that this confidence and pride of yours for the overthrow of the Amalekites, do not betray you ſome time or other to the loſs of your life and kingdom.”

THIS anſwer to Amaziah was but ſo much oil to the flame, and made him ten times more furious and implacable than before; God in his juſtice giving him up, as may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, to ſuch a violent impotency of rage and paſſion, as would certainly expoſe him to the ſtroke of divine juſtice for his impiety. In this heat he took the field, and both armies were drawn up in form of battle. But no ſooner were his men advanced within ſight of the enemy, but they were inſtantly ſtruck with ſo judicial a conſternation and terror, that they turned their backs without ſtriking a blow, and flying ſeveral ways, left Amaziah priſoner in the hands of his enemies, who refuſed to give him quarter upon any other terms, than that the citizens of Jeruſalem ſhould ſet open the gates, and receive him and his victorious army into the town; which, betwixt the pinch of neceſſity and the love of life, they were prevail'd upon to do; ſo that Joaſh enter'd the town in his triumphal chariot through a breach of three hundred cubits of wall that he had cauſed to be broken down, with his priſoner Amaziah marching before him; and this was the manner of his making himſelf maſter of the place. He made a ſeizure of all the holy plate and treaſure, and of all the gold and ſilver likewiſe that he could find in the palace, carrying the whole ſpoil away with him; and then diſmiſſing the king, he returned to Samaria: this calamity befel Jeruſalem in the fourteenth year of Amaziah's reign. The people of Jeruſalem, after this, enter'd into a conſpiracy againſt him; ſo that he was forced to fly for ſafety to Lachiſh; but that would not ſerve his turn, for the aſſaſſins follow'd him thither, and there they murder'd him. His body was carried back to Jeruſalem, where it was buried with a royal ſtate: this was the miſerable end he came to, for the neglect of God's worſhip, and his introducing innovations in religion. He died in the one and fiftieth year of his age, and twenty ninth of his reign, leaving his ſon Uzziah the ſucceſſor to his government.

Amaziah takes the field in a rage; but at firſt ſight of the enemy, his men run ſeveral ways without ſtriking a blow, and leave Amaziah priſoner, 2 Chron. xxv. 21- 23.

CHAP. XI.

The ſtory of Jonas. The death of Jeroboam. His ſon Zachariah ſucceeds him. Uzziah's excellent qualities, conqueſts, and great care for Jeruſalem; but his proſperity makes him forget God, and he is puniſh'd for it. His ſon Jotham ſucceeds him. Shallum kills Zachariah, and uſurps the government. Menahem kills Shallum, and reigns ten years. Pekahiah his ſon ſucceeds him. Pekah murders him, and reigns in his place. Tiglath-Pileſer makes war upon him. The virtues and good qualities of Jotham king of Judah. In his time Nahum the prophet foretels the deſtruction of Nineve, and the Aſſyrian empire.

IN the fifteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, Jeroboam, the ſon of Joaſh, was made king over Iſrael, and kept his court in Samaria, in the palace of his forefathers, for the whole forty years of his reign. He was a prince impious to the higheſt degree, wholly abandon'd to idolatry; and ſo licentious, that he ſtuck at nothing, though never ſo wicked, that he had a mind to; and the judgments that his profligate courſe of life brought upon the Iſraelites, were almoſt innumerable. It was foretold of him by Jonas the prophet, that he ſhould overcome the Syrians, and enlarge his territories as far as the city Hamath on the north, and the lake Aſphaltites on the ſouth, which were formerly the bounds of the land of Chanaan, according to the allotment of Joſhua the general. Jeroboam was ſo elevated upon this prediction, that he took away from the Syrians all that tract of ground before ſpoken of, and annexed it to his own dominions; and therein made good the prediction of the prophet. Now in regard that I have ſtrictly tied up myſelf to write the hiſtory of the Hebrews with exact truth and good faith, I muſt not paſs over what I find recorded of this matter in holy writ.

Jeroboam, the ſon of Joaſh, made king in the 15th year of Amaziah, 2 Kings xiv. 16.

The prophet Jonas points at him, V. 25.

and Jeroboam values himſelf wonderfully upon the prediction, Ver. 27, 28.

“THE word of the Lord came unto Jonah, ſaying, Ariſe and go to Nineve, and there cry aloud to them, that that great kingdom is to be ſuddenly deſtroy'd; but Jonah, to avoid the danger of being an author of ſuch tidings to them, thought it better to ſlip out of the way, (as if he could hide himſelf from God,) and ſo went aboard a veſſel at Joppa, that was bound for Tarſhiſh in Cilicia. While they were upon the way, there aroſe a violent tempeſt, that put the maſter, the mariners, and the pilot himſelf, all to their wits end for fear of being ſwallowed up. But it was obſerved, that while the crew were at their prayers, and labouring to keep the ſhip above water, Jonah was the only man that made no buſtle, but lay flat upon his face in the hold, with his head cover'd, without doing as other people did. The wind ſtill blew harder and harder; and the ſtorm encreaſing, the company took up a conceit, that this calamity had befallen them for the wickedneſs of ſome other of the people that they had aboard; and ſo they agreed among themſelves to put it to the lot, who might be the man. They did ſo, and the lot fell upon the prophet. This put the crew upon enquiring what he was, and what might be his buſineſs. He told them that he was an Hebrew, and a prophet to the great God; but I am the man, ſays he, that has rais'd the ſtorm, and you have no way left you to ſave yourſelves and the veſſel, but by caſting me over board. They look'd upon it at firſt to be ſo barbarous and inhuman an impiety, to deliver up a ſtranger, and one that had put his life into their hands, to ſo certain and inevitable a deſtruction, that for a while they durſt not reſolve upon it; but in the end, partly by the extreme neceſſity of the caſe, (for the ſhip was upon the very point of ſinking,) partly by the authority of the prophet, and partly by their own fear, they were prevail'd upon, and threw him into the ſea; in which inſtant the ſtorm ceas'd. The hiſtory ſays, that he was taken up by a whale, and after three days, caſt up again, alive and unhurt, upon the ſhore of the Euxine Sea *; from whence, after pardon obtain'd from Almighty God for his

Jonah order'd to preach againſt Nineve; but ſhips himſelf another way, to avoid the commiſſion, Jonah i. 1--3.

There riſes a terrible tempeſt, Ver. 4.

Jonah is caſt over board, and the ſtorm ceaſes, Ver. 15. A whale ſwallows him, and after three days caſts him up again, Ver. 17. and ii. 10.

* Bochart in his Hieroz. Part II. lib. i. c. 19. ſhews this to be an error of Joſephus.

Jonah goes to Nineve after this, and foretels the ruin of that empire, Jonah iii. 3.

“ his diſobedience, he went directly to Nineve, according to his order and commiſſion; where when he was come, getting upon an eminence, where he might beſt be heard, he foretold them, that the empire of Aſia was near an end; and ſo upon the publiſhing of this prophetical declaration, he went his way.” This is what we find reported of him in the records of holy ſcripture.

Jeroboam's reign, 2 Kings xiv. 23, &c. Zachariah his ſon ſucceeds him, Ver. 29. Uzziah ſucceeds Amaziah, 2 Chron. xxvi. 1.

He makes inroads upon the Philiſtines and Arabians, and brings the Ammonites under contribution, Ver. 6--8.

But to return now to Jeroboam. After a proſperous reign of forty years, he was buried at Samaria; Zachariah his ſon ſucceeding him, as, as Uzziah ſucceeded Amaziah in the fourteenth year of Jeroboam, to the government of the two tribes at Jeruſalem. His mother's name was Achia, a native of Jeruſalem. He was a man naturally of great courteſy and juſtice; brave, provident, and induſtrious; made war upon the Philiſtines, and took Gath and Jamnia from them by aſſault, demoliſhing their walls; and he made another expedition alſo againſt the Arabians, who bordered upon Egypt, and built a town near the Red Sea, which he committed to the guard of a ſtrong garriſon. After this he ſubdued the Ammonites, and put them under contribution, reducing the whole country as far as the frontiers of Egypt, under his power; betaking himſelf in the end, to the care of the city. Where the walls were ruinous or decay'd, whether by age, or by the neglect of former governors, he rebuilt them anew, and repair'd that breach alſo, which the king of the Iſraelites had made, when Amaziah was his priſoner, at his triumphant entrance into the city. He erected alſo ſeveral towers of one hundred * and fifty cubits in height, and built caſtles and ſeveral ſtrong forts for the ſecurity of the open country, beſide a great many aqueducts, ciſterns, and baſons, for the relief of his herds and cattle, whereof the number was incredible, the country being naturally diſpoſed for paſture. He was himſelf alſo a great lover of tillage, planting, gardening, nurſeries, and all ſorts of husbandry. As to military affairs, he had an army of three hundred and ſeventy thouſand ſelect men, under the command of two thouſand brave and experienc'd officers; all well arm'd, with ſwords, bucklers, brazen corſelets, bows, ſlings, and train'd up to the exerciſe of arms, and the drawing up of armies, after the moſt advantageous way of martial diſcipline. He had ſeveral machines and engines alſo for battery, and caſting of ſtones and darts, beſide grappling hooks, and other inſtruments of war. But his heart was ſo puffed up with the vanity of theſe preparations and deſigns, that the arrogance of his ambition for a tranſitory and an earthly glory, took him quite off from the thought of bleſſings everlaſting, and from the duties of holineſs and religion, in the worſhip and ſervice of the Almighty; inſomuch, that he falter'd in his integrity, after the example of his father, out of an impotency of mind, that was not able to bear up againſt the tide of a conſtant courſe of proſperity and ſucceſs.

He rebuilds the walls of Jeruſalem, and repairs the breaches, providing for the ſtrength and ornament of the city, Ver. 9.

His militia, and mighty proviſions, Ver. 12--15

His vanities and ambition take him off from his piety and zeal for God's worſhip, Ver. 16.

The king uſurps the prieſt's office, Ver. 16--19. Azariah and the prieſts force into the temple upon him, and oppoſe him, ib.

A miraculous earthquake.

Uzziah becomes a leper, and the prieſts drive him out of the city, Ver. 20.

The king, upon a ſolemn feſtival day, once dreſs'd himſelf in a ſacerdotal habit, and went into the holy temple to offer up incenſe to the Lord upon the golden altar; but Azariah the high-prieſt, with a train of fourſcore prieſts more along with him, ruſh'd into the temple, to the king, exclaiming againſt the wickedneſs of that uſurpation, in breaking in upon an office belonging peculiarly to the prieſts of the race of Aaron, excluſive of all others; ſo that Azariah bad him immediately to depart, and not provoke the wrath of God with thoſe indignities any longer. The king in a paſſion bad them be quiet without more ado, upon the peril of their lives; which menace was followed with a terrible earthquake, and the roof of the temple opening with the ſhock of it, there paſs'd a beam of the ſun through the cleft that ſtruck directly upon the face of this ſacrilegious prince, who in that very moment became a leper; and this prodigy was accompanied with another. There was a place at ſome ſmall diſtance weſtward from the town, that they call'd Eroge; where, by the ſame earthquake, one half of a great mountain was torn from the other; and after it had rolled over and over, a matter † of four furlongs, it ſtopt in the concluſion upon the eaſt ſide of a mountain over againſt it, having choak'd up the highway, and cover'd the king's gardens all over with rubbiſh ‡. When the prieſts found the king to be leprous, and that the Lord had ſmitten him, they admoniſh'd him to depart the city, as an unclean perſon, and not fit for common ſociety. The ſhame of lying under ſuch a calamity, had by this time in ſome meaſure humbled his pride; ſo that he ſubmitted and obey'd; and when he had liv'd for ſome time a private life out of the city, Jotham his ſon taking upon him the adminiſtration of the government, his grief brought him at laſt to his grave, in the ſixty eighth year of his age, and in the fifty ſecond of his reign; and his body was laid in his gardens in a monument by itſelf.

Jotham his ſon governs in the interim of his abſence, and after his death ſucceeds him, Ver. 21.

Zachariah murder'd by his own domeſticks, in the ſeventh month of his reign, 2 Kings xv. 8--10. Shallum ſeizes the government, ibid.

Zachariah, the king of the Iſraelites, and the ſon of Jeroboam: in the ſeventh month of his reign, was murder'd by the treachery of one of his own domeſticks, Shallum by name, the ſon of Jabeſh; who, upon the ſlaughter of Zachariah, took poſſeſſion of the government. It was ill got, and he loſt it as ill, on the thirtieth day after the ſiezing of it. Menahem had at that time the command of an army that was at || Thapſa; and upon the news of what had befallen Zachariah, he marched away preſently with his troops to Samaria, where he fought and overthrew Shallum, put him to the ſword, and afterward by his own authority took all the enſigns of royalty to himſelf, and exerciſed ſovereign power. With this victorious army he marched to Thapſa; but the citizens ſhut their gates upon him, and refuſed to admit him, which put him into ſuch a rage againſt them, as revolters, that he laid waſte the whole country thereabouts, and in

|| Scrip. Tirzah.

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* A cubit, as we've before obſerved, being near two and twenty inches, one hundred and fifty muſt amount to upwards of an hundred and eighty two Engliſh feet; that is, threeſcore yards and two feet.

† Viz. About half a mile.

‡ That Uzziah was ſtricken with a leproſy, we read in 2 Chron. xxvii. 19. but that the fact was accompanied with ſuch dreadful, amazing, and miraculous circumſtances as Joſephus here relates, we find no where recorded in holy writ. Nor have we any ſtronger evidence to avouch the truth of the convulſive throws and agonies that nature is hereupon ſaid to have ſuffer'd, than the word of a prieſt, in a caſe that very nearly concern'd the privilege of prieſthood; a teſtimony too weak, I think, to ſway the belief of any unbigotted, unprejudiced, and impartial, conſiderate thinker.

The taking of Tirzah by Menahem, and his barbarous cruelties, 2 Kings xv. 16.

Pul, the king of Aſſyria, threatens him with a war; but he purchaſes his peace, Ver. 19.

Menahem's death and burial, Ver. 22. Pekahiah ſucceeds him, and is ſlain by Pekah, who govern'd twenty years, Ver. 23--27.

the end took the town by aſſault, put them all to the ſword, without ſparing ſo much as a child, to the higheſt degree of cruelty that ever was heard of; for he exerciſed that mercileſs rigour and inhumanity upon his own countrymen, that would have been unpardonable, even toward the worſt of Barbarians themſelves; and his government was not much eaſier for the whole ten years of his reign over Iſrael. He was threaten'd, after this, with an invaſion by Pul, the king of Aſſyria; but he durſt not run the riſque of a battle, and ſo came to a timely agreement with him, for the compoſition of a[*] thouſand talents of ſilver, which he raiſed upon the people at fifty ſhekels a head. He died ſoon after, and was buried at Samaria, leaving Pekahiah, the next heir, to ſucceed him; who inherited the inhumanity and ill-nature of his father, as well as the government. But his time was ſhort; for after two years reign, he was cut to pieces, together with ſeveral of his friends, at a publick feaſt, by the treaſonous practice of Pekah, the ſon of Remaliah, one of his tribunes; who withal ſeized upon the government, and reigned a matter of twenty years; leaving it a queſtion at laſt, whether he was more remarkable for his impiety to God, or for his injuſtice towards men?

Pekah oppreſs'd by Tiglath-Pileſer; and the Iſraelites carried away captive, Ver. 29.

In the days of this Pekah, Tiglath-Pileſer, king of the Aſſyrians, invaded the Iſraelites; and after the ſubduing of the land of Gilead, and the country beyond Jordan, together with that part of Galilee that lies next it, as alſo Cydida and Aſora, he took the inhabitants priſoners, and carried them away into his own country; of which I have ſaid ſufficient in this place.

Jotham a juſt and a pious prince, 2 Chron. xxvii. 2.

He repairs the temple and the city, and makes the Ammonites tributaries, Ver. 3--5.

Jotham, the ſon of Uzziah, reigned in Jeruſalem over the tribe of Judah, his mother a native of that city, and her name Jeruſhah; a prince famous and celebrated for all excellent qualities and virtues; a man exemplary for his reverence to God, for his juſtice to men, and for the care he took of the commonwealth; making it his buſineſs to keep all things in order, and to rectify what he found amiſs. He repair'd the decays of the porches and galleries in the temple; made good the city walls, where they were falling to ruin; erected large and ſtrong towers; brought the Ammonites under the contribution of a[†] hundred talents a year, [||] thirty thouſand chomers of wheat, and as many of barley, advancing the kingdom alſo to ſuch a ſtate, that the people were both happy at home, and formidable abroad.

The prophet Nahum foretels the deſtruction of Nineve and the Aſſyrian empire, Nahum ii. 8, &c.

In the reign of this prince, there appear'd a prophet, whoſe name was Nahum; and he foretold the deſtruction of Nineve, and the ſubverſion of the Aſſyrian empire, in manner as follows: "The condition of Nineve, ſays "he, ſhall be like that of a fiſh-pool, in a "violent agitation of the waters before a great "wind. The people ſhall fly away before the "ſtorm, in trouble and confuſion; calling "out one to another, hold, ſtay a little, and "take your gold and your ſilver along with "you, and no body ſhall mind it; for their "lives ſhall be much dearer to them than "their treaſure. They ſhall have deſperate "factions and diviſions among themſelves; "weeping and wailing, with the knocking of "their knees, and death in their faces. What "will become of the habitation of the lions, "and the dams of the lions whelps?" "Nineve, ſays the Lord, I will ſtrike thee out "from off the face of the earth, and put an "end to the outrages of the wild beaſts, that "thou haſt ſent into the world." The prophet's predictions about Nineve were more at large; but the particulars are not neceſſary for my purpoſe, and would appear tedious, perhaps to the reader. Let it ſuffice that the prophecy was fulfilled a hundred and fifteen years after; and ſo I ſhall ſay no more of it.

CHAP. XII.

The death of Jotham. Ahaz ſucceeds him. Rezin and Pekah make war upon him. Ahaz overthrown by Pekah, with a prodigious ſlaughter.

Jotham lived one and forty years, and reigned ſixteen, his ſon Ahaz ſucceeding him, 2 Chron. xxvii. 8, 9. and xxviii. 1. An idolatrous and a bloody prince, V. 2-4.

Jotham departed this life in the one and fortieth year of his age, and the ſixteenth of his reign; and Ahaz in the courſe of an hereditary right ſucceeded him. He was the moſt impious prince of all that ever ſat upon that throne, both for his apoſtaſy from the laws of his country, and for his idolatry, in imitation of the kings of Iſrael. He built altars in Jeruſalem; ſacrific'd to idols upon them, and his own ſon among the reſt for a burnt-offering, after the manner of the Chanaanites; and a great many other things he did too, equally as bad as this. While Ahaz was in the courſe of theſe wicked extravagancies, Rezin the king of Damaſcus, and Pekah the king of the Iſraelites, being join'd in a league of amity and alliance, marched together, with united forces, up to Jeruſalem, preſſing it hard with repeated aſſaults, and lying a conſiderable time before it; but the place was ſo well fortified and defended, that they were forced to quit it in the concluſion. In the mean while the king of Syria poſſeſs'd himſelf of the city Elath by the Red Sea, put all the inhabitants to the ſword, and introduced a colony of Syrians into their places. He poſſeſs'd himſelf, after this, of ſeveral caſtles and ſtrong holds; did terrible execution upon the Jews, and ſo with a prodigious booty marched his army back again to Damaſcus.

The king of Syria makes terrible havock among the Jews, and returns to Damaſcus, Ver. 6.

A battle betwixt the two kings of Jeruſalem and Iſrael, wherein one hundred and twenty thouſand are kill'd, beſide priſoners of their own brethren, innumerable, 2 Chron. xxviii. 5--8.

When the king of Jeruſalem came to underſtand that the Syrians were gone away, he look'd upon himſelf to be a match for the king of Iſrael, and ſo drew out an army againſt him; but his wickedneſs was ſo great, that God in a juſt indignation gave the victory to his enemy, with the loſs of a hundred and twenty thouſand of his men. In the ſame battle, Zachariah, the general of the Iſraelites, kill'd Amia, the ſon of Ahaz, in a ſingle encounter, and ſlew alſo Azica, the captain of the guards; taking Elkanah, the general of the Jews troops, priſoner; beſide an infinite number of captives of both ſexes, of the Benjamites, that they carried away, and ſo returned with the ſpoil to Samaria.

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[*] A thouſand talents weighed one hundred, fourteen thouſand, and ſixty two pounds, ſix ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to three hundred and forty two thouſand, one hundred and eighty ſeven pounds, ten ſhillings, Engliſh money.

[†] We have adjuſted the weight and value of an hundred talents a little above, in page 249, which ſee.

[||] A chomer contained about ſix hundred and five Engliſh pints; thirty thouſand chomers therefore muſt amount to eighteen millions, one hundred and fifty thouſand Engliſh pints.

The prophet Obel reproves the Iſraelites for making ſlaves of their own tribes and relations, 2 Chron. xxviii. 9--11.

There was at that time a prophet in Samaria, whoſe name was Obel *, who went out of the town to meet the army in their return before the walls, crying out to them with a loud voice, that they were not to look upon this victory as an advantage gain'd by their own virtue and valour, but as a judgment from heaven upon king Ahaz. The prophet therefore told them, they were to blame not to reſt ſatisfied with the proſperous ſucceſs of their undertaking, without making ſlaves of their kindred and relations of the two tribes; adviſing them by all means to ſet them at liberty, and ſend them home again, without offering any indignity to their perſons, upon the peril of falling under God's diſpleaſure, if they refuſed it.

They call a council, Ver. 12, 13.

The Iſraelites, upon this admonition, call'd a council to deliberate what to do upon this occaſion. The queſtion being put, there ſtood up one Berechiah, a man of great authority in the aſſembly; who, with three more, declared themſelves utterly againſt the bringing any of the priſoners into the town, for fear God's vengeance ſhould fall upon all the reſt. They had enough to anſwer for, in tranſgreſſions already paſt, that the prophet had denounced againſt, without any need of encreaſing the provocation, or the number. The ſoldiers were ſo far wrought upon by this conſideration, that they gave their priſoners leave and liberty to go whither they would, and to take what they would along with them; whereupon the four perſons aforeſaid ſet them free of their bonds, appointed care to be taken of their bodies, furniſh'd them with proviſions for their journey, and ſo diſmiſs'd them ſafe back again; bearing them company themſelves as far as beyond Jericho.

and diſcharge their priſoners, V. 14, 15.

And when they had brought them on their way within a little of Jeruſalem, they returned to Samaria.

CHAP. XIII.

Tiglath-Pileſer joins with Ahaz. They ravage Syria; kill Rezin king of Damaſcus, and take the place. The wickedneſs and death of Ahaz. Hezekiah ſucceeds him. Hoſea murders Pekah, and ſeizes the kingdom. Salmanezer overthrows Hoſea. Hezekiah reſtores God's worſhip, and overcomes the Philiſtines.

Ahaz gains Tiglath-Pileſer over to him, by vaſt promiſes and preſents, 2 Kings xvi. 7, 8.

THIS laſt blow from the Iſraelites forced Ahaz to bethink himſelf of calling in aſſiſtance toward the carrying on of the war. So he ſent an embaſſy to Tiglath-Pileſer, the king of the Aſſyrians, with promiſes of great ſums of money, and magnificent preſents in hand, craving ſuccours from him againſt the Iſraelites, and thoſe of Syria and Damaſcus.

He lays Syria waſte, forces Damaſcus, puts Rezin to the ſword, and tranſplants the inhabitants, Ver. 10.

This prince no ſooner heard of the deſire and propoſal of Ahaz, but he march'd immediately to his aid, laying the country of Syria waſte, taking Damaſcus by aſſault, and putting king Rezin to the ſword. The people of Damaſcus he tranſplanted to the Upper Media, and ſupplied their places at Damaſcus, with colonies of his own people; and then he depopulated a great part of the land of the Iſraelites, carrying away vaſt numbers of them priſoners. After the haraſſing of the Syrians at this rate, Ahaz took all the gold and ſilver out of the king's treaſury, and that likewiſe out of the temple, with all the rich donatives and preſents, and carried the whole maſs along with him to Damaſcus; where, according to his agreement, he deliver'd all up to the king of Aſſyria, with acknowledgments for the favour of his relief, and ſo returned back again to Jeruſalem.

Ahaz makes him a preſent for this exploit, of all the plate and treaſure in the temple and palace, Ver. 8.

Now this king had ſo little ſenſe, either of honour or of reaſon, that the mortal enmity betwixt him and the Syrians, did not hinder him yet from worſhipping their gods, and joining in their ceremonies; vainly perſuading himſelf that they would be propitious to his arms, in favour of his impious zeal in a falſe worſhip; and then when he was overcome, on the other hand, his buſineſs was to make friends of the gods of the Aſſyrians; ſo that no ſort of idolatry came amiſs to him, provided he might but keep clear of the reverence he owed to the true God, and to the religion and traditions of his anceſtors. This apoſtaſy was the cauſe that drew down the wrath and vengeance of God upon him.

Ahaz ſhuts up the temple doors in very ſpite to God and his worſhip, 2 Chron. xxviii. 24.

Nay, the contempt and averſion that he had for the honour and ſervice of God, was ſo extravagant, that after he had robb'd and rifled the temple of all that was precious in it, he commanded the very doors to be kept ſhut too, out of pure ſpite to God and goodneſs, and to prevent the celebrating of any act or office of religious worſhip in that holy place.

The death, age, and reign of Ahaz, Ver. 1--27.

Hezekiah his ſon ſucceeds, 2 Chron. xxix. 1.

But at laſt, after a conſtant courſe and exerciſe of theſe outrageous impieties, he departed this life at thirty ſix years of age, and in the ſixteenth of his reign, leaving his ſon Hezekiah his ſucceſſor to the government.

Hoſea treacherouſly kills Pekah, 2 Kings xv. 30.

About this time Pekah king of Iſrael loſt both his government and his life, by the treachery of a court-confident, whoſe name was Hoſea, who enjoy'd the fruit of an impious violence and uſurpation, for the ſpace of nine years. He was one of the worſt of men; and in his life and converſation he ſhewed not the leaſt thought or belief of a God.

Salmanezer makes Hoſea his tributary, 2 Kings xviii. 9--12.

Salmanezer, the king of the Aſſyrians, led an army againſt him, and being caſt off by God, whom he himſelf had rejected and deſpiſed, he was eaſily overcome, and forc'd to ſubmit to the terms of a tributary.

Hezekiah king of Jeruſalem in the fourth of Hoſea.

In the fourth † year of Hoſea's reign, Hezekiah came to be king of Jeruſalem. He was the ſon of Ahaz, by Abi, a native of that city; a perſon endowed with excellent intellectuals, and naturally a lover and practiſer of piety and juſtice; for the firſt thing he did upon his coming to the throne, was to provide for the comfort of his people, in ſettling the main affair of religion and God's worſhip; to which end, he immediately ſummon'd a meeting of the prieſts and Levites, and treated them with a diſcourſe, as it is reported, to this effect:

Hezekiah to the prieſts and Levites upon the ſubject of reſtoring God's worſhip, 2 Chron. xxix. 4--11.

"I ſhall not need to mind you of the "many and the great calamities that have befallen you for the iniquities of my father, "in not rendering to God the honour due to "him, and for the madneſs of your being prevail'd upon to pay a divine adoration to his "idols; wherefore being now taught by woful experience, how dangerous a thing it is

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* Scrip. Oded.

† In 2 Kings xviii. 1. 'tis ſaid, he began his reign in the third year of Hoſea.

"to prevaricate with the Almighty, it is my advice, that all paſt miſcarriages may be forgotten, and that you purify and purge yourſelves, together with the prieſts and Levites, from all your former pollutions; and after that preparation, that you ſet open the doors of that holy place; and when you ſhall have reſtor'd it to the ſtate of its original purity and reverence, by conſecrations, expiatory luſtrations, and ſacrifices in form, we may then promiſe ourſelves that God will pardon our impieties, and proſper us in all our undertakings." The prieſts were ſo elevated and encouraged by this advice of the king's, that they preſently open'd the temple, clear'd it of all prophane impurities and defilements, made ready their holy veſſels, and laid their ſacrifices upon the altar, according to the Jewiſh manner.

The king ſummons up all his people to Jeruſalem, to the feaſt of unleavened bread, 2 Chron. xxx. 5--10.

The king, in the mean time, ſent meſſengers through all his dominions to ſummon the people up to Jeruſalem, to the feaſt of unleavened bread; which had been then a long time intermitted, through the impious neglect of former kings; exhorting and inviting the Iſraelites alſo to forſake the practice of their idolatrous ſuperſtitions, and return to the exerciſe of the true religion, and to the worſhip of the true God; promiſing them that they ſhould have free leave and liberty to come and go, and to celebrate this feſtival in common with his own people. Hezekiah told them, that it was not for his own ſake, but for theirs, that he gave them this invitation; and that they themſelves ſhould find the comfort of it, if they follow'd his counſel.

The Iſraelites ridicule the meſſage, ibid.

and put ſeveral of the prophets and meſſengers to death.

But when the Iſraelites heard of the meſſage, they were ſo far from giving any heed to it, that they had the meſſengers in deriſion, and treated the prophets contemptibly, for the good office of adviſing them to return to their duties, and foretelling them the miſeries that ſhould befal them, without a timely humiliation and repentance. And their outrage did not ſtop here neither; for they took ſeveral of them afterward, and put them to death*. At this rate they went on from one wickedneſs to another, and never gave over, till God in his wrath avenged himſelf upon them for their impiety, by delivering them up into the hands of their enemies, as will be ſeen in its proper place. But there were great numbers yet of the tribes of Manaſſes, Zabulon, and Iſſachar, that had their hearts touch'd with this premonition of the prophets, and who went in great numbers up to Hezekiah at Jeruſalem, to worſhip.

Hezekiah ſacrifices for himſelf, 2 Chron. xxix. 20--24.

WHEN the multitude was there gather'd together, the king went up to the temple, together with the princes and the people, where he ſacrificed for himſelf ſeven bulls, ſeven rams, and as many goats; and when he had firſt laid his hands upon the heads of the victims, both the king and the princes left the execution to the prieſts, who cut the throats of the ſacrifices, and burnt them whole, the Levites ſtanding in a ring about them, ſinging divine hymns, and accompanying their voices with muſical inſtruments, in ſuch manner as David had preſcribed to them of old, the reſt of the prieſts joining in the concert. When this was over, the king and the people caſt themſelves proſtrate with their faces upon the ground, and worſhipped the Lord. He ſacrificed after this, ſeventy bullocks, a hundred rams, and two hundred lambs; beſtowing alſo ſix hundred bullocks, and three thouſand other cattle, as a largeſs for the entertainment of the people; and when the prieſts had done their parts according to the cuſtomary method and order, the king himſelf made good cheer, and communicated with the people, joining together in praiſes and thankſgivings.

A donative over and above, 2 Chron. xxx. 24.

THE feaſt of unleavened bread was now coming on, and in the time of their preparations for the feaſt of the paſſover, they offer'd up a courſe of other ſacrifices, for ſeven days ſucceſſively, and the king beſtow'd upon the people, out of his own bounty, two thouſand bulls, and ſeven thouſand of other cattle, over and above their own number; the princes likewiſe, after Hezekiah's example, ſuperadding out of their own liberality, a thouſand bulls, and a thouſand and forty of other beaſts; inſomuch, that from the days of Solomon to this particular time, there was never ſuch a ſolemnity known to be ſo ſplendidly celebrated.

Never ſuch a ſolemnity ſince the days of Solomon, Ver. 26.

So ſoon as this feſtival was over, they made it their next work to purge the whole country, having firſt purified Jeruſalem itſelf from the abomination of their idols. The king then appointed daily ſacrifices, according to the law, to be ſupplied out of his own ſtores, and commanded the people to preſent the prieſts and Levites with their tenths and firſt fruits, that they might not be taken off by any common buſineſs from their attendance upon the altar. By this means they were abundantly furniſhed with all ſorts of fruits and proviſions. The king alſo ordered the building of granaries and ſtore-houſes, for the common uſe and ſervice of themſelves, their wives, and children, to be diſtributed in proportion to their ſhares; ſo that by theſe degrees, the antient diſcipline came in ſome meaſure to be reſtor'd.

A thorough reformation, 2 Chron. xxxi. 1.

MATTERS being thus ſettled, the king made war upon the Philiſtines, and over-ran their country, ſubduing all their cities, from Gath to Gaza, which he added to his own territories. But the king of Aſſyria, in the mean time, ſends a meſſage to him to demand the tribute from him, which was formerly paid him by his father, with a menace, in caſe of refuſal, to take his country from him; but Hezekiah did ſo abſolutely depend upon the goodneſs of God, the conſcience of his own innocence, and the veracity of the prophet Iſaiah, from whom he was ſure to be forewarned of the event of things, that he gave no heed at all to the menaces of the Aſſyrians. And ſo much for the ſtory of this king.

The king over-runs the country of the Philiſtines, 2 Kings xviii. 8.

CHAP. XIV.

Salmanazer takes Samaria; deſtroys the kingdom of Iſrael; carries away Hoſea, and all his people, priſoners; and plants the kingdom of Iſrael with a colony of Chuthites.

UPON intelligence given to Salmanazer king of Aſſyria, that the king of Iſrael was enter'd into a ſecret treaty with So, the king of Egypt, to join in an alliance againſt him, the Aſſyrian, in a furious indignation, preſently marches with his army againſt Samaria. (This was in the ſeventh year of the reign of Hoſea, and the city ſtanding out againſt him.) In the third year of the ſiege, and in the ninth of the preſent king, he took it by aſſault, in the ſeventh year of the reign of Hezekiah king of Jeruſalem. The loſs of this place was the final ruin of the kingdom of Iſrael; the people were all tranſplanted into Media and Perſia, and Hoſea the king taken with them alive; while the king of Aſſyria brought others from thence in exchange, as far as Chuthah, a river of Perſia, to re-people the land of the Iſraelites, and ſo to plant in Samaria, and up and down that country.

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* The Scripture makes no mention of any of the king's meſſengers, or prophets, who were put to death on the account of this meſſage.

Salmanazer takes Samaria by aſſault, in the ninth year of Hoſea. Hoſea a priſoner, and the people tranſplanted, 2 Kings xvii. 3--6. and xviii. 9--12.

The date of the tranſportation.

This tranſportation of the ten tribes from the place of their abode, fell out to be about nine hundred and forty ſeven years, from the coming of their forefathers out of the land of Egypt, to their taking poſſeſſion of that land before, by force of arms; eight hundred years from the days of Joſhua, and two hundred and forty years, ſeven months, and ſeven days after the revolt from Rehoboam, the grandſon of David, to Jeroboam, of whom we have ſpoken heretofore. This was the miſerable end of that ſtiff-necked people, that would neither be ſubject to laws, nor hearken to the voice and precautions of their prophets, though they foretold them, that their certain deſtruction was at hand, unleſs they departed immediately from their evil ways. Now the riſe of all theſe calamities took its date from that ſeditious revolt from Rehoboam, in advancing a ſervant over the head of his maſter; who, in contempt of God, and his holy laws, drew the indignation of Heaven upon the people, by corrupting them into the practice of the ſame abominations, after his example. But the juſtice of God came home to him in his own perſon too in its due ſeaſon.

The revolt from Rehoboam was the riſe of all this miſchief.

See Menander in his annals.

The king of Aſſyria, in fine, ravaged with his army, and domineer'd every where in Syria and Phœnicia. There is mention alſo made of his name in the hiſtory of the Tyrians; for in the reign of Elulæus, as Menander has it in his annals, (that were tranſlated out of the Tyrian language into Greek,) he made war upon Tyre. His words are to this purpoſe: "This ſame Elulæus reigned thirty ſix years; and upon a revolt of the Gittæans, he ſent a fleet thither, that reduced them to his obedience; and the king of the Aſſyrians ſent out an army alſo againſt him, and invaded the whole country of Phœnicia; till upon the concluſion of a peace, he march'd with his troops back again. Some ſhort time after this exploit, the cities of Sydon, Arce, Palæ-Tyrus, and ſeveral other towns, went over from the Tyrians, to the Aſſyrian king; who taking it ſo heinouſly to ſee the Tyrians the only people that diſputed his authority and power, he diſpatch'd a navy againſt them of ſixty ſail, and eight hundred rowers, under the conduct of the Phœnicians, which the Tyrians encounter'd, with only twelve veſſels; broke the whole body, and took five hundred of the rowers priſoners. The ſucceſs of this encounter gave them a wonderful reputation for their ſkill and ability in naval affairs. The king of Aſſyria, upon this affront, returns, and ſets guards along the river, and upon all ſprings and aqueducts, to keep the Tyrians from water. The Tyrians labour'd under this diſtreſs for a matter of five years, when they were forced to relieve themſelves from pits of their own digging."

Of the Chuthites, and why ſo called, 2 Kings xvii. 24.

This is what we find written of Salmanazer in the chronicles of the Tyrians. Now the new-comers in Samaria are called Chuthites, from a country of Perſia of that name, and from the river Chuthah, from whence they had their original. There were five nations of them, and they brought as many of their own country gods along with them, highly provoking the true and the great God to indignation againſt them, for the worſhip they paid to theſe idols; ſo that they were viſited with ſo * dreadful a plague, that the place was well nigh unpeopled with it; and finding no relief from any human means, they were adviſed by the oracle to have recourſe to the worſhip of the great God; for their caſe was deſperate and hopeleſs, without ſuch an application. The people immediately upon this ſent for commiſſioners to attend the king of Aſſyria with a petition, that he would be pleaſed to ſend them ſome of the prieſts that were carried away captives with the Iſraelites. This being granted, and the prieſts brought, as they deſired, they had the law of Moſes read, with an explication upon the practice, and the reaſon of their religion and diſcipline, which had ſo wonderful an effect upon them, that they gave themſelves wholly up to the ſtudy and exerciſe of it; and ſoon after this the peſtilence ceaſed. Now the † people of that country retain'd to this day the name of Cuthites, among the Hebrews; but the Greeks call them Samaritans. They are a people unfix'd and changeable in their opinions and inclinations, accommodating themſelves to the preſent time and occaſion. So long as the Jews are proſperous, we are all of a blood, they cry, and of the lineage of Joſeph; but if they happen to fall under any affliction, or adverſity, alas, ſay they, we have nothing to do with them, they are ſtrangers to us: we came a great way off, they ſay, into that country, and the like. But of this in its proper place.

A dreadful plague among them for their idolatry, Ver. 25.

The oracle ſends them to the great God for relief.

They petition the king of Aſſyria to have ſome of the captive prieſts ſent them, Ver. 26.

The prieſts inſtruct them in the law of Moſes, V. 28.

The Chuthites ſtill ſide with the ſtrongeſt.

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* See 2 Kings xvii. 26. and Bochart's Hieroz. lib. iii. c. 3. part. 1.

† See Voſſius's epiſtle to Calvius, p. 394.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK X.
From the Year of the World 3224 to 3425.

CHAP. I.

Sennacherib enters Judah with a mighty army; conditions with Hezekiah for a ſum of money to withdraw; receives the money, and breaks his articles. He carries the war into Egypt, and leaves the ſiege of Jeruſalem to Rabſhaketh. The prophet Iſaiah promiſes Hezekiah aſſiſtance from Heaven.

Sennacherib makes war upon Hezekiah, 2 Kings xviii. 13. He over-runs Judah and Benjamin, and advances toward Jeruſalem, ibid.

Embaſſadors meet him, with offers of ſubmiſſion and tribute, Ver. 14. which he agrees to, with an oath to make them good.

The compoſition-money is paid, and the Aſſyrian breaks his articles, Ver. 14--17.

IN the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, king of the two tribes, Sennacherib the king of Aſſyria marched againſt him with a powerful and well-appointed army; and having taken all the cities of Judah and Benjamin by aſſault, he was now ready to advance toward Jeruſalem, when an embaſſy came to him with an offer of ſubmiſſion to his power, and of paying him tribute. Sennacherib gave the embaſſadors audience, and reſolved immediately to deſiſt from the war, and to treat upon the king's terms, promiſing with the ſolemnity of an oath, that upon the receipt of * three hundred talents of ſilver, and † thirty of gold, he would depart with his army, without attempting any act of hoſtility againſt him. Hezekiah, upon this aſſurance, emptied all the treaſuries, and ſent him the money, in confidence of the enemy's departure according to his oath, and that he might reign afterward without any difficulty or danger. The Aſſyrian took the money, but broke his word; for he marched himſelf with his troops againſt the Egyptians and Ethiopians, and left Rabſhaketh lieutenant-general, with Tharata and Anacharis, as collegues with him, to carry on the war againſt Jeruſalem.

Rabſhaketh demands a treaty, V. 18. Hezekiah ſends out deputies, ibid.

Upon the drawing up of their army, they pitch'd their camp within ſight of the walls of the town; and by a meſſenger ſummon'd Hezekiah out to a parley. Hezekiah was not willing to truſt himſelf, and therefore ſent out three of his particular friends to ſupply his place; that is to ſay, Eliakim, his deputy-governor; Shebnah and Joah, keepers of the records.

Rabſhaketh treats them with inſolence and ſcorn, Ver. 19--25.

Upon their coming out of the town, and preſenting themſelves before the officers of the Aſſyrian army, Rabſhaketh, ſtaring them in the face, bad them carry their maſter this meſſage: “ That the great king Sennacherib would fain “ know what confidence he valued himſelf “ upon, that he ſhould dare to make any great “ difficulty of owning that great king for his “ maſter, and to refuſe entrance to his army “ into the city? What, ſays Rabſhaketh, “ does he flatter himſelf with hope of relief “ from Egypt, as if the Egyptians were in a

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* Three hundred talents weighed thirty four thouſand, two hundred and eighteen pounds, nine ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to one hundred and two thouſand, ſix hundred and fifty ſix pounds, five ſhillings.

† Thirty talents weighed three thouſand four hundred and twenty one pounds, ten ounces, and ten penny weights, and their value in gold amounted to one hundred and ſixty four thouſand, two hundred and fifty pounds, Engliſh money.

“ condition to cope with the army of my maſter? Why certainly he muſt be worſe than mad, to imagine it, and to truſt to a broken reed that will both deceive him, if he truſts to it, and run into his hand, and wound him, if he lays any ſtreſs upon it. But, ſays Rabſhaketh, you are to inform your maſter, that this expedition is not attempted without God's holy will and direction, who will as certainly give the king of Aſſyria victory over Hezekiah and his ſubjects, as he hath already made him victorious over the Iſraelites.” Rabſhaketh deliver'd himſelf in Hebrew, being a language that he was well skill'd in; but Eliakim fearing the effect ſuch a diſcourſe, in a known tongue, might have upon the multitude, deſir'd him rather, if he pleaſed, to ſpeak Syriack. Now Rabſhaketh very well underſtanding what the other was afraid of, raiſed his voice, and continued his diſcourſe ſtill in Hebrew, to this purpoſe: “Pray, ſays Rabſhaketh, let your people hear, and underſtand the commands of my maſter; for it concerns them ſo to do, and to render themſelves in ſeaſon. It is the buſineſs, I know, both of yourſelves and of your king, to ſeduce your people with vain and empty hopes of defending themſelves by force; but if you have the courage to put it to a hazard, or any ſort of pretence to beat off this army from your walls, I am ready to furniſh you with two thouſand horſe, if you will only undertake to find riders to them. But, alas! you have not riders wherewithal to try the experiment. If it be ſo, why are you then ſo long a deliberating upon a thing you will be compell'd to do in the concluſion, eſpecially in a caſe where you are ſafe, if you do it willingly, and run all the hazards in the world, if you ſtay to be driven to it upon conſtraint; as the weaker muſt of neceſſity yield at laſt to the ſtronger?”

This was all ſpoken in the hearing, as well of the people as of the deputies; and no ſooner brought to the king's ear, but he immediately diveſted himſelf of his royal robes, and put on ſackcloth, after the cuſtom of the country, in token of his humiliation, caſting himſelf proſtrate upon the ground, and imploring the aid and favour of Almighty God, being utterly hopeleſs of any comfort elſewhere. He ſent likewiſe ſome of his particular friends, together with others of the prieſthood, to the prophet Iſaiah, to deſire him that he would intercede with the Lord, by prayers and ſacrifices for the common ſafety, and for the abatement of the pride and power of the enemy, in compaſſion to his people. The prophet complied with the king's requeſt, and ſucceeded ſo far in his mediation, that he was authorized by a divine revelation to bid the king and his friends be of good courage; for the enemy ſhould be overcome without a battle, and abandon his deſign with loſs and diſgrace; that his ſtomach ſhould be brought down, and that the hand of the Almighty ſhould be upon him, to his ruin; that Sennacherib himſelf ſhould miſcarry in his Egyptian expedition, and upon that diſappointment go to his own home again, where he ſhould fall by the ſword.

Hezekiah humbles himſelf in ſackcloth, 2 Kings xix. 1, 2.

The prophet Iſaiah mediates to God for Hezekiah, and obtains an aſſurance of victory over his enemies, Ver. 6, 7.

It happened that at this very juncture of time, Hezekiah received letters from the king of Aſſyria, with inſolent expoſtulations in them, what a fool he was to imagine any poſſibility, under his circumſtances, of maintaining his liberty againſt the power of a prince who had already ſubjected ſo many warlike nations to his obedience, concluding with a menace, of putting man, woman, and child to the ſword, if they did not, without delay, and of their own accord, ſet open their city gates, and give a free entrance to his army. Hezekiah did ſo abſolutely depend upon the truth and power of God, that he laid no ſtreſs at all upon this inſolent letter, but folded it up again, and laid it in the temple, betaking himſelf ſtill to repeated prayers and ſupplications, for the ſafety of the city, till Iſaiah returned with this anſwer: “That his petition was heard, and that the danger was over, for any harm the Aſſyrians ſhould do them upon that undertaking. He told them likewiſe, that there were happier times at hand, wherein they ſhould live in peace and ſecurity upon their own lands and poſſeſſions, without fear of an enemy.” In proceſs of time the king of Aſſyria finding all his attempts to be fruſtrated, and nothing to ſucceed with him, he withdrew his army, and went back again upon this occaſion. He had ſpent a great deal of time before Peluſium; and at laſt when he had brought up his platforms within a little of the top of the walls, and was upon the very point almoſt of giving the aſſault, news was brought him, that * Tharſices, king of Ethiopia, was upon his march, and approaching with a great enforcement to aſſiſt the Egyptians; and that he took his way through the deſart, with a deſign to fall upon the Aſſyrians by ſurprize. Sennacherib was ſo alarm'd at this report, that he immediately drew off his army. † Herodotus calls this war of Sennacherib's againſt the king of Egypt, a war againſt the prieſt of Vulcan, as being both a king, and a prieſt of that falſe God. “Now this was the reaſon, ſays he, of Sennacherib's raiſing the ſiege of Peluſium. The king of Egypt, upon this occaſion, call'd to his God for help; which being granted him, was fatal to the Arabian, by a miſtake, writing Arabian for Aſſyrian. And, ſays he, in one night there came ſuch troops of rats into the camp of the Aſſyrians, that they gnaw'd all their bow-ſtrings to pieces, and made uſeleſs ſeveral other pieces of their arms, even to the diſarming of the Aſſyrians, who, upon this diſappointment, drew off from the town.” Now Beroſus, a Chaldee hiſtorian, ſpeaks of this king Sennacherib, and how he reigned over the Aſſyrians, and made war upon all Aſia and Egypt. ‡ His words are to this following effect.

Sennacherib's menacing ſummons to Hezekiah, Ver. 10--13.

Iſaiah tells Hezekiah that his petition was granted, and no further danger of Sennacherib, V. 20--34.

Sennacherib draws off his army, upon the news of Tharſices's march to aſſiſt the Egyptians, Ver. 9.

A judgment of rats.

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* Scrip. Tirhakah.

† See Herodotus, p. 163. Ed. Steph. 1592. In the tranſlation of this place we have followed Gelenius, both Epiphanius Scholaſticus and the original Greek being corrupted, as is ſhewn by Joſ. Scaliger, in his notes upon the fragments of Beroſus, p. 45, 46. where he ingeniouſly ſupplies what is wanting.

‡ Scaliger fancies this to be an interpolation, and that the beginning of the following chapter is not Beroſus's.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Sennacherib beſieges Jeruſalem. One hundred eighty five thouſand of his men cut off by a judicial plague the firſt night. He quits the ſiege, and goes home again, where he is murder'd by two of his ſons, in the temple of his idol.

A dreadful plague, 2 Kings xix. 35.

*SENNACHERIB, at his return from the Egyptian war, found his army that he had left under the command of Rabſhaketh almoſt quite deſtroy'd by a judicial peſtilence, which ſwept away, in general officers, tribunes, and common ſoldiers, to the number of one hundred eighty five thouſand men, the firſt night they ſat down before the city. This dreadful mortality put Sennacherib in ſuch a fright, partly as it was a ſtroke of divine vengeance, and partly for fear of the reſt of his army, that he made all poſſible haſte back again, by great marches, to his palace at Nineve; where, after a while, he was cut off by his two eldeſt ſons, Adrameleck and † Selennar, in the very temple of Araſcus, which was his darling idol. The people of the country, deteſting the inhumanity of the action, baniſhed them out of their dominions, whereupon they fled into Armenia, ‖ Aſſarachod, the third ſon, ſucceeding to the government: and thus ended this expedition.

Sennacherib murder'd by two of his ſons in the temple of his darling idol, Ver. 37.

CHAP. III.

Hezekiah falls ſick, and has fifteen years added to his life. A league betwixt him and Balad the king of Babylon; whereupon the prophet Iſaiah foretels the Iſraelites captivity in Babylon, and the calamities that were to befal Hezekiah and his poſterity. The death of Hezekiah.

HEZEKIAH being now deliver'd beyond all expectation from any farther apprehenſion of trouble or danger, and being likewiſe thoroughly convinced that it was the only and immediate hand of God that wrought his preſervation, as well by the plague that deſtroy'd one part of the Aſſyrian army, as by the terror of that judgment that frighted away the reſt; he, together with the people, offer'd up praiſes and thankſgivings for the mercies receiv'd; and while his thoughts were wholly taken up with the honour and worſhip of God, he was ſeized with ſo dangerous a diſtemper, that his phyſicians, and the reſt of his friends deſpair'd of his life. In this diſtreſs, nothing ſo ſenſibly afflicted the king, as to conſider, that upon his dying without iſſue, the ſucceſſion of the family would be then at an end, and the kingdom left without a legitimate heir. The anxiety of this conſideration lay ſo heavy upon his ſpirits, that he addreſs'd himſelf to God with ſupplications and tears, only for the prolonging of his life till he might have a ſucceſſor out of his own loins, and not to take him out of the number of the living, till he might be the father of a ſon, to keep him alive in his poſterity. God took compaſſion of him, and the rather, becauſe he was not ſo much troubled for the loſs of the advantages of a kingdom, as for the want of an heir of his own body to govern it. Upon this the prophet Iſaiah was ſent to him, with the comfortable aſſurance, that in three days his diſeaſe ſhould leave him, and that he ſhould live fifteen years longer yet, and the kingdom deſcend at laſt to his own ſon and heir. When the prophet had deliver'd this meſſage to the king, according to his order, the diſeaſe was ſo deſperate, and the news ſo ſurprizing, that Hezekiah could not perſuade himſelf into a belief of it, without ſome prodigy of a token from Iſaiah, in confirmation of his authority and commiſſion, and that he was ſent from God upon this errand. Now this is a common courſe, when we meet with difficulties out of the reach of hope and reaſon, to bring about, or to comprehend, to get the truth confirm'd to us by ſome extraordinary evidence. The prophet ask'd what ſign or token would give him ſatisfaction. So he propounded that the ſhadow upon his dial might go ten degrees backward from the place where it then ſtood. The king, finding this miracle wrought, upon the prayers of the prophet, was reſtored preſently to his health, and went immediately up to the temple, where he worſhipped and paid his devotion.

Hezekiah falls deſperately ſick, 2 Kings xx. 1. Having no iſſue, he beſeeches God to make him the father of a ſon before he dies.

The prophet Iſaiah brings him word that his prayers were heard, Ver. 4--6.

The prophet confirms his aſſurance by a miracle, V. 11.

IT was about this time that the Aſſyrian empire happen'd to be diſſolv'd by the Medes, of which we ſhall ſpeak elſewhere. But Balad, the king of Babylon, having ſent ambaſſadors with preſents to Hezekiah, invited him into a league of amity and alliance. Hezekiah receiv'd them with great courteſy; gave them a royal entertainment, and ſo ſhewed them his treaſure and his armoury, and whatever elſe he had that was magnificent and valuable, either in gold or precious ſtones, and in the end ſent them back again well rewarded to their maſter. Upon this Iſaiah came to him, and ask'd him who thoſe men were, and whence they came? He told the prophet, that they were ſent from the king of Babylon, and that he had ſhewed them all the riches and curioſities of his palace, that they might gather from thence, how great a prince he was, and ſo poſſeſs their king upon better grounds, with the truth of the matter. "Know "then, ſays the prophet to the king, that it "will not be long before this treaſure of yours "ſhall be carried to Babylon; ſeveral of your "poſterity ſhall be unmann'd, and ſerve the "court of Babylon in the quality of eunuchs. "This you will find to be a truth; for God "himſelf hath foretold it." This prediction pierced to the very ſoul of Hezekiah. "Well, "ſays he, though I cannot but be much trou"bled at the thought of the miſery that at"tends my family, yet ſince it is God's plea"ſure that it ſhould be ſo, I have no more to "beg from heaven, than that I may enjoy the "ſmall remainder of my miſerable life in "peace." Beroſus takes notice alſo of this Balad, king of Babylon; but the prophet Iſaiah who was ſo infallibly and miraculouſly inſpir'd in all he ſaid, and ſo certain of the truth of his predictions, committed all his prophecies to writing, and left them to poſterity, for all men to judge of what he foretold, by the event; and this was not his buſineſs alone, but

The Medes diſſolve the Aſſyrian empire.

An embaſſy from the king of Babylon to Hezekiah, Ver. 12.

Iſaiah foretels the captivity of Babylon, Ver. 16, 17, 18.

Beroſus takes notice of this king of Babylon.

Iſaiah commits his prophecies to writing.

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* See Scaliger's notes upon the fragment of Beroſus, p. 46. and Vorſtius's Diſſertat. Acad. 1.

† Scrip. Sharezer.

‖ Scrip. Eſar-haddon.

there

The death of Hezekiah, 2 Kings xx.21.

there were twelve more that did the ſame; and in all caſes of event whatſoever, good or evil, the accompliſhment and the prophecy agree exactly together. But we ſhall treat of this more particularly upon other occaſions. Finally, when Hezekiah had ſurvived in peace, according to what we have ſaid already, he died in the five and fiftieth year of his life, and the nine and twentieth of his reign.

CHAP. IV.

Manaſſeh, the king of Judah, a wicked prince. The king of Babylon ravages his country, and takes him priſoner; but upon his converſion he is ſet at liberty. His life and death. Amon his ſon ſucceeds him, but is ſoon after cut off; and his ſon Joſiah came next to the throne.

* Scrip. Hephzibah.

Manaſſeh ſucceeds his father Hezekiah, 2 Kings xxi. 1.

An idolatrous and an impious prince, Ver. 2--9.

His inhuman cruelty toward the prophets, Ver. 16.

Prophet ſent after prophet to admoniſh, but all in vain, Ver. 10--15.

Judea over-run by the kings of Babylon and Chaldea, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

Manaſſeh carried away priſoner to Babylon, ibid.

Upon his repentance and humiliation he is ſet at liberty, and reſtor'd, Ver. 12, 13.

At his return to Jeruſalem he does what he can to atone for what was paſt, Ver. 14--16.

He purges the city, and reconſecrates the temple, ib.

He erects an altar, and offers daily ſacrifices upon it, ibid.

The death of Manaſſeh, Ver. 20.

His ſon Amon ſucceeds him, ibid.

A libertine prince, V. 22.

and cut off in the ſecond year of his reign, Ver. 24.

Joſiah ſucceeds him, Ver. 25.

MANASSEH, the ſon of Hezekiah by * Achiba, a native of Jeruſalem, ſucceeded his father in the government, but led a life directly contrary to the practices of his predeceſſor. He left no impiety unattempted, but made choice of all ſorts of abominations that had brought ſo many heavy judgments upon the Iſraelites, for his imitation and example. He was ſo daring a libertine, as to prophane the holy temple itſelf, and conſequently the whole city, and every corner of his dominions, with the tincture of the ſame iniquity and pollution. He began his reign with the contempt of God, and ſo proceeded to a barbarous and bloody perſecution of holy and good men, dipping his hands in the blood of the very prophets themſelves; inſomuch, that hardly a day paſs'd without putting ſome or other of them to death, ſo that the very ſtreets of Jeruſalem ran blood. The cry of theſe impious inhuman outrages called ſo loud to heaven for vengeance, that God was highly incenſed at this audacious courſe of wickedneſs, and ſent ſundry prophets, one after another, both to the king and to the people, with cautions to them to repent in time of their neglect of God's worſhip, and to return to their duty, upon the peril of ſuffering the ſame calamities for the ſame ſins that their brethren the Iſraelites had ſuffer'd before them; but theſe were diſcourſes that they gave no credit too, till in the concluſion they found the menaces follow'd with effects, when it was too late to ſtruggle with thoſe miſeries, which by a ſeaſonable belief and conſideration, might have been eaſily prevented. But upon their perſiſting in this train and habit of wickedneſs, God ſtirr'd up the king of Babylon and Chaldea, to make war upon them; who ſent an army into Judea, that over-ran and deſtroy'd the whole country; ſurpriz'd Manaſſeh, and carried him away in the quality of a priſoner, every hour at mercy. This miſerable prince came now by dear experience to be ſenſible of his fault; and upon that reflection earneſtly beſought God, only ſo far to ſoften the hearts of his enemies, as might move them to treat him with ſome ſort of tenderneſs and humanity. God was not inexorable, but in pity gave ear to his ſupplication; ſo that the king of Babylon, after ſome time, gave Manaſſeh his liberty, and reſtor'd him to his former government. Upon his arrival at Jeruſalem, by the leave and clemency of the conqueror, he did all the good that was poſſible, to atone for his former miſcarriages, even to the utter effacing of them, being now quite another man in his inclination and manners, and wholly intent upon the advancement of religion; for he purged the city, and conſecrated the temple afreſh, making it his whole buſineſs to expreſs his gratitude and reverence toward God, and to preſerve himſelf in the bleſſing of his favour all the days of his life. He took care alſo, both by his example and his authority, to inſtruct the people in their duties, being conſcious to himſelf, that his former male adminiſtration contributed not a little to the miſfortunes of the publick. He cauſed an altar to be erected after the preſcription and appointment of Moſes, and offered daily ſacrifices upon it. And when he had reſtor'd religion, and the diſcipline of it, to its original ſtate and purity, he made it his buſineſs to fortify Jeruſalem; repairing the old walls, and encompaſſing them with new ones. He built ſeveral high and ſtrong towers, and furniſhed all the out-works with proviſions of all ſorts. He was, in fine, ſo much alter'd for the better, that from the inſtant of his return to God, to the day of his death, he was look'd upon to be one of the happieſt of princes. He died at ſixty ſeven years of age, in the five and fiftieth of his reign, and was buried in his own gardens. His ſon Amon, which he had by Emalſema of the city of Jabat, ſucceeded him in the government. This prince following the looſe example of his father's youth, and indulging himſelf in the ſame wicked liberties, was quickly call'd to an account for his miſcarriages, by ſome of his familiar friends and domeſticks, who cut him off in the four and twentieth year of his life, and the ſecond of his reign. The people brought the murderers to condign puniſhment, and laid his body in the monument of his father, delivering up the government to his ſon Joſiah, who was at that time a youth of but eight years of age.

CHAP. V.

Joſiah's zeal for the extirpation of idolatry, and the eſtabliſhment of God's worſhip, after the example of king David.

Joſiah king of Judah propoſeth David for his example, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 2, 3.

His zeal for God's worſhip, Ver. 4--7.

THE mother of Joſiah was born in Boſcath, her name Jedida, and himſelf of a gracious and an excellent diſpoſition, propoſing the example of David for the rule and model of his whole life. In the twelfth year of his age, he gave an eminent inſtance of an innate piety and juſtice, in the reformation of the people from their erroneous perſuaſions concerning falſe Gods, and in the gaining of them over to reverence for the religion of their country. He repealed ſeveral of the ordinances of his foreſathers; corrected whatever he found amiſs, and applied as proper remedies, where the caſe required any ſuch expedient, as the moſt mature and conſummated wiſdom and experience could have ſupplied. Where he found matters well, he kept them ſo, and lived in a conformity to what he approv'd; and all this he did, partly out of an inbred faculty of choice and judgment, and partly upon the admonition and advice of his council; for ſo long as he kept to the line of the law in the government of the commonwealth, and in the matter of divine worſhip, he was ſure to be right, having ſo many examples before his eyes, among his apoſtate predeceſſors that had been cut off and deſtroy'd, only for breaking thoſe meaſures; wherefore he cauſed all the groves to be cut down that were dedicated to falſe gods; their altars to be demoliſhed, and all the donatives that had been conſecrated by their anceſtors to the honour of a falſe worſhip, to be taken away, and treated with deriſion; and this to be done, both in the city, and all over his dominions; by which means the people were drawn from the vanity of their ſuperſtitions, to a reverence for an exerciſe of the true religion, and to the uſe and cuſtom of burnt-offerings, and other ſacrifices upon the altar. He appointed alſo certain magiſtrates and commiſſioners, for the regulation of manners, and the ordering of matters in private caſes, that no leſs care might be taken for the diſtributing of particular juſtice, than for the government of life itſelf. He likewiſe diſpatch'd meſſengers throughout all his dominions, with orders to receive contributions of gold and ſilver toward the reparation of the temple, from thoſe that were willing to advance the affair; but leaving all people at liberty, that they might have no cauſe of complaint. The money being collected and brought in, the care of the management and expence was committed to Amaſiah, the governor of the city; Shaphan, the ſcribe; Joath, the recorder; and Helkiah, the high-prieſt; with orders immediately to enter upon the work, and to provide artificers, and all materials neceſſary for the reparation. And by this means was the temple repaired, and a laſting monument erected to poſterity, of the king's piety and bounty.

Magiſtrates appointed for the regulation of manners and civil juſtice.

Voluntary contributions toward the repairing of the temple, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8.

Joſiah orders the diſpoſing of the collections, V. 9--13.

Josiah, in the eighteenth year of his reign, order'd Hilkiah the prieſt to have the ſurpluſage of the gold and ſilver that remain'd over and above the charge of the fabrick, to be caſt into cups, chalices, goblets, and other veſſels, for the uſe and ſervice of the temple; giving order likewiſe, that all the gold and ſilver remaining ſtill in the treaſury, ſhould be brought out, and applied to the ſame purpoſes. But the high-prieſt upon removing the gold, happen'd to diſcover the ſacred books of Moſes, as they were depoſited in the temple, which he took out and gave to Shaphan to peruſe; who, upon reading them over, went to the king, and told him, they had executed all his commands; but withal, that they had juſt now found the books of Moſes, which he read over to Joſiah. Upon the reading of theſe books, the king rent his garment, and calling ſome of his particular friends about him, with the ſcribe himſelf, and Hilkiah the high-prieſt, he ſent them to the propheteſs Huldah, the wife of Shallum, a man of great eminence and fame, to deſire her interceſſion to God on their behalf, to implore his mercy for him and his people; for it was much to be fear'd that ſome heavy judgment would befal that people for their anceſtors neglect and contempt of the laws of Moſes, and leſt they ſhould be forced away from their native ſoil, to live like vagabonds, diſperſed over the face of the earth, and end their days in miſery, without obtaining ſuch a reconciliation to God. The propheteſs upon the hearing of the king's orders and inſtructions, bad them return him this anſwer: “That the ſentence was already pronounc'd, and not to be recall'd, upon any ſupplication or interceſſion whatſoever; that the people were to be baniſhed their own country, and puniſh'd for their diſobedience, with the loſs of all the comforts of human life; and that this judgment was irrevocable, for their obſtinacy in their ſuperſtitious impieties, notwithſtanding ſo many earneſt exhortations to a timely repentance, and the prophets menacing predictions of all theſe judgments to come upon them, if they went on in their wickedneſs.” Now this unchangeable decree is to convince them by the event, that there is a juſt and an over-ruling God; and that the predictions which he deliver'd by the mouth of his prophets, are infallibly true, and the certain indications of his holy pleaſure to mankind. “But, however, tell the king, ſays the propheteſs, that out of a tenderneſs to his piety and goodneſs, God would be yet ſo gracious as not to bring this judgment upon the people in his days; but that the days of his death ſhall be the eve to their final deſtruction.”

and the providing of holy veſſels.

The books of Moſes found in the temple, Ver. 14.

and read over to the king, Ver. 18.

Joſiah ſends to conſult the propheteſs Huldah, V. 22.

Huldah foretels the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, Ver. 23--25.

Josiah, upon the report of this anſwer from Huldah, ſent meſſengers up and down to all the cities; commanding all the prieſts and Levites, and men of all ages and conditions, to come up to Jeruſalem; and the firſt thing he did upon the meeting, was to read the holy books of Moſes to them; after which, advancing himſelf upon a place higher than the reſt, in the middle of the throng, he gave them an oath of obedience to the laws and precepts of Moſes, and the obſervance of God's holy worſhip; which was taken by the whole multitude, and not without great alacrity, and an univerſal conſent. This ſacred oath was followed with ſacrifices and prayers to God, for the grace of his favour and bleſſing. In the next place he laid a ſtrict charge upon the high-prieſt to take a particular account of the plate and veſſels in the temple, and to caſt out ſo many of them as he ſhould find to have been dedicated by any of his anceſtors, to the worſhip of idols. There were a great many pieces of that kind, that were all reduced to duſt, and the powder thrown into the air; all the prieſts being likewiſe put to death that were not of the ſtock of Aaron.

Joſiah calls a ſolemn aſſembly, and cauſes the law of Moſes to be read, 2 Kings xxiii. 1, 2.

He renews the covenant with God, Ver. 3.

Upon the perfecting of this reformation in Jeruſalem, the king took a progreſs through his whole dominion, where he deſtroy'd all the relicts of Jeroboam's ſuperſtition and idolatry, and burnt the bones of the falſe prophets upon the very altar that Jeroboam had ſet up, which we have ſaid ſomething of already, and of the prophet's intervening with a prediction, in the hearing of all the people, at the very time when Jeroboam was offering ſacrifice, that one of the race of David, Joſiah by name, was to do this, whoſe prediction had been made good by the event, three hundred ſixty one years after the thing was foretold.

Joſiah's care and zeal for a thorough reformation, Ver. 4--20.

1 Kings xiii. 2.

And Joſiah's zeal did not reſt here neither; for he ſent and went himſelf to ſeveral other Iſraelites that had made ſhift to eſcape the ſervitude and bondage of the Aſſyrians, to perſuade them at laſt to forſake the ſuperſtitious vanities of foreign religions, and to cleave wholly to the worſhip of the great God of their fathers, according to the rites and cuſtoms of their country, and him only to ſerve. And the king reſted not here neither; but he cauſed a ſtrict ſearch to be made in all towns and villages for the diſcovery of any remainders of idolatrous practices, that might lie conceal'd, even to the very figures of the horſes over the porch of the temple, that their foreſathers had dedicated to the ſun; and ſo for what other monuments ſoever, to which the ignorance of the common people had ever aſcribed divine honour, Joſiah cauſed them all to be taken away and deſtroy'd.

The celebration of the paſſover at Jeruſalem. 2 Chron. xxxv. 1--19.

After the purging of the whole nation in this manner, he conven'd all the people together to Jeruſalem, to celebrate the feaſt of unleavened bread, otherwiſe call'd the Paſſover, and gave the multitude out of his own ſtore, thirty thouſand young kids and lambs, and three thouſand oxen. The heads of the prieſts contributed likewiſe to the prieſts upon the ſame occaſion, two thouſand ſix hundred lambs: And ſo the chief of the Levites gave to their tribe five thouſand lambs, and five hundred bullocks: And this prodigious number of victims was offer'd up in ſacrifice according to the laws of Moſes. The prieſts had the conduct of the ſolemnity; and the precedency in their example to the people. Now from the time of Samuel the prophet, to that day, there had never been ſo ſolemn a feſtival; and the reaſon of it was this, that every thing was done according to the direction of the law, and the preſcriptions of ancient cuſtom. Joſiah, after this bleſſed regulation, enjoy'd his government in peace, honour, and plenty: And we are now about to give the reader an account how he came to his end.

CHAP. VI.

Joſiah oppoſes Pharaoh-Nechoh. An Egyptian kills him with an Arrow. His wicked ſon Jehoahaz comes after him; who is carry'd away priſoner into Egypt, where he dies: And Pharaoh ſets up Eliakim in his place, by the name of Jehoiakim.

Joſiah oppoſes Pharaoh Nechoh in his march againſt the Medes and Babylonians. Ver. 20--24.

Pharaoh-Nechoh, king of Egypt, marched with a powerful army toward Euphrates, againſt the Medes and Babylonians, who had ſubverted the Aſſyrian empire, with a deſign to make himſelf maſter of Aſia. When he had advanced as far as Mendes*, a town under the juriſdiction of Joſiah, Joſiah abſolutely refuſed him any paſſage againſt the Medes through his country. Pharaoh upon this, ſent a Herald, to give Joſiah to underſtand, that he had no thought of any hoſtility toward him; nor any deſign, but to make an haſty march of it toward Euphrates; deſiring him withal, not to put him upon any neceſſity of making his way by force, which was a thing much beſide his intention. This meſſage of the Egyptian had ſo little effect upon Joſiah, that he perſiſted in the denial of his paſſage; which look'd as if he had been driven upon this invincible obſtinacy by the impulſe of a fatality that improv'd this denial to his ruin. For as he was in the head of his army, and riding up and down to give orders from one wing to another, an Egyptian, with an arrow, quickly put an end to the eagerneſs he had for that war; for finding himſelf to be ſhot, and impatient of the pain, he commanded his army to retire; himſelf returning to Jeruſalem, where he dy'd of the wound. He was bury'd with a magnificent ſolemnity, in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors, at nine and thirty years of age, and in the one and thirtieth year of his reign; the people mourning for him ſeveral days, with great anxiety of ſorrow and lamentation. The prophet Jeremiah wrote a paſſionate elegy upon this occaſion, which is yet extant at this day; the prophet plainly foretelling the approach of the Babylonian captivity, and the calamities alſo of our times; committing his predictions to writing for the information of poſterity. And Jeremiah was not the only prophet neither, that foretold the miſeries of this terrible revolution; but Ezekiel alſo left behind him in writing two books of prophetical preſages upon this ſubject. Theſe two prophets were both of the ſacerdotal race: Jeremiah living at Jeruſalem from the thirteenth year of the reign of Joſiah, to the time of the deſtruction of the temple and City: of which we ſhall ſpeak farther in its proper place.

The death of Joſiah. ibid.

The prophet Jeremiah writes an elegy upon Joſiah, and foretells the Babylonian captivity, Ver. 25.

The prophet Ezekiel writes of it alſo.

The time wherein Jeremiah liv'd.

Jehoahaz ſucceeds to the kingdom of Judah after his father Joſiah, 2 Kings xxiii. 31.

After the death of Joſiah (as is ſaid already) his ſon Jehoahaz took the government upon him in the three and twentieth year of his age, and kept his court at Jeruſalem. He was a man of an impious and immoral converſation, and his mother's name was Hamutal. The King of Egypt, upon his return from the war, ſent for Jehoahaz to come to him to Hamath, a city of Syria, where he put him in fetters, and deliver'd up the government to Eliakim, his elder brother, by the ſame father: but changing his name for Jehoiakim, and impoſing a tax upon the country, of a † hundred talents of ſilver, and ** one talent of gold; by which means Jehoiakim became his tributary. As for Jehoahaz, he carry'd him along with him into Egypt, where he ended this life, after he had reign'd three months and ten days. Jehoiakim's mother's name was Abuma †† of Raman. This prince had the character alſo of a ſpiteful, ill-natur'd man, without either reverence for God, or tenderneſs for man.

Pharaoh depoſes him, and ſets up his brother Eliakim, under the name of Jehoiakim, Ver. 34.

He takes Jehoahaz away into Egypt, where he dies, ibid.

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* Scrip. Megiddo.

† An hundred talents weighed eleven thouſand, four hundred and ſix pounds, three ounces; and their value in ſilver amounted to thirty four thouſand, two hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen ſhillings.

** A talent weighed a hundred and fourteen pounds, fifteen penny weights; and its value in gold was five thouſand, four hundred, ſeventy five pounds in Engliſh money.

†† Scrip. Zebudah.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Nebuchadnezzar defeats Pharaoh, and makes Jehoiakim his tributary; who is foretold, by the prophet Jeremiah, the miſeries that are to befal him.

*IN the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign, † Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon advanced with a mighty army to Carchabeſa, a city ſituate upon the Euphrates; with a reſolution to make war upon Pharaoh ‖ Nechoh, who at that time had all Syria under his command. Now the Egyptian very well underſtanding that the Babylonian was no contemptible enemy, took the field with a ſtrong and a numerous army, and ſo march'd to the Euphrates, with a reſolution to oppoſe him: where the two armies engaging, the Egyptian was forc'd to retire with the loſs of many thouſands of his men. But the Babylonians getting over the Euphrates, ſubdu'd the whole country of Syria as far as Peluſium, Judea only excepted. In the fourth year afterward of Nebuchadnezzar, and the eighth of Jehoiakim, the Babylonians broke in furiouſly upon Judea, threatning them with all extremities, unleſs they would content themſelves with the condition of tributaries, as the reſt of the inhabitants of Syria were. Upon this menace, Jehoiakim's heart fail'd him, ſo that he ſubmitted to purchaſe his peace with a ſum of money; and for the ſpace of full three years, he made due payment of his contribution: but the year following, upon the credit of an idle rumour, that the Egyptian was advancing an expedition againſt the king of Babylon, Jehoiakim refuſed to pay him his tribute any longer; but quickly found himſelf miſerably diſappointed in his expectation, for the Egyptians durſt not look the Babylonians in the face: which was no more than the prophet Jeremiah had many a time foretold, and warn'd him of; and that he would find the Egyptians a broken reed to truſt to. He preſaged likewiſe the fate of Jeruſalem, and that it was ſuddenly to be deſtroy'd by the Babylonians, and Jehoiakim himſelf to be made a priſoner. But theſe were forewarnings which no body laid any ſtreſs upon, and ſo no body was the better for them: nay, on the contrary, from the higheſt to the loweſt, the generality of the people look'd upon them with contempt. Not but that there were ſome again that exhibited formal accuſations againſt him to the king, and would have had him puniſh'd as a mover of ſedition. The cauſe, in fine, was brought before the council; and the majority were for putting him to death; but the reaſon of things is not always determin'd by a plurality of voices: ſo that ſome that were better adviſ'd than others, were rather for diſcharging him the court, and diverting the blow; for Jeremiah, they ſaid, was not the only man that had foretold theſe calamities to the city, but Micah had propheſied to the ſame purpoſe before him; and ſo had ſeveral others, without being call'd to account for it by the government: nay, they were rather had in honour and eſteem for their predictions, as the prophets of the Lord. By this ſoft way of reaſoning upon the matter, the council was wrought upon to change their minds, and to make void the ſentence. The prophet put all his predictions in writing; and upon a day of faſting, when the people were met together in the temple, in the ninth month of the fifth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, he read the book to the congregation; wherein was contained the whole hiſtory of what was to befal the temple, the city and the people. The princes, upon the hearing of this book, took it away from the prophet, commanding both himſelf and his ſcribe Baruch, to be gone immediately, without letting any body know where to find them. They carry'd the book then to the king, who order'd his ſecretary to take and read it to him, with his friends about him. The king was ſo tranſported upon the hearing of it, that he tore the book, and threw it in the fire, and order'd Jeremiah and Baruch to be immediately brought to him, and puniſh'd for it: but they were already withdrawn out of the way.

Nebuchadnezzar gives Pharaoh a great overthrow, 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

He breaks into Judea, and makes Jehoiakim ſubmit to become a tributary V. 1, 2.

Jehoiakim ſtops his tribute, and revolts, ibid.

The prophet Jeremiah's predictions fulfill'd, Jer. xxiii V. 18, 19.

Jeremiah charg'd with ſedition.

A ſentence of death paſſed upon him, but recall'd.

Jeremiah writes down his prophecies, and reads them in the temple upon a publick faſt.

Jeremiah and Baruch order'd to be puniſh'd; but they ſlipt out of the way.

CHAP. VIII.

Jehoiakim receives Nebuchadnezzar into Jeruſalem. His perfidy and cruelty. He puts Jehoiakim, the father, to death; and Jehoiakin, the ſon, is made king of Judah in his ſtead.

IT was not long after this, that Jehoiakim being affrighted with ſo many diſmal predictions, receiv'd the king of Babylon with his army into the city; for as to his own part, he reckon'd himſelf ſecure, and ſo never troubled his head, either for keeping him out, or preparing for a war: but the Babylonian, upon his admittance into the city, broke his conditions, and put the flower of the youth of Jeruſalem, together with the king himſelf, to the ſword; commanding his body to be caſt into the fields without the walls of the city, and conſtituting his ſon Jehoiakin king, both of the city and country, in his father's ſtead. He carry'd away a matter of three thouſand men of note and quality, captives to Babylon; in which number was the prophet Ezekiel, being at that time a youth. This was the end of king Jehoiakin, who lived ſix and thirty years, and reigned eleven; and his ſon Jehoiakim ſucceeded him. His mother's name was Nehuſhta, of Jeruſalem; and the time of his reign was three months and ten days.

Jehoiakim receives Nebuchadnezzar into Jeruſalem, 2 Chron. xxxvi. Ver. 6.

The Babylonian puts the king himſelf to the ſword, with the chief of the city, Ezekiel is carry'd away priſoner to Babylon, together with 3000 men of quality.

Jehoiakin the ſon of Jehoiakim ſucceeds his father, Ver. 8.

CHAP. IX.

Nebuchadnezzar, contrary to faith, makes Jehoiakin, his mother, and the moſt eminent of his friends, all priſoners.

IT was not long before the king of Babylon, upon ſecond thoughts, came to repent the ſetting of Jehoiakin upon the throne; for, thought he, this young man will never forget or forgive ſo perfidious a practice upon the life of his father, and conſequently will be ready to take all opportunities of ſtirring up the people to a rebellion, in order to gratify his revenge. Upon this conſideration he ſent away an army to beſiege Jeruſalem. Now Jehoiakin, being a juſt and an eaſy prince, cou'd not endure to ſee the city run the riſque of being utterly deſtroy'd for his ſake; and therefore upon a treaty with the king's deputies, for the delivering up of the city, upon condition that neither the town itſelf, nor the inhabitants ſhould ſuffer any ſort of damage, the agreement was ratify'd, and his mother and kindred deliver'd up as hoſtages to the king's commiſſioners, for the performance of articles: but before the expiration of the year, the king of Babylon breaking his faith with them, commanded his officers to ſecure all the youth of the city, and all ſorts of artificers, and to bring them to him bound and fetter'd; which they did, to the number of ten thouſand eight hundred thirty two perſons, wherein was Jehoiakin himſelf, his mother and his kindred; who by the king's command were all kept in cuſtody.

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* Voſſius, in his ſecond Exercit. de LXX Annis Captivitatis, tells us that Joſephus, in what follows to the end of this book, is to be read with great caution. See Grotius upon the fifth of Daniel, to this purpoſe.

† Nebuchodonoſor. ‡ Nechaoh, Joſ.

Nebuchadnezzar ſends an army to beſiege Jeruſalem, 2 Kings xxiv. 10, 11.

Jehoiakin renders the place upon agreement, and gives hoſtages for the performance of conditions.

The king breaks his faith, and makes Jehoiakin a priſoner, with ten thouſand, eight hundred, and thirty two other perſons, Ver. 12–16.

CHAP. X.

Jehoiakin made a priſoner. Nebuchadnezzar ſets up Zedekiah in his place, upon condition, not to ſide with the king of Egypt. Zedekiah falſifies, and Nebuchadnezzar beſieges Jeruſalem. The King of Egypt marches to his relief. Nebuchadnezzar riſes; gives him battle; routs him, and then returns to the ſiege. Zedekiah's obſtinacy againſt all the counſels and predictions of Jeremiah.

Jehoiakin being now a priſoner, the king of Babylon advanced Zedekiah, his father's brother, to the government in his place; obliging him by an oath, neither to attempt any innovations in that country, nor directly or indirectly to join with, or aſſiſt the Egyptians. He was one and twenty years of age when he enter'd upon the command; and he and Jehoiakin were brothers by the mother's ſide. He had little or no regard, either for honour, or for virtue; and his companions were altogether as impious and extravagant as himſelf: beſide that this looſeneſs of manners in his days, was become popular; and the corruption epidemical: inſomuch that the prophet Jeremiah was often exhorting him with earneſt entreaties to change his courſe of life, and to betake himſelf to the love and exerciſe of piety and juſtice, without laying ſo much ſtreſs upon what his courtiers, or his falſe prophets told him; a lewd ſort of people, that abus'd him in their promiſes and predictions, when they told him the Babylonians ſhould never beſiege Jeruſalem again; and that whenever they encounter'd, the Egyptians ſhould have the better of them: For this was all falſe he told him, as would appear by the event. Zedekiah could not for the preſent but acknowledge this diſcourſe of the prophet to be reaſonable and true, and that it was for his intereſt ſo to believe it; but when he came afterward to be manag'd by ill company and counſels, who could wind and turn him as they pleaſed, all that the prophet had ſaid before went for nothing.

Jehoiakin is laid aſide, and Zedekiah advanced to the government in his place, Ver. 17. Under an oath neither to innovate, nor to ſide with the Egyptians, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13.

Flatterers and falſe prophets were the ruin of Zedekiah, Ver. 14.

It was at the ſame time that Ezekiel, being then at Babylon, foretold the deſtruction of the temple, and ſent the prediction of it to Jeruſalem. Now the two prophets agreed exactly in the taking of the town by force, and in carrying away Zedekiah captive; but the thing, and the only thing that ſtagger'd Zedekiah in the belief of the prophecy, was this: Ezekiel foretold that Zedekiah ſhould not ſee Babylon; and Jeremiah affirmed that the king himſelf ſhould carry him priſoner thither. This ſeeming inconſiſtency, or at leaſt diverſity of expreſſion, gave Zedekiah ſome ſort of colour to doubt the truth of all the other circumſtances wherein they agreed, though the following events made good every thing that had been foretold, as we ſhall ſhew more properly in another place.

Ezekiel agrees with Jeremiah in predicting the downfal of Jeruſalem, and making Zedekiah a priſoner.

A ſeeming contradiction betwixt the two prophets reconcil'd.

After an alliance of eight years ſtanding betwixt the two kings, Zedekiah ſhamefully broke his contract, and went over to the intereſt of the Egyptians; making no doubt at all, but their two powers in conjunction, might be able to cruſh the king of Babylon: but the Babylonian, upon the firſt notice of this treachery, marched his army directly toward Zedekiah; laid his country deſolate, forced his caſtles and ſtrong holds; and ſo advanced ſtrait forward to the attack, even of Jeruſalem itſelf. The Egyptian being given to underſtand with what ſtraits and difficulties his friend and ally Zedekiah was ſurrounded, advanced preſently to his relief, with a reſolution to attempt the raiſing of the ſiege. Now the Babylonian, upon intelligence of his march and deſign, did not think fit to wait his coming, but choſe rather to intermit the proſecution of the ſiege for ſome time, to draw off his army, and give him battle: which he did, and ſo terrible a rout withal, that he beat him quite out of Syria at that one blow. The ſiege being quitted, or rather reſpited upon this occaſion, the falſe prophets ſuggeſted a thouſand deluſions to Zedekiah; as, how fooliſh a thing it was for him, or his ſubjects, to apprehend any danger from the Babylonians, or to fancy any ſuch thing as the Babylonians forcing and tranſporting the Hebrews from their native habitations, and carrying them away captive to Babylon; whereas it was rather to be expected, on the other hand, that their priſoners that were already exported, ſhould be call'd back again; and all the plate and treaſure that the king had carried away, reſtored to the temple. But Jeremiah, on the contrary, told the king quite another ſtory, in a flat contradiction to that of the falſe prophets; poſitively charging them with impoſture and deluſion, and affirming that there was no good to be expected from the Egyptians; but that they ſhould firſt be overcome, and the Babylonian army return back to beſiege Jeruſalem; and that as many of them as ſhould ſurvive the ſword and famine, ſhould be carried away captives, their houſes pillag'd, their goods taken away; the temple and city plunder'd, and laid at the mercy of fire and ſword, without any diſtinction of ſacred or prophane. “We are condemn'd, ſays the prophet, to ſerve theſe people and their poſterity for ſeventy years; and the Medes and Perſians, at the ſeventy years end, ſhall deliver us from that bondage, by the utter extinction of the Babylonian empire; after which time, being ſet at liberty by their aſ-

Zedekiah falſifies with the king of Babylon, Ver. 13.

Nebuchadnezzar lays ſiege to Jeruſalem, 2 Kings xxv. 1, 2.

Pharaoh attempts the raiſing of the ſiege, and receives a fatal overthrow, Jer. xxxvii. 7.

Zedekiah beſet with timeſervers and paraſites.

Jeremiah oppoſes the falſe prophets, and foretels the whole hiſtory of the captivity, Jer. xxv. and xxxvii.

“ ſiſtance, we ſhall return hither again, rebuild the temple, and reſtore the city to its former ſtate. Theſe words of the prophet gain'd credence with the major part of the people; but the leading men, and the licentious, atheiſtical part of the multitude, look'd upon all the prophet ſaid, but as the diſcourſe of a mad man, and treated him accordingly. As Jeremiah was going toward Anathoth, the place of his birth, and a matter of * twenty furlongs from Jeruſalem, he had the fortune to be met withal upon the way, by a certain magiſtrate, who apprehended him, and took him into cuſtody, upon a pretext, that he was a deſerter, and going over to the king of Babylon. The prophet denied the accuſation, and ſaid in his own defence, that he was only going to the place where he was born; but the other would not believe him, and ſo carried him away to the miniſters of ſtate and juſtice; where, after the formality of examination and torture, he was ſet aſide as a malefactor condemn'd to die; and in this condition of miſery, he continued for ſome time.

Some were moved with his diſcourſe, others take him for a mad man.

Jeremiah taken into cuſtody, and charg'd as a deſerter.

Examin'd, tormented, condemn'd, and committed to priſon.

Jeruſalem once again beſieg'd, 2 Kings xxv. Jer. xxxix. And holds out a long time againſt force, peſtilence, and famine, ib.

The prophet calls out to the people to open their gates to the Babylonians, Jer. xxviii. 2.

The great officers charge him as a mutineer, Ver. 4.

But in the ninth year of Zedekiah's reign, the tenth month, and the tenth day of that month, the king of Babylon came once again with his army to Jeruſalem; and laying ſiege to it, tried all the ways in the world, for a matter of eighteen months together, to maſter it, either by art, or by force; but it ſtill held out, not only againſt a powerful enemy before it, but a raging peſtilence and famine alſo in the bowels of it; Jeremiah being in priſon all this while, and crying out to the multitude to ſet open the gates, and receive the Babylonians into the city; for they had no other way in nature to ſave themſelves, their families, and the town, from a certain and an inevitable ruin; telling them withal, that thoſe who ſtaid in the city muſt expect to periſh, either by the ſword, or by famine; whereas thoſe who fled out to the enemy would ſave their lives; but the princes, in the depth of their extremity, were yet ſo far from giving ear to the prophet's preſage and advice, that they repreſented him to the king, as a violent hot-headed man, and a mutineer; a diſcourager of the people with his idle ſtories of miſery and deſolation; ſuggeſting that the garriſon was hearty and reſolute enough to defend the place to the laſt extremity, did not he with his ill-boding menaces of ſlavery and deſtruction, take off the edge of their zeal and courage. The king in his own nature was not apt to be fierce or bitter; but ſtanding upon that pinch of neceſſity, in ſome awe of the great people about him, he did not think it ſafe to diſoblige ſo many men of power and intereſt; and ſo rather than croſs them, he left them at liberty to do with the prophet as they thought fit. So ſoon as they had gain'd that point, they went in all haſte to the priſon; took out the prophet, and let him down by a rope into a naſty pit, where he was up to the neck in mud, with an intent to choak him. But as he was in this condition, a favourite ſervant of the king's, an Ethiopian born, went and told Zedekiah how they had treated the prophet; and giving his own opinion in the caſe, that his great men and favourites had not done well in the aggravation of his misfortune, by expoſing him to a death, ſo much more grievous than that which he was reaſonably to expect in his chains. Upon this diſcourſe of the ſervant, the king heartily repented his leaving the prophet to the diſcretion of his enemies, and ſo order'd the Ethiopian to take thirty men out of his family, ſuch as he could truſt, with ropes, and whatever he ſhould find neceſſary for the ſaving of him, and to join with them in the getting of him out of the pit with all poſſible expedition. The ſervant did as he was order'd, and ſet the prophet at liberty; who was ſoon after this brought privately to the king, and had this queſtion put to him, whether or no he could procure him from heaven any preſent relief under his miſerable circumſtances? The prophet anſwer'd him, that he could; but that people would neither believe him, nor follow his counſels. “ All your pretended friends, ſays he, are my mortal enemies: they look upon me as a falſe wretch, and are at this inſtant in a conſpiracy to deſtroy me; and where are thoſe impoſtors now, that fooled the people into a belief that they were out of danger of the Babylonians? ſo that to tell you the very truth of things, may be as much as my life is worth.” The king, upon this, promiſed the prophet with an oath, that he would neither take away his life himſelf, nor ſuffer any of his people to do it. Jeremiah took his word and honour for it, and adviſed him by all means to deliver up the city into the hands of the king of Babylon. This was the only way in the world, he told him, to be ſafe in his own perſon, to avoid the imminent danger he was in; to prevent the burning of the temple, and the laying of the city level with the ground; and if he purſued any other meaſures, he was to tell him, in the name, and by the direction of God himſelf, that all the calamities that ſhould enſue upon his miſcarriages, with the utter ruin of himſelf, his family, and his people, would be charged to his account. The king then told him, that he had a great inclination to take his counſel for the common good; but he was afraid leſt ſome of his friends that were already gone over to the Babylonians, ſhould accuſe him to the king, and put him in danger of his life. But for any thing of that, the prophet bad him ſet his heart at reſt; for if he deliver'd up the city, neither he himſelf in his perſon, nor his wives, his children, or the temple itſelf, ſhould ſuffer any thing. After theſe words the king diſmiſs'd the prophet, with a charge not to make any words; no, not ſo much as to the princes themſelves, of what had paſs'd in this conference; but if any body ſhould come to have a hint that there had been ſuch a meeting, and enquire into the buſineſs, it might be pretended that the prophet came to move the king for his liberty. The prophet did as he was order'd, and gave that anſwer to all people that ask'd him his buſineſs with Zedekiah.

The king in this diſtreſs bids them do what they will with him, Ver. 5.

Jeremiah upon this is let down into a pit up to the neck in mud, Ver. 6.

The king being told of it, orders him preſently to be taken out again, Ver. 7--13.

The king adviſes with Jeremiah what to do, Ver. 14.

The prophet adjures the king upon his uttermoſt peril to deliver up the city, Ver. 15--18.

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* Viz. About two miles and a half of Engliſh meaſure, or ſomething better.

CHAP. XI.

Jeruſalem taken. The temple, palace, and city pillag'd and burnt. Saraiah put to death. Zedekiah's eyes put out, and himſelf carried priſoner to Babylon. The ſucceſſion of high-prieſts. Gedaliah, Nebuchadnezzar's deputy-governor. The treachery of Iſhmael. The Egyptians overthrown, and carried captives to Babylon. The hiſtory of Daniel, Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego. Daniel highly preferr'd for expounding of dreams. The death of Nebuchadnezzar.

IN the mean time the king of Babylon went on vigorouſly with the ſiege; his works were finiſh'd, and his towers carried up ſo high, as to command the town, and to beat the defendants from the walls; and at this rate they were provided quite round the city for a general aſſau[illegible] and the defence of the place was carried [illegible] with as much bravery as the attack, having plague and famine to contend withal within the town, as well as enemies, and other difficulties without. They ſtood firm, in ſhort, againſt all ſtratagems and machines, oppoſing one inſtance to another, as if the diſpute had been matter of skill and art, as well as force; the beſiegers buſineſs being to take the city, and the ſafety of the beſieged conſiſting in eluding or diverting the plots and endeavours of the enemy. This conteſt laſted eighteen months; but in the end, for want of meat within the town, and of numbers of defendants to maintain it, againſt the numerous multitudes of beſiegers, accompanied with all manner of arms and warlike inſtruments, they were brought to the laſt inevitable neceſſity of delivering it up. It was taken in the eleventh year, and the ninth day of the fourth month of the reign of Zedekiah, by the commanders to whom the care of the ſiege was committed by Nebuchadnezzar, who at that time was at Reblatha. If the reader ſhould be curious to know the names of the officers, there was Nergelear, Aremantus, Emegar, Nabaſaris, and Echarampſaris. The city was taken about midnight. The captains, with the reſt of the ſoldiery, went into the temple; which king Zedekiah perceiving, he took his wives, children, commanders, and friends, and they all together fled away privately by a narrow paſſage toward the deſart. But the Babylonians getting intelligence of this eſcape, by the means of deſerters, they made after them early the next morning, and overtook and ſurrounded them at a place not far from Jericho. Zedekiah's friends and companions, in his flight, ſeeing the enemy advancing toward them, quitted their maſter, and ran ſeveral ways to make the beſt ſhift they could for themſelves; the king being in a manner quite abandon'd, with his wives and children, and a ſmall remainder of his company, fell into the hands of the enemy, who preſently carried them to the king. Nebuchadnezzar no ſooner laid his eyes upon him, but he call'd him all the faithleſs perfidious names that he could think of. "Did not you "promiſe me, ſays he, to manage the power "and authority that I put you in poſſeſſion of, "for my advantage and behoof; and am not "I well requited, do you think, for making "you a king in your brother Jehoiakim's "place, by your employing of the credit and "intereſt that I gave you to the ruin of your "patron and benefactor? But that God is "great and juſt; who, for the puniſhment of "your treachery and ingratitude, hath now "made you my priſoner." When the king had laid upon him this load of reproaches, he immediately cauſed his children and his friends to be put to death before his face, and in the ſight of the reſt of the captives; commanding Zedekiah's eyes to be put out, ſo ſoon as this execution was over, and ſo to be carried away in chains to Babylon. This way of proceeding has verified the two prophecies of * Jeremiah and Ezekiel; which Zedekiah made ſo little account of, by reaſon of ſome ſemblance of a contradiction betwixt them; the former foretelling, that he ſhould be taken captive, and carried to Babylon, ſpeak with the king himſelf, and ſee him face to face; but Ezekiel's prediction was, that he ſhould be carried away to Babylon, and ſhould not ſee him; which he could not do there, when he was brought blind thither.

Jeruſalem taken after eighteen months ſiege, 2 Kings xxv. 1—3.

The Babylonians enter'd the city about midnight, Ver. 4.

Zedekiah, with his wives, children, and commanders, ſlip away toward the deſart, ibid.

The Babylonians overtake them, and carry them to the king, Ver. 5, 6.

Nebuchadnezzar reproaches Zedekiah with his perfidy and ingratitude.

His children and friends ſlain before his face, V. 7.

* Compare Jer. xxxiv. 3 with Ezek. xii. 13.

Jeremiah and Ezekiel reconcil'd.

THIS may ſerve to convince, even the moſt ignorant, of the power and wiſdom of God, and of the conſtancy of his counſels, through all the various ways of his operations; and it may likewiſe ſhew us that God's foreknowledge of things is certain, and his providence regular, in the ordering of events; beſide, that it holds forth a moſt exemplary inſtance to us, of the danger of our giving way to the motions of incredulity and folly, that take from us the means of diſcerning the fatalities that threaten us.

THIS was the end of the race of David, after one and twenty kings in ſucceſſion, in the ſpace of five hundred and fifteen years, ſix months, and ten days, including the twenty years reign of Saul, who was of another tribe.

The race of David was now extinct.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR, after this great victory obtain'd, ſent Nebuzar-Adan, his commander in chief, to Jeruſalem, with orders to pillage the temple, and burn it; to do the like to the palace; and after the laying of the city all level with the ground, to carry away the people captive to Babylon. In the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, Nebuzar-Adan put his inſtructions in execution; taking away out of the temple all the veſſels of gold and ſilver, Solomon's great laver, with the brazen pillars, and their chapiters, with the golden tables and candleſticks; and after this general plunder, he firſt ſet the temple on fire; and after that, he laid the palace and the city in aſhes. This paſs'd on the firſt day of the fifth month; the eleventh of Zedekiah, and the eighteenth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. The temple was burnt four hundred and ſeventy years, ſix months, and ten days from the building of it; one thouſand and ſixty two years, ſix months, and ten days, from the Iſraelites coming out of the land of Egypt; one thouſand nine hundred fifty years, ſix months, and ten days from the deluge, and three thouſand five hundred and thirteen years, ſix months, and ten days from the creation of the world. As to the computation of years, in what compaſs of [illegible]me, what, and when every thing was do[illegible] we have already given an account of it in order.

Orders to rifle and burn the temple, palace, and city, and carry away the people captives to Babylon, V. 8—11.

The order executed, and the time when it was done.

Nebuzar-Adan's priſoners, Jer. lii. 24, 25.

UPON the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the tranſportation of the people, Nebuzar-Adan took the following perſons priſoners with him. There was the high-prieſt Seraiah, and after him Sepheniah, who was the next prieſt in dignity; three head-keepers of the temple; the firſt eunuch of the bed-chamber, with ſeven of the king's friends, beſide the king's ſecretary, and other men of note, to the number of ſixty; which were brought altogether to the king, who was then at Reblathis, a city of Syria. The king cauſed the heads of the high-prieſt, and the great men, to be ſtruck off in that city; but the multitude of the priſoners, together with Zedekiah himſelf, he order'd to be bound, and carried captive to Babylon, together with Jehozadack, the high-prieſt, to be taken and bound along with them; which Jehozadack was the ſon of Seraiah, who was put to death at Reblathis, as is ſaid already.

Some of them put to death, Ver. 27, 28. Others kept in chains.

HAVING now gone through the royal line, and the ſucceſſion of them from father to ſon, in order, it will be convenient to obſerve the ſame method with the high-prieſts, who from time to time, in a continued ſucceſſion under thoſe kings, exerciſed the ſacerdotal office. The firſt Pontifex after the building of Solomon's temple was Zadok. After him came his ſon Ahimaaz; and after Ahimaaz, Azariah; and ſo forward; Joram, * Iſus, Axioramus, Phideas, Sudeas, † Julus, Jotham, Urias, Nerias, Odeas, Saldumus, Elcias, Sareas, and Jehoſadoc, who was carried away to Babylon. All theſe handed down the pontificate in a continued ſucceſſion in their families from generation to generation.

The ſucceſſion of the high-prieſts in Jeruſalem.

Zedekiah dies in priſon at Babylon, Jer. lii. 11. The holy veſſels dedicated to idols. Jehozadack at liberty.

UPON the king's return to Babylon, Zedekiah was committed to priſon; and in the priſon he died, and had afterward the honour of a royal ſepulchre. The holy veſſels the king took out of the temple, he dedicated to his idols; allotted habitations to the people in Babylon, and ſet Jehozadack at liberty. Now Nebuzar-Adan, the general that brought away the people priſoners, left the poorer ſort of people, and the deſerters, under the command of Gedaliah, the ſon of Ahikam, an eminent perſon, both for generoſity and juſtice, who allotted his priſoners ſuch a proportion of ground to improve and live upon, paying ſuch a certain tribute to the king. The prophet Jeremiah was alſo diſcharg'd of his impriſonment; and the king having given order to the governor to take a particular care of him, Gedaliah mov'd it to the prophet to go along with him to Babylon; for it was but reaſon the king ſhould be at the charge of his journey; or if he did not like that place, let him pitch upon any other, and he would write to the king about it. The prophet's anſwer was, that he had no mind to remove at all, but rather ſtay where he was, and take his part in the miſerable ruins of his native country. Nebuzar-Adan being inform'd how the prophet ſtood affected, gave Gedaliah a ſtrict charge to ſee him well provided for; made him ſeveral conſiderable preſents himſelf, and ſo left him, and returned to Babylon. Jeremiah upon this made choice of Mizpah for the place of his abode, having firſt obtain'd of Nebuzar-Adan, Baruch's liberty, as well as his own, whom he to[illegible] for his companion. This Baruch was the ſon of Neriah, a perſon nobly born, and perfectly well ſkill'd in the language of his country.

Jeremiah diſcharg'd, and the care of him committed to Gedaliah, Jer. xl. 4, 5.

Jeremiah goes to Gedaliah at Mizpah, Ver. 6. and takes Baruch for his companion.

The ſcatter'd Jews throng thither to Gedaliah, V. 7, 8.

THE burning and the ſacking of Jeruſalem, and the return of the Babylonians into their own country, was by this time made known to all the deſerters that had left the city in the time of the ſiege; and ſo they gather'd together from all places in throngs to Gedaliah at Mizpah. The principal men among them were Johanan, the ſon of Careah; Jaazaniah and Saraiah, with ſome others; and beſide theſe there was Iſhmael, a perſon of royal blood; but otherwiſe falſe and malicious to the higheſt degree. This man, in the time of the ſiege, fled to Bathal, the king of the Ammonites, for ſanctuary, where he had continued ever ſince. Upon the application of theſe people to Gedaliah, he gave them an invitation to continue there, and to plant; for they might live quietly and at eaſe, without a[illegible]nger from the Babylonians; binding him[illegible] by an oath to ſtand by them and aſſiſt them, if any man ſhould offer to give them any moleſtation or trouble. Now, ſays he, do but you reſolve among yourſelves what town or place you would ſettle in, and you ſhall have ſome of my people along with you to aſſiſt you in preparing and fitting up habitations for you; only you muſt take care not to ſlip the ſeaſon of providing for the next vintage and harveſt, that you may not want corn, wine, or oil, next winter for your ſubſiſtence. When he had given them this encouragement and aſſurance, he left every man at liberty to diſpoſe of himſelf at his own diſcretion, and to chuſe for his reſidence what place he himſelf pleaſed.

Gedaliah invites them to continue there and plant, Ver. 9, 10.

They tell him of a plot upon his life, carried on by the king of the Ammonites, and Iſhmael to execute it, Jer. xl. 14.

Gedaliah is too generous to believe it, ibid.

THE report of Gedaliah's generous humanity and tenderneſs toward the fugitives who had applied themſelves to him for refuge, gain'd him ſo great a reputation with all the neighbouring nations, that they came trooping to him from all parts, and quickly made up a conſiderable plantation; for they had lands aſſign'd them in propriety, upon condition only of paying a certain acknowledgment to the king of Babylon. Johanan and the reſt of the great men had a very high eſteem for the courteſy of Gedaliah to the planters, and therefore advertiſed him in friendſhip and reſpect, that there was a conſpiracy carried on againſt him, betwixt the king of the Ammonites and Iſhmael; and that Iſhmael was to aſſaſſinate him with ſecrecy and treachery; and being a member of the royal family, that he intended to aſſume the government of the Iſraelites by that means. Now the ready way to ſecure Gedaliah againſt this practice, would be for them privately to diſpatch Iſhmael; which, with his leave, they would undertake to do; for they were afraid, if this miſchief was not timely prevented, it would prove the ruin of all the Iſraelites in the concluſion. Gedaliah told them, that he could not believe it poſſible for any man to be ſo barbarous and ungrateful, that lay under ſo many obligations to the contrary; neither could it enter into his head, that a man who was never known to do any ſuch thing under the provocation of his neceſſities, ſhould now be in a plot to deſtroy that perſon himſelf, whom by all the ties of honour and hoſpitality he was obliged to de-

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* Iſus and Axioramus are fictitious names, as biſhop Mountague has ſhewn in his Apparatus.

† The ſame learned prelate reads Joel and Oſeas for Odeas, and Sallum for Saldum. See Apparat. 6.

ſend

fend and preſerve, though with the hazard of his own life, if it ſhould have been attempted by any other man whatſoever. But to make ſhort, he told them however, that ſuppoſing the information to be true, he had much rather loſe his own life, than take away the life of any man that had committed himſelf to his truſt. Johanan, and his companions, finding that all they ſaid was to no purpoſe, upon this declaration of Gedaliah's, went their way.

Some thirty days after this diſcourſe, Iſhmael, with ten of his friends, gave a viſit to Gedaliah at Mizpah, where they were received and treated with all the freedom and reſpect imaginable. They drunk very plentifully, till Gedaliah and his companions were dull and heavy-headed; and the other party obſerving it, took the opportunity of falling upon them, and without any difficulty kill'd the maſter of the houſe, and all the reſt of his guards. It was now in the dead of the night; and all the people, as well ſoldiers as others, careleſly ſecure, and aſleep; ſo that they made the ſame havock in the ſtreets, and elſewhere, as they had done at Gedaliah's juſt before; deſtroying and murdering all they could find, whether Jews or Babylonians, without any diſtinction. The next day there came up to the city a company of about fourſcore men out of the country, with preſents for Gedaliah, knowing nothing as yet of the maſſacre of the laſt night. So ſoon as Iſhmael ſaw them, he call'd them in to Gedaliah; ſhut the doors upon them, and cut their throats in the palace, cauſing the bodies afterward to be thrown into a pit, where they might lie conceal'd. There was not a man of all that number that eſcaped, ſave only ſome few that promiſed to make diſcovery of goods, cloaths, and corn, that were concealed under ground, if they would but reprieve them till they made the diſcovery. Some of them were ſpar'd upon the hope of this diſcovery; but for the common people of Mizpah, the women, and the children, they were all carried away; and among the reſt, the daughters of Zedekiah, which Nebuzar-Adan had left, under the care of Gedaliah. Iſhmael went away preſently with the news of this exploit to the king of the Ammonites; but Johanan, with the reſt of the leading men, hearing of this bloody execution at Mizpah, and the death of Gedaliah, took it ſo heinouſly, that they drew every man his ſoldiers together, and join'd in the purſuit of Iſhmael, whom they overtook at the fountain of Hebron. The firſt ſight of the purſuers rejoic'd the hearts of the priſoners that Iſhmael was carrying away with him; for ſuſpecting them at firſt ſight to be, what they really were, friends come to their aſſiſtance, they went over immediately, one and all, to the party of Johanan; but Iſhmael, with only eight of his companions, fled to the king of the Ammonites. Johanan, in the mean time, with the people he had taken from Iſhmael, eunuchs, women, and children, marched to a place that is called Mandra, and there they ſtaid one day, bethinking themſelves of going into Egypt, leſt the Babylonians, in a rage for the murder of their governor, ſhould in revenge fall upon them; but, however, for their better ſecurity, they took up a reſolution to conſult Jeremiah what courſe to take. So they put the queſtion to him; promiſing with an oath to do whatever he ſhould adviſe them to. The prophet aſſured them he would do what he could for their ſatisfaction; and upon the tenth day after this, God appeared to him, and bad him go and tell Johanan, and the reſt of the commanders, "That if they continued where "they were, he would aſſiſt and ſecure them "againſt any harm from the Babylonians, "whom they were ſo much afraid of; but if "after this premonition, they ſhould rather go "into Egypt, let them look to themſelves, "and expect the ſame fate and judgment that "had befallen their brethren before them." This was the meſſage the prophet deliver'd them by God's expreſs direction, though they could hardly believe it to be the will of God, that they ſhould continue where they were; but took it rather for an invention of the prophet's, in favour of Baruch, his diſciple, and to expoſe them to the wrath of the Babylonians; ſo that Johanan and the reſt of the people, in contempt of God's word by his prophet, went away into Egypt, and carried Jeremiah and Baruch along with them. When they were come thither, it was revealed from heaven to the prophet, that the king of Babylon ſhould bring an army into Egypt; and he commanded Jeremiah to tell the people as much, and that Egypt ſhould be taken, where part of them ſhould be kill'd, and part carried away captives to Babylon, which came to paſs accordingly; for in the fifth year after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the three and twentieth of Nebuchadnezzar, he made an inroad into Cœle-Syria; and upon ſubduing it, carried the war forward to the Ammonites and Moabites; and when he had ſubjected them too, he made a furious incurſion into Egypt; kill'd the then reigning king, and ſet up another in his place; and the Jews whom he found there, were carried away a ſecond time priſoners to Babylon.

The treacherous murder of Gedaliah by Iſhmael, Jer. xli. 1, 2.

A bloody maſſacre, Ver. 3--7.

All the women and children of Mizpah carried away, and Zedekiah's daughters among the reſt, Ver. 10.

Johanan and his companions purſue Iſhmael, and overtake him, Ver. 11, 12.

Johanan reſcues the priſoners; but Iſhmael, and eight with him, fly to the king of the Ammonites, V. 13-15.

They conſult Jeremiah what to do, with an oath to follow his advice, Jer. xlii. 1--6.

The prophet charges them not to go into Egypt, Ver. 9, &c.

They go into Egypt, and take Jeremiah and Baruch along with them, Jer. xliii 1--6.

The prophet foretels them again, that Egypt ſhall be taken, and themſelves kill'd, or made priſoners, Ver. 10, &c.

This was the miſerable fate of the Hebrews, as we have the ſtory, who were twice carried away beyond the Euphrates; for the ten tribes were firſt tranſported by the Aſſyrians out of Samaria, in the reign of Hoſeah; and then the other two, by Nebuchadnezzar the king of the Chaldeans and the Babylonians, upon the taking of Jeruſalem. Now Salmanaſſer tranſplanted the Chuthites into the country of the Iſraelites, out of the heart of Media and Perſia; and they were called Samaritans from the name of the place into which they were tranſplanted; but they king of Babylon carried away the other two tribes, without introducing any other in their ſtead. And this was the reaſon that Judea, with Jeruſalem, and the temple, lay wholly abandon'd for the ſpace of ſeventy years. The time betwixt the captivity of the ten tribes, and the tranſmigration of the other two, was one hundred and thirty years, ſix months, and ten days.

The Chuthites call'd Samaritans, 2 Kings xvii. 24.

Nebuchadnezzar appointed a very ſtrict and ſelect choice to be made, out of the youths of the Jews, both for birth, vigour, and beauty, and ſeveral of them, the relations of king Zedekiah; he appointed alſo the beſt tutors that could be had, for their inſtitution, and divers of them to be caſtrated according to the practice of that country, being the handſomeſt boys of conquer'd nations. He ſent them their meat from his own table, and took great care to have them inſtructed in the Chal-

The hopefulleſt youths of the Jews train'd up for the ſervice of Nebuchadnezzar's court, Dan. i. 3--5.

The hiſtory of Belteſhazzar, Shadrach, Meſhech, and Abednego, Ver. 8—16.

Their temperance and moderation, ibid.

Their improvement in the Hebrew and Chaldean learning, Ver. 17.

dean, diſcipline and learning, wherein they advanced very much in a ſhort time. There were four of Zedekiah's relations in the number, whoſe names were Daniel, Ananias, Miſhael, and Azariah; but the Babylonians changed their names, and called Daniel, Belteſhazzar; Ananias, Shadrach; Miſhael, Meſhach; and Azariah, Abednego. The king had a wonderful tenderneſs for them all, both in regard of the ſweetneſs of their diſpoſition, and the extraordinary pregnancy of their underſtanding. Daniel look'd upon that voluptuous way of feeding to be too delicate for people in their condition, and therefore they went to Aſchanes, the eunuch, that had them in charge, and intreated him rather to make uſe of thoſe delicacies which the king ſent them from his own table, for the ſervice of himſelf, and his family; and if they had but pulſe, or dates, or any ordinary food that had no life in't, it would be to them full as ſatiſfactory; for thoſe delicacies, they ſaid, went againſt their ſtomachs. The eunuch told them that he would gratify them with all his heart; but if they ſhould grow lean, and thin, upon ſuch an abſtemious way of feeding, or look perhaps leſs aimable upon it, and appear in a leſs agreeable habit of health and colour, he was afraid the king might have ſome ſuſpicion of the matter, and take offence at it; which might be as much as his life was worth; eſpecially when the reſt of their companions, that fed better than they did, ſhould be obſerved to look better too. They found the eunuch not ſo obſtinate in oppoſing their requeſt as he might have been, and ſo preſs'd him to make the experiment, only for ten days; and after that time, if he found the change did not ſo well agree with them as their former allowance, and that they ſhould not keep their health, their colour, and the ſame habit of body, after that trial, that they had before, he might bring them back again to the king's way of entertainment. The eunuch was prevail'd upon to make trial of it, and when he found them ſo far from being the worſe for the alteration, that they grew more vigorous upon it, both in the diſpoſition of their bodies and minds, he made no longer a ſcruple of complying with their deſires, but gave them what they demanded, and kept the king's allowance to himſelf; which agreed ſo well with Daniel, and his friends, that, comparatively, they ſeem'd to be better provided for than the reſt, and all their faculties kept in better tone for either ſtudy or labour; being neither overcharg'd or ſurfeited with variety, nor render'd effeminate with the luxury of pleaſing the palate. By this temperate frugal way of menage and diſcipline, their ſpirits were kept clear and active, as appeared by their wonderful improvement in the Hebrew, as well as the Chaldean learning; but of Daniel eſpecially, who had gotten ſuch an inſight into their arts, that he took upon him the expounding of dreams, and had many times viſions of his own to work upon.

Nebuchadnezzar has a dream, and forgets it, Dan. ii. 1.

Some two years after the deſtruction of Egypt, Nebuchadnezzar had a wonderful viſion, and a revelation from God in his ſleep, of the meaning of it: but when he came afterwards to riſe from his bed, he had quite forgotten it. So he preſently ſent for his learned men, as Chaldeans, Magi, and Prophets, and told them that he had had a ſtrange dream, but it was now utterly out of his head, and therefore required them to tell him what it was, and what was the ſignification of it. They made him anſwer, that as to the firſt part of his propoſition, it was a thing not to be done; but if he would be pleas'd to tell them the dream, they would be anſwerable to give him the interpretation of it. The king in a rage commanded them without any more ado, to tell him his dream, or they ſhould die for't; but they could not undertake it, they ſaid, and ſo they were all order'd to be put to death. When Daniel came to underſtand that the wiſe men were all to be put to death, and to conſider, that he and his relations were alſo in danger upon the ſame account, he went to Arioch, the captain of the king's guards, to learn what the crime was they were condemned for: ſo the captain told him, that the king had a dream, which he himſelf had forgotten, and that they were to die, becauſe they could not tell him what it was. Daniel made anſwer, that if he could but get them a reprieve only for one night, he would not deſpair of giving him the ſatisfaction he requir'd; for he had ſome hope that God would that very night be prevail'd upon to enable him to do it. The captain gave the king an account of this diſcourſe and propoſal; and thereupon the execution was reſpited, only to try what good was to be done upon that experiment. Daniel, with his companions, went into his bedchamber, and ſpent that whole night in prayers to God, for the means of reſolving the queſtion, and for the delivering thoſe people from death, that were now fallen under the king's diſpleaſure, by laying before him the particulars of the laſt night's dream, which was now ſlipt out of his memory. God was pleaſed upon this interceſſion of Daniel, both in compaſſion to the miſerable, and out of tenderneſs for the prudence of Daniel's mediation, to make known, not only the dream itſelf, but the ſignification of it; to the end, that he might communicate the whole matter to the king. Daniel was ſo tranſported with this revelation, that he got up early in the morning, gave his brethren a word of comfort, being now brought to the laſt point of deſperation, and thinking of nothing but death, bad them cheer up, and hope the beſt, for that all things were now ſecure. When they had given God thanks, together for his fatherly care and piety over them, Daniel went to Arioch by break of day, to carry him to the king, with aſſurance that he ſhould now have all the particulars laid before him of his late dream.

He commands his wiſe men to tell him what the dream was, upon peril of their lives, Ver. 2—13.

They are all order'd to be put to death, ibid.

Daniel gets them a reprieve for one night, Ver. 14—16.

God reveals to Daniel the dream, and the ſignification of it, Ver. 19.

Upon Daniel's admittance to the king, he firſt told him, "That it was not any overweening opinion he had of his own wiſdom, as if he knew more than the Chaldeans and the Magi; or any deſign of a reproach upon them, for not being able to reſolve a queſtion which he could explain. It was not any thing of this, ſays he, that made me engage in this matter; for I am not a perſon to pretend to more ſkill and underſtanding than my neighbours: but it is purely the work of God in pity to the miſerable, and in mercy to my prayers, for the lives and ſafety of myſelf and my

“ friends, that hath revealed this dream to me, and laid open the meaning of it. I have not been ſo ſolicitous for the ſafety of myſelf, and my companions under your diſpleaſure, as for your honour and glory; in caſe of putting ſo many good and worthy men to death, contrary to right and juſtice, and only for not being able to do a thing which it is utterly impoſſible for fleſh and blood to do; or for any but a ſupernatural power to accompliſh.

Daniel tells the king his dream, Ver. 31--45.

“ You were bethinking yourſelf what would become of the empire of the world when you were gone, and who ſhould ſucceed to it. Now the dream you had was a kind of a reſolution upon that enquiry; for God ſhew'd you in your ſleep thoſe that were to rule after you. You dreamt you ſaw a large image, or ſtatue, ſtanding upright; the head was gold; the ſhoulders and arms ſilver; the belly and the thighs, braſs; the legs and the feet, iron. You ſaw then a [illegible] broken off from a mountain, that fell upon this image, overthrew it, and broke it ſo ſmall, that the duſt of the gold, ſilver, braſs, and iron, was as light as chaff, and carry'd away by a blaſt of wind to the furthermoſt parts of the earth; the ſtone growing ſo great all this while, that it lay like a mountain upon the face of the earth. This was your dream, and I come now to the interpretation of it. By the golden head is ſignify'd yourſelf, and other kings of Babylon before you: the two hands and ſhoulders portend that two kings ſhall deſtroy your empire; and afterward, their empire will be ſubverted by another king coming from the weſt in armour of braſs; and he is to be ſubdued afterward by another in iron; which, in the nature of it, is ſtronger than gold, ſilver, or braſs, and not to be reſiſted.” Daniel gave an interpretation alſo of the ſtone, which I ſhall paſs over in this place; for it is my buſineſs to write of things paſt, and not of things to come. But for the ſatisfaction of the inquiſitive into the dark events of things, I ſhall only recommend unto them the book of Daniel, as we have it in ſacred writ.

and the expoſition of it, ibid.

Nebuchadnezzar, in great admiration, acknowledg'd this to be his dream, and falling upon his face, ador'd Daniel like a God, and appointed divine honours to be done him: and this would not ſerve neither, without giving him the name of his God *, and ſo he made him ruler of the whole province, joining ſeveral of his kindred with him the ſame commiſſion. This promotion was follow'd with ſuch an envy upon Daniel and his relations, that it had like to have coſt them all their lives, by a diſguſt the king took upon this following occaſion.

The king adores Daniel for his wiſdom, and gives him the name of his god Belteſhazzar, Ver. 46. and iv. 8.

He ſets up a golden image. Dan. iii. 1.

Nebuchadnezzar the king made an image of gold, ſixty † cubits in height, and ſix ** in breadth, and placed it in the great plain of Babylon. He call'd together, upon the dedication of it, the princes, the great men and officers out of all his dominions; making proclamation, that immediately upon hearing the ſound of a trumpet, they ſhould all fall down and worſhip this image; and that whoever refuſed it, ſhould be caſt into the fiery furnace. Upon the ſounding of this trumpet, accordingly, all the people fell down and ſhipped, ſave only Daniel and his relations; who refuſing to do it, out of a reverence to the laws of their country, were inform'd againſt, and caſt into the fire; but by a merciful providence, and beyond all human imagination, their lives were preſerv'd, as if the flame itſelf had been conſcious of the injuſtice of the ſentence, and ſuſpended the very nature of its conſuming quality in favour of the innocent; for they were not ſo much as ſcorch'd with it; as if God, in his gracious providence, had made their bodies proof againſt the flames. But the thing that moſt recommended them to the king's tenderneſs and eſteem, was the miraculous proof of God's love and goodneſs to them in their juſtification; for upon this ground the king had a very great honour for them ever after.

All people to fall down and worſhip it, upon the ſound of the trumpet, or to be caſt into the fiery furnace, Ver. 2--6. Daniel and his companions refuſe, Ver. 12.

This providence gave the king a greater reverence for them, V. 30.

Not long after this Nebuchadnezzar had another dream, as ſurprizing as the former; which was, that “ Being driven away from his kingdom he lived ſeven years among the beaſts of the foreſt, and was afterwards reſtored to his former dignity and ſtate.” The king put the queſtion once again to the Magi upon this viſion alſo; but Daniel was the only perſon again to expound the meaning of it: and according to his prediction, it ſucceeded in the event; for “ after ſeven years of his life ſpent in an inſociable ſolitude, and no perſon all this time daring to make any attempt upon his government, God, by his prayers, was prevail'd upon to re-inſtate him in the exerciſe of his kingly power.” Let no body blame me for delivering the ſame reports in my writings, that I find in ancient hiſtory; for I have anticipated all thoſe cavils in the very beginning of this work, by making a publick profeſſion, to do the part only of a faithful tranſlator of the ſtory out of Hebrew into Greek, and to deliver every thing honeſtly as I find it, without making it more or leſs than in truth it is.

Nebuchadnezzar's ſecond viſion, Dan. iv. Ver. 10--17.

Daniel's interpretation of it, Ver. 19--27.

Nebuchadnezzar, in fine, was a prince very induſtrious, and much more fortunate than any of his anceſtors. He died in the three and fortieth year of his age. Beroſus, in the third book of his Chaldean hiſtory, makes mention of it in theſe words. †† “ Nebuchodonoſor the father, ſays he, underſtanding that a certain great officer of his, to whom he had committed the government of Egypt, Cœle-Syria, and Phœnicia, was fallen off from his allegiance, and not being in a condition of body himſelf to bear the fatigues of the war in his own perſon, he ſent his ſon Nebuchodonoſor, with part of his army, to reduce him to

Beroſus writes of this Nebuchadnezzar.

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* Viz. Belteſhazzar.

† Sixty cubits were upwards of a hundred and nine Engliſh feet, that is, ſomething more than thirty ſix yards and one foot.

** Six cubits were ſomething more than ten Engliſh feet, that is, three yards one foot.

†† In Joſephus he's called Ναβουχοδονόσορος; but Joſ. Scaliger (in his notes upon this fragment at the end of his book de Emendat. Temp.) ſhews from Ptolemy and Euſebius, that the name ſhould be Ναβοπολλάσαρος. See Vorſtius's Exercit. 2. de lxx. annis captivitatis, &c.

“ his obedience. He found him out; fought, and overcame him, and ſo reduced the revolted provinces to their duty. The father in the mean time was taken away by a ſickneſs at Babylon, in the * one and twentieth year of his reign. The young prince was no ſooner informed of the death of his father, but he took immediate care for the ſettling of his affairs in Egypt, and the reſt of the provinces; recommending to ſome particular friends the charge of conveying his priſoners, Jews, Syrians, Phenicians, and Egyptians, to Babylon, with the army and baggage; while he himſelf, with a ſmall retinue, took his way thither over the deſart. The government was reſerv'd for him in the mean while, by the Chaldeans; and by the great men among them, in his abſence, ſecured till his return. So that when he came to enter upon the adminiſtration, he was eſtabliſhed in the full poſſeſſion of his paternal empire. The firſt thing he did was to make a commodious diſtribution of his captives into colonies; and after that, to adorn and illuſtrate the temple of Belus, and other religious places, with ſpoils of war. He repaired and enlarged the ancient edifices of the city, and raiſed works upon the banks of the river, to prevent all approaches that way. He erected three walls or retrenchments, within the bounds of the city, and as many without, all brick work; and when he had fortified the town after this remarkable manner, he beautified the gates with a curioſity of frontiſpiece, like the finiſhing of the temple work; and advanc'd another palace contiguous to that of his father's, with all poſſible art and magnificence; but the particulars are too many, and would be too long to be deſcribed in this place. There is only one thing that I cannot but take notice of; which is, that this ſpacious and ſtately fabrick was finiſhed in fifteen days. † In this building there were vaſt ſtones ſupported upon arches, that look'd like mountains hanging in the air; and they were planted on the top, with ſeveral ſorts of trees, in a compliment to the queen, who being a Median, had a paſſionate deſire to ſee ſome artificial reſemblance of the gardens and rarities of her own country.”

Megaſthenes.

Megaſthenes, in the fourth volume of his hiſtory of India, ſpeaks of theſe garden works, and ſets forth this king, both for his enterprize, and for his performances, to have been much ſuperior to Hercules himſelf, having ſubdued the ‡ greateſt part of Libya, and likewiſe Iberia.

Diocles and Philoſtratus.

Diocles makes mention of this king in the ſecond book of his Perſian hiſtory; and ſo Philoſtratus, in the account he gives of the Phenicians and the Indians; telling how this prince, in the days of Ithobal king of Tyre, maintain'd a ſiege of thirteen years againſt that town. And this is all the account I can find among the hiſtorians concerning him.

CHAP. XII.

Evil-Merodach ſucceeds Nebuchadnezzar, and diſcharges Jehoiakin. The royal line of Babylon down to Belſhazzar. Cyrus and Darius beſiege him in Babylon. Daniel expounds a viſion to him. Babylon taken, and Belſhazzar in it. Darius makes Daniel his particular favourite. Daniel's wonderful deliverances, viſions, and predictions.

Evil-Merodach ſucceeds Nebuchadnezzar.
Jehoiakin ſet at liberty, and preferr'd, Jer. lii. 31.

AFTER the death of Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach his ſon ſucceeds him, who ſet Jeconiah, or Jehoiakin, at liberty; honour'd him with many preſents, took him into a particular truſt and confidence, and made him the chief governor of his palace at Babylon. His father indeed had broken his faith ſhamefully with this Jeconiah, in making him a priſoner after he had ſo frankly deliver'd up himſelf, his wife, children, and all his relations upon honour only, for the ſaving of his country from utter ruin, as is ſaid alre[illegible]

Evil-Merodach dies, and his ſon Nigliſar ſucceeds him.
The kingdom goes from him to Laboſardochus, and ſo to Belſhazzar.

EVIL-MERODACH died in the eigh[illegible]th year of his reign. His ſon ‖ Nigliſar ſucceeded him; and when he had reigned forty years, the kingdom fell by ſucceſſion to his ſon Laboſardochus, who kept it only nine months; and after his death, it went to Belſhazzar, by the Babylonians called Naboandel.

Cyrus and Darius make war upon Belſhazzar, and beſiege Babylon.
Belſhazzar, in the height of his cups, calls for the holy veſſels that were carried away from Jeruſalem, to revel in, Dan. v. 2, 3.
In the middle of his jollity, there appears a hand writing upon the wall, V. 5.
The king conſults his Magi about it, Ver. 7.
Great honours and rewards promiſed to him that ſhall expound that writing, ibid.

** CYRUS the king of the Perſians, and Darius the king of the Medes, made war upon this prince; and while they lay before Babylon, there appear'd to Belſhazzar a wonderful and a prodigious viſion. As he was at ſupper in a large eating-room, with his courtiers and his concubines about him, and a magnificent oſtentation of ſilver veſſels and plate for the ſervice of his table, he call'd, in a frolick, for the ſacred veſſels alſo out of his own temple, which Nebuchadnezzar depoſited there, upon rifling the temple at Jeruſalem, though he never had the confidence to put them to any prophane or private uſe. Belſhazzar was now warm in his cups, and entertaining himſelf and his company, with prophane extravagancies of ſpeech againſt the majeſty of the true God; when in the height of his jollity there appear'd a hand, writing certain ſyllables upon the walls, which put the king into ſuch an agony of terror, that he preſently call'd a council of cunning men and Chaldeans, and all ſort of diviners, who among thoſe barbarians value themſelves upon a faculty of diſcloſing the meaning of prodigies, and the interpretation of dreams, to find out the purport of the words that were there writ upon the plaiſter. They laid their heads together, and upon advice and conſideration, frankly declared, that they underſtood nothing of the matter. Upon this the king in an anxiety of thought and ſurprize, cauſed a proclamation to be publiſh'd all over his dominions, with promiſe of a golden chain, the privilege of a royal purple robe, and the third place of rule in his kingdom, to any man that ſhould give

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[*] It ſhould be the nine and twentieth, as Scaliger has inform'd us in his commentary upon this piece. See Vorſtius's Exercit. 2. de lxx. annis captivitatis.

[†] See Scaliger's notes upon the fragment of Beroſus, and Cunæus de Rep. Hebræorum, lib. i. c. 15.

[‡] The tranſlation follows Scaliger's correction of the place.

[‖] Νιγλίσαρος, Joſ. See Scaliger's notes upon the fragment of Beroſus, p. 14, 15, &c. and Vorſtius's Exercit. 4. de voce Seſack.

[**] How Joſephus confounds the laſt kings of Babylon, may be ſeen in Vorſtius's 4. Exercit. de voce Seſack.

him the interpretation of that writing. Upon this proclamation the wiſe men gather'd together more and more, in a ſtriſe who ſhould unfold this myſtery, and all to no manner of purpoſe in the concluſion.

WHILE the king was under great perplexity of mind and aſtoniſhment, at theſe diſappointments, his grandmother went to him and told him, that for his comfort there was a certain Jew among the priſoners that Nebuchadnezzar brought away with him upon the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, who was look'd upon to be a man of great wiſdom and foreſight, and ſo wonderfully skill'd in the ſolving of nice difficulties and queſtions, as if he ſpoke by the direction of a divine ſpirit. She told him alſo that Nebuchadnezzar made uſe of him for his interpreter in the like caſes, when no body elſe was able to reſolve him; wherefore ſhe deſir'd the king by any means to ſend for Daniel, and to enquire of him about that writing, and give him encouragement to ſpeak the truth, though it ſhould import ſomething dreadful to himſelf, if it were but to daſh the ignorance of other pretenders. Upon this advice Belſhazzar cauſed Daniel to be ſent for; profeſſing, indeed, that he had heard of the profound penetration and underſtanding of that man, and of the ſpirit of divination with which he was poſſeſs'd; and that he took him to be the moſt likely perſon in the world to divine the truth of a matter which no body elſe could interpret. So upon Daniel's being brought, the king put him the queſtion, with an aſſurance, that all the promiſes in his proclamation ſhould be made good to him, upon his ſolution of it; which would make him famous all over the world, wherever it ſhould come to be known, that he had theſe honours done him for his wiſdom.

Daniel is recommended for the interpreter, Dan. v. 11, 12.

Daniel is brought to the king, Ver. 13.

Daniel expounds the writing, Ver. 15–28.

DANIEL excuſed himſelf from the receiving of any gifts or honours. "For wiſdom, ſays he, is a divine faculty, and not to be corrupted or prophan'd with bribes, but to be ever ready to ſerve thoſe that ſtand in need of it. This writing, ſays he, is a foretelling to you, that your death is at hand; for you ſhould have taken warning by the judgments that befel your great anceſtor for his contempt of God, and have applied yourſelf to a courſe of life, within the compaſs of religion, modeſty, and moderation. You know very well that Nebuchadnezzar was baniſh'd the ſociety of mankind, and condemn'd to the life and condition of a beaſt; but that afterward it pleaſed God, upon his earneſt prayers and repentance, to reſtore him to the converſation of men, and to the exerciſe of his former government, which infinite mercy and providence of God he adored and celebrated afterward all the days of his life; but for your part, ſays Daniel, you are ſo far from being wrought upon by this example in your family, that you blaſpheme God to his face, and take a pride in prophaning the veſſels of his holy altar, in your debauches with your harlots. By this lewd courſe of impiety, you have drawn the wrath of God upon your head; and the intent of this writing is only to ſhew what end you are to come to. MENE, which is as much as number, ſignifies that the days both of your life and of your reign are number'd, and that you have but a very ſhort time to live. TEKEL, or weight, gives to underſtand, that your reign is weighed in the balance, and drawing to a concluſion. PERES, or a fragment, portends, that your kingdom ſhall be divided, and given to the Medes and Perſians." The king was moſt terribly mortified with this interpretation; yet notwithſtanding, was ſo juſt and generous, as to make good to Daniel, all that he had promiſ'd him, though the foreteller of his ruin; conſidering with himſelf, that it was not the prophet's fault, but his own unhappy fatality, that he could tell him no better tidings; neither would he deny but Daniel had done the part of a juſt and a good man, in letting him know the truth of things, though never ſo deplorable in the event.

Cyrus takes Babylon, Ver. 31.

Belſhazzar the laſt king of Nebuchadnezzar's family, ibid.

Daniel's advancement under Cyrus,

and the envy he contracted by it, Dan. vi. 3, 4.

Daniel's integrity is proof againſt all calumny, ibid.

IT was not long after this, when both himſelf and the city fell into the power and poſſeſſion of Cyrus; for Babylon was taken in the ſeventeenth year of the reign of Belſhazzar, who is ſaid to have been the laſt king of Nebuchadnezzar's family. Now Darius was ſixty two years of age, when with the aſſiſtance of Cyrus his kinſman, he wrought the ſubverſion of the Babylonian empire; which Cyrus was the ſon of Aſtyages, though known among the Greeks by another name. He took the prophet Daniel along with him into Media, and had him in great honour and eſtimation; for he made him one of the three chief governors that had * three hundred and ſixty more under them, according to the original conſtitution of Darius. Now Darius had ſo great a tenderneſs and reverence for Daniel, that he conſulted him upon all occaſions as an oracle, and would hardly reſolve upon any matter of moment without his advice; but it fell out with Daniel, as we find it in the caſe of other princes favourites; the confident that is moſt in credit, never fails of drawing upon himſelf the envy of all the reſt. Now Daniel was ſo well aware of theſe court-tricks, and kept ſo ſtrict a guard upon himſelf, that there was no laying hold of any opportunity againſt him. As to the matter of money and bribes, he had a ſoul ſo much above any temptation of that kind, that he made a conſcience of receiving even a lawful acknowledgment for a good office. But this did not hinder his enemies yet from plotting his downfal and deſtruction; and the manner of it was this:

A ſnare laid to entrap him, Ver. 5–8.

IT being obſerv'd that Daniel prayed to God conſtantly thrice a day, his adverſaries, to entrap him, bethought themſelves how they might improve that practice of his to his ruin. So they applied themſelves to Darius, in the name of his council and ſtate officers; and upon their advice and requeſt, that he would be pleaſed ſo far to indulge his people, as to paſs an edict only for thirty days, that whoſoever ſhould preſume to ask any thing of God or man within that compaſs of time, ſhould be caſt into the lions den. The king was ſo ſhort-ſighted, as not to ſee through the malice of this contrivance, and that the very propoſal ſtruck at the life of Daniel; ſo that he aſſented to the motion, promiſ'd a confirmation of it, and order'd the publication of the decree, as the act of himſelf and his council. The

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* Dan. vi. 1. maketh mention of no more than an hundred and twenty.

Daniel caſt into the lions den, Dan. vi. 16.

The lions do him no hurt, Ver. 20--23.

But afterwards tear his enemies to pieces, V. 24.

dread of this decree put all people into a general damp and ſilence, for fear of being ſurpriz'd into a tranſgreſſion; ſaving only Daniel himſelf, who went on ſtill in his daily courſe of worſhipping God, in the publick view of the world, as it was his cuſtom to do, without ever regarding the decree. This way of proceeding furniſhed his enemies with the opportunity of a pretence, that they had long waited for; which immediately they laid hold of, for giving the king to underſtand, that Daniel was the only man, who in contempt of his royal proclamation, worſhipped contrary to the tenor and direction of the decree, and that he did not do this out of piety neither, but out of a ſpirit of contradiction, and defiance to the authority of the edict. The envy of Daniel's enemies was the more outrageous, upon the apprehenſion they had that the king's perſonal indulgence for him might incline him to paſs over the affront; ſo that they preſs'd him with clamours and outcries, not to be reſiſted, for juſtice upon the malefactor; and nothing would ſerve them, but Daniel muſt be immediately thrown into the lions den. Darius was forc'd to yield to the violence of theſe importunities; but told Daniel for his comfort in this extremity, that rather than ſo good a man ſhould periſh, God would yet work ſome miracle for his relief; ſo Daniel was caſt into the lions den, and a great ſtone laid at the mouth of the den, which the king ſeal'd with his own ſignet, and ſo went his way to his palace. He paſs'd that night, faſting and waking; for the trouble of his mind for Daniel would not ſuffer him either to eat or ſleep; but early in the morning he got up, and went to the den, where he found every thing as he left it, and the ſeal untouch'd. He call'd upon Daniel then by his name, at a grate that look'd down into the den, to know if he were living or not; to which Daniel made this anſwer, that he was ſafe and well; in which inſtant the king order'd him to be taken out again; but Daniel's enemies would not allow this deliverance, however, to be the work of a peculiar providence, and would needs face the king down, that the lions bellies were full, and ſo they let him alone for want of an appetite. The king was ſo incenſed at the ſpite and malignity of theſe people, that he order'd as much meat to be given the lions as they could get down, and when they would eat no longer, to turn Daniel's accuſers in among them. If they do not devour them, ſays the king, 'tis becauſe their bellies are full; but if they do, it muſt be allow'd to be a divine providence that preſerv'd Daniel. In ſhort the lions tore them to pieces, every one of them, with as much eagerneſs as if they had been ſtarved with hunger; or rather, as if the beaſts themſelves were become the miniſters of God's juſtice upon the workers of iniquity.

Darius declares Daniel's God to be the true God, V. 25, &c. Daniel erects a magnificent tower at Ecbatan, the capital of Media.

AFTER this execution done upon the treacherous complottors againſt Daniel, Darius publiſhed a decree through his whole empire; commanding his people to acknowledge the God of Daniel to be the only true and Almighty God, and at the ſame multiplied honours upon the prophet himſelf, in preference to all the reſt of his friends and favourites. Now Daniel, by this way of conduct, having gained the univerſal eſteem of a perſon highly in favour both with God and man, he erected a ſtately fabrick at Ecbatan, the capital of Media; a work every way wonderful, as well for the ſtructure and ſtrength of it, as for the beauty. The building is ſtill to be ſeen, and looks as freſh and as firm at this inſtant as if it had been finiſhed but the day you firſt ſaw it, without any decays of time or age to be ſeen upon it; whereas it fares with other edifices as with human bodies, time wears them out, and diſfigures them. This tower is famous for being the royal monument of the kings of the Medes, Perſians, and Parthians, to which uſe it is ſtill applied, and the place likewiſe committed to the cuſtody of a Jewiſh prieſt to this very day. There are ſome other paſſages in the hiſtory of Daniel, which are yet more admirable and particular, and not to be paſſed over in ſilence. He had this ſingular bleſſing attending him, over and above his excellent gift of prophecy, that he liv'd in a high degree of reputation, both with king and people; and at his death left an immortal memory behind him, to his everlaſting honour; for we find by his writings that are yet extant, and in daily uſe and reading, that beyond all queſtion, God communed with him in a very expreſs manner, and revealed to him not only the ſum and ſubſtance of things to come, (as was uſual to other prophets,) but the very time when ſuch or ſuch an event ſhould come to paſs. And whereas other prophets were more exerciſed in the foreboding of calamities, and conſequently drew upon themſelves envy and ill-will, both from princes and people, Daniel, on the contrary, made friends of both, by the good things he told them, which they took delight to hear; and then for the certainty of the event, all mortals are agreed upon it, that he ſpoke from the dictate of an infallible ſpirit, as may be abundantly gather'd alſo from the writings which this great prophet hath left behind him.

Daniel's viſion at Suſa, of the ram and the goat, Dan. viii.

“IT fell out, ſays he, as I was taking the air one day, with ſome of my companions at Suſa, the metropolis of Perſia, that we were ſurpriz'd all on a ſudden with an earthquake. My friends ran away in a fright, and left me alone, fallen proſtrate upon the ground, in a conſternation upon that accident. While I was in that poſture, ſome body, methought, came, took hold on me, and bad me riſe, and take good notice of things; for I ſhould ſee wonderful revolutions that would befal my countrymen ſeveral ages to come. Upon my ariſing, I ſaw a large ram, with ſeveral horns, and the laſt taller than the reſt. Turning my face then toward the weſt, I ſaw a goat that paſs'd through the air, and encounter'd the ram, ſtruck him down twice, and trampled him under his feet. After this there aroſe a large horn out of the forehead of the goat; and when that came to be broken, there ſprang up four more inſtead of it, pointing toward the four quarters of the heavens.” Daniel writes alſo, “That from one of them came forth a little horn, which, upon growing up, ſhould wage war with the nation of the Jews, and deſtroy Jeruſalem itſelf, ſuppreſs the ceremonies of the temple, and all ſacrifices, for the ſpace of twelve hundred and ninety ſix days.” This was the viſion that, as Daniel writes, he ſaw at Suſa, which was firſt ſhewed by a revelation from God, and

then

The viſion decypher'd.

then interpreted after this following manner: "By the ram was deſigned the kingdoms of the Medes and Perſians; by the horns, the ſucceeding kings there; and the laſt of their kings, by the laſt horn, as tranſcending all the reſt for wealth and power; by the goat was ſignified ſome king of Greece, that ſhould give two overthrows to the Perſians, and ſubdue that empire; by the great horn upon the forehead of the goat, was meant the firſt of their kings; and by the budding out of four horns more, pointing to the four winds, was to be underſtood the ſucceſſors to thoſe kings, and the partition of their dominions, after the death of the firſt, though ſtrangers to the blood; but that however they ſhould reign for ſeveral years; and in proceſs of time, out of theſe ſhould come a king that would make war upon the Jewiſh nation, and their laws, and utterly extinguiſh the form of the commonwealth, pillage the temple, and prohibit any ſacrifices or worſhip in it for three years." Which calamity came to paſs under Antiochus Epiphanes, as the prophet had foretold ſo many years before. He wrote ſeveral wonderful things alſo about the Roman empire, and what a deſolation they ſhould make of our people; all which he received by divine revelation, and tranſmitted in wriring to poſterity, to ſtand as a teſtimony upon record, of the agreement betwixt the preſage and the event. This may ſerve to eſtabliſh a veneration for that man's memory, whom God was pleaſed to honour in ſo particular a manner, and likewiſe to confound the impious doctrine of the Epicureans, that will not allow of any ordering or over-ruling providence to interpoſe in the government, or preſervation of the univerſe, but will have the whole courſe of ſublunary affairs to be only a huddle of contingencies, without either care or counſel. Now if it were as they vainly imagine, the world without a ſupreme governor or moderator, would be ſuch another fancy as that of a ſhip at the mercy of the winds and waves, without a pilot, which muſt of neceſſity miſcarry; or, as a chariot among crags and precipices, without a driver, that periſhes under its own weight. So that when I conſider the predictions of Daniel, I cannot forgive the ignorance and irreverence of thoſe people that make it their profeſſion to decry providence, as if God took no care of us; for how is it poſſible there ſhould be ſuch a correſpondence betwixt a thing foretold at one time, and fulfilled ſo many ages after, if, according to their opinion, every thing was left to haphazard? But what I have found in writing, I do here deliver in writing, juſt as I found it, leaving every man ſtill to the liberty of his own opinion.

Daniel's wonderful predictions concerning the Roman empire.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK XI.

From the Year of the World 3425 to 3635.

CHAP. I.

Cyrus gives the Jews leave to return, and to rebuild Jeruſalem and the temple, with letters recommendatory to his officers and governors, to be aiding and aſſiſting to them.

1 Eſdras i.
3 Eſdras iii.

The Jews reſtored after ſeventy years captivity, as the prophet Jeremiah foretold, Ezra i. 1, 2.

Cyrus makes proclamation that the God of the Jews is the true God, ibid.

Cyrus reſolves to make good what Iſaiah predicted of him, Iſaiah xliv, xlv.

Cyrus gives the Jews liberty to go back, and rebuild their temple and city, Ezra i. 3.

IN the firſt year of Cyrus, and the ſeventieth of our Babylonian captivity, God took pity of a miſerable people, according to what he had foretold them by the prophet Jeremiah, before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; that is to ſay, that after ſeventy years bondage under Nebuchadnezzar, and his ſucceſſors, they ſhould be reſtored to their own country; ſee the temple rebuilt, and return to the ſtate of their former glory. This was all made good to them accordingly; for God put it into the heart of Cyrus, to ſend his circular letters over all Aſia, to this effect, ſigning them, Cyrus the king. "I do fully perſuade myſelf, that "the great God, of whoſe gift and bounty I "hold my empire, is the very God that the "children of Iſrael adore; for I find honour"able mention made of my name by his pro"phets of ancient date, as a perſon that in "time to come ſhould rebuild Jeruſalem, and "re-inſtate the people." Cyrus, it ſeems, had ſeen and read the prophecies of Iſaiah, which bore date two hundred and ten years before he was born, wherein he gives an account of a revelation he had from God, "That he "would raiſe up one Cyrus, to be a king of "many, and of powerful nations, who ſhould "re-eſtabliſh the Hebrews in their native coun"try." This was foretold by the prophet a hundred and forty years before the temple was deſtroy'd. The king was ſo tranſported upon the reading of theſe divine inſpirations and predictions concerning himſelf, that he fell preſently to work upon making good his part of the prophecy. The firſt thing he did, was to call together all the leading men of the Jews to Babylon, where he told them, that ſo many of them as had a mind to go back into their country, ſhould have free paſſports, and permiſſion to rebuild the temple and the city of Jeruſalem, if they thought fit; making no doubt, he ſaid, but that God would bleſs them in the undertaking, promiſing over and above, that he would ſend his orders to all his officers and governors bordering upon Judea, to furniſh them with gold and ſilver for the rebuilding of the temple, and beaſts for ſacrifices. The moſt eminent of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, together with the prieſts and Levites, immediately upon this declaration, haſten'd away toward Jeruſalem. But there were a great many, however, that choſe rather to ſtay in Babylon, than to quit their poſſeſſions. Upon their arrival at Jeruſalem, all the king's friends and officers contributed

Liberal contribution toward the work, Ezra i. 5, 6.

tributed largely and unanimouſly toward the great work; ſome gold, others ſilver; and ſome again cattle and horſes; others attended the diſcharge of their vows, and the ſolemnity of oblations, as if they were already enter'd upon the buſineſs of re-erecting the city, and in the exerciſe of their ancient diſcipline; for Cyrus had then ſent them from Babylon, the holy veſſels and utenſils that Nebuchadnezzar had taken away from the temple at Jeruſalem; which were deliver'd to [*] Mithridates the king's treaſurer, and by him to be depoſited with Abaſſar, till the temple ſhould be finiſh'd, and then immediately to be put into the hands of the prieſts and magiſtrates of the people, for the uſe and ſervice of the temple. Cyrus, after this, wrote another letter to the governors of Syria, in manner following:

Cyrus reſtores the holy veſſels and utenſils that had been taken out of the temple, Ver. 7, &c.

Cyrus the king, to Syſina and Sarabaſan, greeting.

Cyrus, in favour of the Jews, gives leave for the temple and capital city to be rebuilt.

All utenſils and holy veſſels that Nebuchadnezzar carried away, to be reſtor'd.

Maintenance.

“Be it known unto you, that I have given leave to all the Jews that are in my dominions, to return into their own country, and there to rebuild their capital city, with the holy temple at Jeruſalem, in the ſame place where it ſtood before. I have likewiſe ſent my treaſurer Mithridates, and Zorobabel the governor of Judea, to ſuperintend the building, and to ſee it raiſed [†] ſixty cubits upward from the ground, and as many over; the walls to be three rows of poliſhed ſtone, and one of the wood of the country, together with an altar for the ſacrifices; and all this to be done at my own charge. I have alſo appointed my treaſurer Mithridates, and Zorobabel the prince of Judah, to cauſe all utenſils and veſſels that Nebuchadnezzar carried away from the temple at Jeruſalem, to be ſent back and reſtor'd; that is to ſay, fifty golden ewers, and four hundred ſilver ones; fifty golden veſſels, all Thericlean cups, and four hundred ſilver ones; fifty golden lavers, and five hundred ſilver ones; thirty golden chalices, and three hundred ſilver ones; thirty golden phials, and two thouſand four hundred ſilver ones, beſide a thouſand of other large veſſels of different ſorts. It is my further pleaſure alſo, that they receive entire to themſelves all the profits and revenues that were formerly enjoy'd by their predeceſſors, and that they have an allowance paid them of [‡] two hundred and five thouſand five hundred drachma's, in conſideration of beaſts for ſacrifices, wine, and oil; and two thouſand five hundred meaſures of wheat, in lieu of the fine flower; and all this to be raiſed upon the tribute of Samaria. The prieſts alone to offer up the ſacrifices according to the laws and ceremonies of Moſes, and to pray daily for the king and the royal family, and for the welfare and happineſs of the Perſian empire. And let no man preſume to do any thing contrary to the tenor of this my royal will and proclamation, upon pain of forfeiting life and eſtate.” This was the ſubſtance of the king's letter; and the number of thoſe that returned out of captivity to Jeruſalem, upon this encouragement and invitation, was forty two thouſand four hundred and ſixty two perſons.

The number of thoſe that return'd to Jeruſalem, Ezra ii.

CHAP. II.

The Jews fall to work upon the rebuilding the city and the temple; but Cyrus dying in the mean time, his ſon Cambyſes is prevail'd upon to countermand the deſign.

Ezra iv.

THE Jews were no ſooner at work upon the foundations of the temple, their hearts being wholly ſet upon the advancement of the undertaking, but the bordering nations, and eſpecially the Chuthites, which Salmanaſſar, the king of Aſſyria, had formerly tranſplanted from Perſia and Media into Samaria, after he had remov'd the Iſraelites into other habitations: theſe people, I ſay, applied themſelves to the princes and governors, to whom the care of this enterprize was committed; preſſing them with earneſt importunities, not to ſuffer the Jews, upon any terms, to proceed upon the project of rebuilding the city and the temple. Theſe commiſſioners were prevail'd upon, by the force of bribes and fair words, to ſlacken their diligence in the diſpatch and proſecution of their orders; and during the courſe of this negligence and delay, Cyrus was ſo taken up in a war with the Maſſagetes, (where he loſt his life,) that he knew nothing at all of the matter.

The Chuthites oppoſe the rebuilding of the city and temple, Ver. 4, 5.

The work is delay'd, and Cyrus in the interim dies in the war with the Maſſagetes.

Cambyſes ſucceeds to Cyrus.

A malicious addreſs to Cambyſes againſt the Jews, 1 Eſdr. ii. 16--24.

Upon the death of Cyrus [‖], Cambyſes in courſe ſucceeded to the empire, and had an addreſs preſented him out of Syria and Phenicia, and from the Ammonites, Moabites, and Samaritans, ſigned Rathymus, hiſtory-ſecretary; Semelius, ſcribe; and the magiſtrates of Phenicia and Syria. The tenor of it was to the purpoſe following: “This is to give you, great Sir, to underſtand, that the Jews who were carried away to Babylon, are now returned to their former ſeats, and into our country, where they are buſy upon the rebuilding of a city that was moſt deſervedly deſtroyed for ſeditious practices. They are ſetting up markets, and places of commerce; repairing the walls, and renewing the temple; and if they go on at this rate, you may aſſure yourſelf, that they will neither pay taxes, nor due allegiance much longer; for they are profeſs'd enemies to kings, and will never ſubmit to ſerve, if they once get it into their power to command. We account it our duty, Sir, in this heat and zeal, for the rebuilding of the temple, to poſſeſs you before it is too late, with a true ſtate of the matter. Be pleaſed only to look back into the hiſtory of your predeceſſors, and you ſhall there find the Jews, from generation to generation, to be the enemies of all crowned heads, and that this very city was juſtly laid waſte and deſolate, for the crime of rebellion; and we are further to preſent

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[*] According to ancient coins it ſhould be Mithradates, as Mr. Spanheim has obſerv'd.

[†] Sixty cubits, as we've before obſerved, were upwards of an hundred an nine Engliſh feet; that is, thirty ſix yards, and one foot.

[‡] A Drachma was in value ſix pence three farthings, and three eighths, of our money; two hundred and five thouſand five hundred of which amounted to five thouſand nine hundred and eighty two pounds, or thereabouts.

[‖] This king in Scripture is called Artaxerxes.

“ this to your conſideration, that if ever they
“ go through with the re-edifying of this ci-
“ ty, and the finiſhing the walls, you will
“ find your communication cut off with Phe-
“ nicia and Cœle-Syria.”

CHAP. III.

Cambyſes puts a ſtop to the rebuilding of the city and temple. He dies ſoon after, and the adminiſtration of the government is for one year lodg'd in the Magi. Darius is choſen king.

THE king was ill-natur'd, and croſs-grain'd enough of himſelf; but this remonſtrance put him out of all patience, as will appear by his following anſwer:

King Cambyſes to Rathymus his hiſtoriographer; Belſemus, and Semelius the ſcribe, and the reſt of the inhabitants of Samaria and Phenicia, greeting.

Cambyſes puts a ſtop to the rebuilding of the temple, 1 Eſdras ii. 25, &c.

“ UPON the reading of your letter of
“ addreſs, I have cauſed a diligent ſearch
“ to be made into the hiſtory of former times,
“ according to your requeſt, and I find your
“ remarks upon the city of Jeruſalem to be
“ true, and that the Jews have ever been a
“ rebellious, and, as you ſay, an anti-monar-
“ chical ſort of people; turbulent and reſtleſs,
“ and naturally addicted to innovations. I
“ find likewiſe, that their kings have ever
“ been fierce and violent, and vexatious in
“ their taxes and impoſitions, to the higheſt
“ degree of oppreſſion, as Phenicia and Cœle-
“ Syria may bear witneſs againſt them; where-
“ fore I do command you to oppoſe them
“ with all your might, in the rebuilding of
“ the city; for as they grow in power, they
“ will certainly increaſe in malice, and be-
“ have themſelves as ſeditiouſly to the preſent
“ governors, as they have done in time paſt
“ to former kings.”

The work was laid aſide for nine years. Cambyſes reign'd ſix years, and Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes ſucceeded him.

Rathymus and Semelius had no ſooner read this mandate, but away they went with their companions, and took horſe immediately for Jeruſalem, and a vaſt multitude of people along with them, where they put an abſolute ſtop to the Jews in the work of the city and the temple; ſo that it was reſpited for a matter of nine years; that is to ſay, to the ſecond year of Darius the king of Perſia. Cambyſes, after he had reigned ſix years, and ſubdued Egypt, died at Damaſcus, in his return from that expedition. The Magi being cut off, in whoſe hands, for a full year after his death, the government reſted it was afterwards tranſlated by the ſeven Satrapæ, or eminent families of the Perſians, and by common conſent conferr'd on Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes.

CHAP. IV.

Darius gives Zorobabel leave to rebuild the city and temple. The Samaritans oppoſe it; but Darius, on the contrary, promotes the deſign.

Darius's vow in favour of the Jews.

DARIUS, while he was yet a private man, made a vow to God, that if ever he came to the throne, he would ſend all the holy veſſels that were at Babylon back again to the temple of Jeruſalem; and it happen'd about that time, that Zorobabel, who was declared the prince or captain of the Jewiſh captives, came from Jeruſalem to Darius. He was an ancient friend and confident of the king's, and taken into a particular truſt, with two other great officers, which was an honour that anſwer'd the height of his ambition.

Zorobabel the king's antient friend.

Several queſtions put by Darius to his officers, with mighty promiſes to him that ſhould beſt reſolve them, 1 Eſdras iii. 4--12.

The queſtions were, whether wine, women, or truth, was the ſtronger, ibid.

Darius, in the firſt year of his reign, gave a ſplendid and a moſt magnificent treat, not only to his own domeſticks, but to the princes and nobility of the Medes and Perſians, the general officers of all India and Ethiopia, and the commanders, in fine, of a hundred and twenty ſeven provinces. Upon the breaking up of the company, when the entertainment was over, they retir'd, every man to his own quarter. Darius, in the mean while, finding after a ſhort ſlumber, that he could not lay himſelf to reſt again, fell into diſcourſes from one thing to another with his three favourite officers, telling them in the end, “ That he
“ had ſome queſtions to aſk them; and for
“ their encouragement, he that ſhould give
“ him the moſt reaſonable and ſatisfactory an-
“ ſwer, ſhould have the honour to be cloathed
“ in purple, drink in a golden cup, ſleep upon
“ gold, ride in a chariot with harneſs of gold,
“ wear a ſilken * Tiara, and a gold chain,
“ have the next place to Darius himſelf in
“ the council, and be accounted as one of the
“ royal blood.” After this he put his queſtions to them in order: to the firſt, if there was any thing ſtronger than wine? To the ſecond, the ſame queſtion again, of the ſtrength of kings; and to the third, what he thought of the ſtrength of women; or finally, of truth, perhaps, above all the reſt. Upon the putting of theſe queries, he made an end of ſpeaking, and left his guards to conſider of the matter. In the morning early he call'd together all the princes of the Medes and Perſians, with the chief officers and governors, placed himſelf upon the ſeat of juſtice, and cauſed the three guards of his body to be ſent for immediately, to give their opinions ſeverally and publickly upon what he had propos'd.

The power of wine, Ver. 17, &c.

The firſt began upon the ſubject of the ſtrength of wine; “ Which, ſays he, with fa-
“ vour of this illuſtrious aſſembly, I may take
“ upon me to pronounce ſuperior to all other
“ powers whatſoever; for it overthrows the
“ minds and underſtandings of all thoſe that
“ drink too plentifully of it. It puts the
“ greateſt prince into the condition of a child
“ in his wardſhip, that has not wit enough to
“ look to himſelf. It ſets the ſlave at liberty,
“ even to the forgetting of his chains, and
“ makes the beggar as rich and as great as an
“ emperor. It changes and elevates the ſpi-
“ rits, wherever it takes poſſeſſion. It enli-
“ vens the heavy hearts of the miſerable, pays
“ all debts, and relieves men in all manner of
“ neceſſities. It makes the ſcoundrel ſtrut
“ and ſwagger like a lord, look and talk big,
“ without any regard or fear of either kings
“ or captains. It makes men forget their moſt
“ intimate familiars and friends, and draw up-
“ on their neareſt relations, as if they were
“ the moſt hateful of ſtrangers; and then when

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* This was a rich ornament for the head, worn by emperors, kings, and great perſonages among the eaſtern people.

“ a man

a man has ſlept out his debauch, he no more remembers what he did in the heat of his wine than as if no ſuch thing had ever been. Now for theſe reaſons I cannot but look upon the force and operation of wine to be the ſtrongeſt and the moſt violent of all others."

The power of kings, 1 Eſdras iv. 1--12.

WHEN the firſt had done dilating upon the topick of wine, the ſecond ſtood up for the power of kings, in preference to all other whatſoever, which he endeavour'd to prove after this manner: "It is beyond diſpute, ſays he, that God has made man the maſter of all things under the ſun, ſo far as to command them, to make uſe of them, and apply them to the ſervice of mankind as he pleaſes; but whereas men have only a dominion over all other ſublunary creatures, kings have an authority even over men themſelves, and a right of ruling them by will and pleaſure. Now he that is maſter of thoſe that are maſters of all things elſe, hath a juſt title to an advantage over all the reſt, and to be accounted inſuperable, having no earthly thing above him. When princes find it for their convenience to expoſe the perſons of their ſubjects to wars and dangers, they obey them, you ſee, without any reluctancy or diſpute, let the hazard be what it will; whether bodies to bodies, or in the attack of walls or works, forcing of paſſes, or, as it often falls out, in contending with nature itſelf; we ſee how frankly they offer themſelves either to kill or to be kill'd, in the execution of their prince's orders; and then in caſe of a victory at laſt, the honour and profit of the whole goes to the king. This for the military part; and the ſame reaſon holds in the common buſineſs of husbandry and tillage, where the countryman plows, ſows, digs, and ſweats, in the firſt place, to ſupply the king's ſtores out of his toil and labour; and whatſoever he commands muſt be obey'd, without any expoſtulation or delay. The king all this time, while the people are working for him, takes his fill of all delicacies and pleaſures, ſleeps in ſecurity and at eaſe, with his guards about him, under the ſlavery of an indiſpenſible attendance, and not a man of them who dares cloſe his eyes while his maſter is at reſt; for the king's buſineſs is theirs, without any ſort of liberty to attend any other; ſo that nothing certainly can be ſtronger than the force of that power which the whole multitude obeys to all intents and purpoſes."

Zorobabel upon the power of women, Ver. 13--32.

AFTER this declamation upon the power of kings, Zorobabel took his turn upon the argument of women and of truth; and his diſcourſe was to this following effect: "The force of wine, ſays he, is not to be denied, neither is that of kings, that ties up ſo many millions of men in one common bond of allegiance; but the ſuper-eminency of women, notwithſtanding, exceeds all this; for the mother of the king was before the king himſelf, and kings are but the gifts of the women who brought them into the world; and women were likewiſe the mothers and nurſes of thoſe that cultivate our vineyards, and dreſs our vines. There is not any thing we can pretend to, but what we either directly or indirectly receive from them. They have a hand in the government of all our domeſtick affairs; nay, in the dreſs and ornament of our bodies; and, in fine, God hath made them ſo neceſſary to us, that there's no living, nor being without them. Let a man have never ſo much gold and ſilver, or what is more precious before him, the ſight of a beautiful woman makes him ſacrifice all theſe vanities to purchaſe the poſſeſſion of a beloved beauty. Women have the power to make us abandon our very country and relations, and many times to forget the beſt friends we have in the world, and forſake all other comforts, to live and die with them. And it may yet be added, that when we have compaſſed ſea and land for all things that are rich and curious in nature, what does it all come to at laſt, but a more valuable preſent to a miſtreſs? How have I ſeen the king himſelf, in the very meridian of all his glory and titles, ſubmit to the taking of a box on the ear at the hand of his concubine Apame, the daughter of Rabepſaces Themaſinus! And this was not all neither; for ſhe would take the crown off from the king's head, and ſet it upon her own; and he, good man, was ſo complaiſant all the while, as to put himſelf into all ſhapes and humours to pleaſe her, and to be pleaſant or ſad with her for company, for fear of giving her any occaſion of offence."

UPON this, the princes and the nobility look'd upon one another, not without ſome admiration at the freedom of the diſcourſe; and ſo Zorobabel proceeded to the laſt point, upon the argument of truth. "I have ſpoken, ſays he, what I had to ſay upon the ſubject of women; but when all is done, neither they nor kings are comparable to the almighty force of truth; for allowing the vaſt magnitude of the earth, the height of the heavens, and the unſpeakable ſwiftneſs of the motion of the ſun, and that all this is order'd by a divine providence, it muſt be granted withal, that God is juſt and true; and conſequently that truth is of all things imaginable the moſt powerful, ſince neither error nor juſtice can prevail againſt it. As for all other things that paſs for great in the world, they are mortal and ſhort-liv'd, but truth alone is unchangeable and everlaſting; the benefits we receive from it are ſubject to no variations or viciſſitudes of time and fortune, but righteous and warrantable, and without any ſtain of iniquity or reproach."

And finally of truth, Ver. 33--41. A preference given to truth, ibid.

ZOROBABEL had the univerſal acclamation of the whole auditory, for the excellent things he deliver'd; and they all agreed with him, that truth was incorruptible, and the only bleſſing under the ſun that was not liable to alteration and decay; ſo that the king, as an inſtance of his full ſatisfaction in this anſwer to the queſtion, bad him take his choice out of what he had promis'd him, and he would freely grant it him. "For, ſays he, you ſhall have a preference in my eſteem above all other men, in proportion to the ſuperiority of your wiſdom and underſtanding above that of your companions; and from this time forward you ſhall have the firſt place of honour next to my own perſon, and ſtand adopted in my affinity and blood."

Darius is ſo well pleaſed with the ſentence, that he bids him aſk what he would, V. 42. Prefers and adopts him into the royal family, ibid.

ZOROBABEL could not but lay hold of ſo fair an occaſion for the putting of the king in mind

Zorobabel minds him of his vow of reſtitution, 1 Eſdr. iv. 43—46.

and deſires him to be as good as his word. ibid.

Darius writes to his governors to be aſſiſtant to the Jews to all manner of purpoſes, V. 47—57.

of a former vow he had made; which was, that if ever he came to the crown, he would immediately fall to work upon the rebuilding of Jeruſalem, and the holy temple there, and order a reſtitution to be made of all the ſacred veſſels and utenſils that Nebuchadnezzar had taken away from thence, and carry'd to Babylon. "Now, ſays he, ſince your ma-"jeſty has done me the honour of reputing "me a wiſe man, and allowing me the li-"berty of this election, my humble requeſt "muſt be this, that you will now diſcharge "your vow, and be as good as your word." The king, upon this challenge, raiſed himſelf chearfully from his throne, embraced his adviſer, and kiſs'd him, and ſent away mandates ſoon after to his governors and great officers, to conduct Zorobabel and thoſe that were to go along with him to their journey's end, and to aſſiſt him in the re-edifying of the temple. He wrote letters alſo to the magiſtrates of Phenicia and Syria, to provide carriages for the tranſporting of the Cedar to Jeruſalem, that was cut down in Libanus, and to help them all they could in their main undertaking. The king gave them likewiſe in charge, to exempt all the Jews that ſhould now return out of this captivity, from the burden of any publick tax or duty, and to leave them at liberty in their perſons as well as in their eſtates, without either reſtraint or tribute; commanding alſo the Edomites, Samaritans, and the people of Cele-Syria, to reſtore all thoſe lands to the Jews again that had been formerly in their poſſeſſion, and to contribute fifty talents over and above toward the erecting of the temple, after their own way, and aſſign'd them out of his own proper bounty whatever ſhould be found neceſſary, either in ſacerdotal habits or otherwiſe, for the right adminiſtration of every thing in form. He aſſigned them organs alſo to accompany the voices of the Levites, and order'd a certain proportion of land for the entertainment of the officers and keepers, both of the city and the temple, in the way of an annual penſion; confirming every thing, in fine, that Cyrus had formerly reſolv'd upon about the reſtoring of the Jews, and their holy veſſels.

Zorobabel carries the Jews at Babylon the tidings of their deliverance.

Darius aſſigns them a convoy, and ſo they depart, 1 Eſdr. v. 1, 2.

The order of their proceſſion, Ver. 3.

Their number, tribes, and qualities, V. 4—43.

Zorobabel their leader, and Jeſus their high-prieſt, V. 68.

WHEN Zorobabel had obtain'd this grace from the king, the firſt thing he did after his going out from the place was, with his eyes lift up to heaven, to give God thanks for the honour he had received from the king, in the reputation of his wiſdom, beyond the reſt of his competitors, which he acknowledg'd to be only the diſtinguiſhing effect of his divine goodneſs; concluding his thankſgiving with a prayer for the ſucceſs of his undertaking; and ſo went his way to his countrymen at Babylon with the joyful news of their deliverance. Upon the report of theſe tidings, they join'd immediately in an univerſal thankſgiving for the promiſe of this reſtoration to their native country; and after the ſolemnity of that duty was over, they fell to feaſting, drinking, and making merry, for a matter of ſeven days together, in ſuch a tranſport of joy and jollity as if the day of their redemption and return had been the firſt day of a new life to them. The heads of the tribes made a choice of thoſe that were to go upon this expedition, providing horſes, and other beaſts of burden, and carriages for their wives and children, and taking thoſe troops along with them which Darius had appointed for a convoy. In this manner and company they paſs'd their time merrily upon the way, with pipes and cymbals playing before them, and the whole multitude dancing and rejoicing after the muſick. There was a ſelect number choſen out from all and every of the tribes; but the naming of them in particular would be tireſome to the reader, and interrupt the order of my diſcourſe; ſo that I ſhall only run them over in generals. There were of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, from twelve years old and upward, four millions ſix hundred and twenty eight * thouſand perſons. After theſe came four thouſand and ſeventy Levites; and a promiſcuous multitude of women and children, to the number of forty thouſand ſeven hundred and forty two. Of the ſtock of the Levites there were a hundred and twenty eight ſingers, a hundred and ten porters; and of others that ſerv'd and aſſiſted in the ſanctuary three hundred and twenty two. There were alſo ſix hundred and fifty two that call'd themſelves Iſraelites, but could not prove their extraction. There were others that had taken wives whoſe genealogy could not be made out, either from the Levitical or ſacerdotal records; and theſe were accounted unqualified for the holy function, to the number of five hundred and twenty five. The train of ſervants that attended them was reckon'd at ſeven thouſand three hundred thirty ſeven; ſinging-men and women, two hundred and forty five; camels, four hundred and thirty five; and other beaſts of carriage, five hundred and twenty five. The leader of this multitude was Zorobabel, the ſon of Salathiel, of the tribe of Judah, and the race of David; and with him was Jeſus, the ſon of Joſedec, and Mardochæus, and Serebæus, which two were choſen to the command, by the ſuffrage of the tribes, and contributed at their own charge † a hundred pound of gold, and ‖ five thouſand pound of ſilver, toward the expence of this expedition. This was the order and the manner of the march of the prieſts and Levites, and that part of the people that went along with them in their return from Babylon to Jeruſalem, the reſt following after by little and little, till in the end they all went back to their own habitations.

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* The account Joſephus here gives us of the number of Jews who returned from the captivity of Babylon, ſeems to be ſwell'd beyond the bounds of probability. Neither in Ezr. ii. nor in 1 Eſdr. v. where both the names and numbers of all the families that returned are particularly recounted, does the ſum total amount to any thing near what he here affirms them to have been.

† The Hebrew Mina of gold weighed one pound, one ounce, thirteen pennyweights, eighteen grains; and its value in gold was fifty four pounds fifteen ſhillings; an hundred therefore, muſt weigh an hundred and fourteen pounds fifteen pennyweights; and in value, amount to five thouſand four hundred ſeventy five pounds.

‖ An Hebrew Mina of ſilver weighed two pounds, three ounces, ſeven pennyweights, twelve grains; and was in value, ſix pounds, ſixteen ſhillings and ten pence half penny; five thouſand therefore, muſt weigh eleven thouſand four hundred and ſix pounds three ounces; and in value amounted to thirty four thouſand two hundred and eighteen pounds fifteen ſhillings Engliſh money.

A general aſſembly indicted at Jeruſalem, Ezra iii. 1.

An altar erected, V. 2.

The feaſt of tabernacles, and other feſtivals, V. 5, 6.

In the ſeventh month after their departure from Babylon, Jeſus the high-prieſt, and Zorobabel their prince, ſent meſſengers expreſs all over the land, to ſummon the people to a general meeting at Jeruſalem, who gather'd together with great chearfulneſneſs according to the order. Upon this meeting, there was erected an altar to ſacrifice upon, according to the appointment of God by his ſervant Moſes, and it was raiſed upon the ſame place where it ſtood before. This proceeding gave a mighty offence to the neighbouring nations, who had a mortal averſion, both to the people, and to whatever they did. This happen'd juſt upon the feaſt of tabernacles, according to the Moſaical inſtitution; and after that came the daily oblations, and the ſacrifice of the ſabbaths, and of the new moons, and of all holy feaſts; and all thoſe that had made any vow came likewiſe to perform it, from the firſt day of the ſeventh month.

Money, workmen, and materials for the temple provided, Ver. 7.

They enter'd then upon the building of the temple, and expended vaſt ſums of money upon the workmen and builders of all ſorts; and upon meat and drink for thoſe that aſſiſted in the carriage of materials. The Sidonians were frank and liberal toward this work, bringing down cedar-trees in abundance from Libanus; and after that, framing them into boats, which they brought into the port of Joppa, as they had been order'd; firſt by Cyrus, and after him by Darius.

Truſtees appointed for the care of the work, Ver. 8.

The building advanced beyond expectation, Ver. 9–11.

It was now the ſecond month of the ſecond year after the return of the Jews, when the foundations of the temple being already laid, they began on the firſt day of December with the ſuperſtructure, committing the care of the building to the whole family of the Levites, of twenty years of age and upward, and likewiſe to Jeſus, with his ſons and brothers; and to Zolimiel, the brother of Judah, and the ſon of Aminadab, and to his ſons, who were all ſo diligent and induſtrious in the diſcharge of their commiſſions, that the fabrick went forward beyond expectation. When they were advanced thus far, the prieſts came and officiated in their habits, with muſical inſtruments; and the Levites, and the ſons of Aſaph, ſung ſome of the holy hymns of David to the honour of God, according to the firſt inſtitution. But the prieſts and Levites, and the elders of their families, who had ſeen the glory and magnificence of the former houſe, and computing how little this was in compariſon of the other, broke out into tears and lamentations at the thought of it. The common people however that had never ſeen the former, and conſequently could not be troubled at the diſproportion, they contented themſelves well enough with the preſent ſtate of things, though the paſſion of the prieſts and elders was ſo great at the ſame time, that their very ſighs and cries were almoſt as loud as the muſick.

The report of this noiſe of trumpets, with a confuſed clamour and mixture of joy and ſorrow being brought to the Samaritans, they came running together in great multitudes to learn the meaning of it; and finding that it was occaſion'd by the return of the Jews from their captivity at Babylon, and that they were now at work upon the re-erecting of their temple, they went immediately to Zorobabel, and Jeſus, with the chief of the tribes, and deſir'd that they themſelves might likewiſe be admitted into the undertaking, upon terms in common with the reſt. "For, ſay they, we "worſhip the ſame God, value ourſelves upon the glory of the ſame profeſſion, and "upon the love and practice of the ſame religion, from the very days of Salmanaſſar, "the king of Aſſyria, who tranſplanted us out "of Chuthia and Media, into this land." The anſwer to the requeſt was, with one voice, that they could not take them into a partnerſhip of the building, becauſe formerly Cyrus, and after him Darius, had aſſign'd the building of it to their particular care; but that they ſhould have liberty, if they thought fit, to worſhip there, without exception to any man, and that it ſhould be open to all people indifferently, who had a mind to ſerve God in it.

The Samaritans propoſe to join in the undertaking,

but cannot be admitted, Ezra iv. 2, 3.

The Chuthites obſtruct the work all they can, Ver. 4, 5.

The Chuthites, (for ſo we call the Samaritans,) took this refuſal ſo heinouſly, that they ſtirr'd up the Syrians to apply themſelves to the great men as they did at firſt, under Cyrus, and afterward under Cambyſes, that a ſtop might be put to the progreſs of the building, by ſlackening the diligence of thoſe that were intruſted with the diſpatch of the work.

Siſines and Sarabazanes queſtion the authority of the proceeding, Eſdras vi. 3, 4.

There went up to Jeruſalem at this time, Siſines, the governor of Syria and Phenicia, and Sarabazanes, with ſome others, and asked ſome of the principal men among them, by what authority this temple was to be built? for it look'd liker a caſtle than a temple, and to what end the walls of the city were made ſo thick and ſtrong, and the gates ſo fortified? Zorobabel and Jeſus made anſwer, that they were the ſervants of the moſt high God, to whoſe honour this temple was built, and to his ſervice dedicated by the greateſt, the happieſt, and the wiſeſt prince that ever ſat upon that throne, and that it had ſtood firm for many ages, till in the end, for the wickedneſs of their foreſathers, the city, by God's permiſſion, was taken, and deſtroy'd by Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon and Chaldea, the temple pillag'd, and laid in aſhes, and the people carried away captives into Babylon; but that when Cyrus came to the government of Perſia and Babylon, he order'd by his royal proclamation the rebuilding of the temple, and the reſtoring of all the donatives and veſſels that had been taken away by Nebuchadnezzar, which were deliver'd to Zorobabel, and his treaſurer Mithridates, to be tranſported to Jeruſalem, and depoſited there again in the temple; that by the command of the ſame king, Abaſſar was ſent to that city to endeavour the finiſhing of the work out of hand; that upon receipt of the king's letters, he came in all haſte, and immediately laid the foundation; and that from that time forward their enemies had been ſtill at work to caſt ſome impediment or other in the way, to obſtruct or to delay the deſign. Now if they pleaſed they might write to Darius, to the end that upon inſpecting the royal records, they might find the whole ſtory to be true as they had told it. Siſines and his companions did not think it reaſonable to interrupt the proceeding, without the privity of Darius himſelf, and therefore they agreed among themſelves to write to him immediately about this matter. The Jews were not a little ſolicitous and apprehenſive, for fear the king, upon this application, ſhould countermand the orders he had given, till Aggæus, and Zacharias, two prophets among them at that time, bad them be of good cheer, and fear nothing from the Perſians, for they were certainly inform'd of God's holy will and pleaſure touching that affair. The people did ſo abſolutely depend upon this encouragement, that they wrought harder and harder, without the intermiſſion ſo much as of one ſingle day.

The Samaritans calumniate the Jews to Darius, Eſdras vi. 7–22.

WHEN the Samaritans had written a complaining accuſation againſt the Jews to Darius, objecting againſt them the fortifying of the city, and the erecting of a ſtrong place that look'd more like a citadel than a temple, ſetting forth that this was not at all for the king's ſervice, and ſhewing alſo the epiſtle of Cambyſes, by which he had forbidden and hinder'd it before, as a practice that was neither profitable nor ſafe for the publick; when they had repreſented all this, I ſay, and that the king had receiv'd and conſider'd of theſe letters, he order'd the royal memorials to be conſulted upon this ſubject; and upon the ſearch there was found at Ecbatana, a caſtle in Media, a certain book, wherein was written to this effect:

The decree of Cyrus, in favour of the Jews and their pretenſions, Ver. 24–26.

“IT was ordained by king Cyrus, in the firſt year of his reign, that the temple of God ſhould be rebuilt at Jeruſalem, ſixty cubits in height, and as many in breadth, and the altar in it; that there ſhould be in the walls three rows of poliſh'd marble, and one of wood, of the growth of the country, and the charge of it to be defray'd out of the king's treaſury; that the holy veſſels which Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple, ſhould be carried back to Jeruſalem, and reſtor'd; that the ſuperintendency of this work ſhould be committed to Abaſſar, the governor of Syria and Phenicia, and to his companions, with orders, not to appear at Jeruſalem themſelves, but to leave the building of the temple to the Jews, the ſervants of God, and to the chief of their tribes; and to ſupply them, however, out of the taxes upon the province, and to furniſh them for their ſacrifices, with bulls, rams, lambs, kids, meal, wine, oil, and whatever elſe the prieſts ſhould deſire, who were to pray to God for the welfare and happineſs of the king of Perſia, and of his people; and whoever ſhould preſume to act contrary to this mandate, to be forthwith taken and hang'd up, and his goods confiſcated, with the addition of a curſe over and above, that whoever ſhould dare to oppoſe or forbid the progreſs of this work, God would ſtrike him with a vengeance, as a judgment upon him for his iniquity.”

WHEN Darius, upon a ſearch into the tranſactions of Cyrus, had inform'd himſelf upon the matter of fact in queſtion, he wrote back to Siſines and his fellow-collegues, to this effect:

King Darius to Siſines, the maſter of his horſe; and to Sarabazanes, and the other magiſtrates with him, greeting.

Darius re-inforces the care of the work, Ver. 27, &c.

“I SEND you a copy of Cyrus's letter, tranſcribed out of his records, and it is my will and pleaſure that all things may be done according to the direction of that appointment. Fare you well.”

THIS letter gave them to underſtand how the king ſtood inclin'd; ſo that Siſines, and the reſt, agreed among themſelves, to comply in all points with the king's orders and command; and undertaking the care of the fabrick, they aſſiſted the Jews, and their magiſtrates and leading men, and carried on the work ſo unanimouſly, that the building was erected according to the command of Cyrus and Darius, and finiſhed within the compaſs of ſeven years; the prophets Aggeus and Zacharias, in the mean time propheſying. In the ninth year of Darius, and the three and twentieth day of the eleventh month, which we call Adar; and the Macedonians Dyſtrus, the prieſts and Levites, with the people of Iſrael, offer'd in ſacrifice, a hundred bulls, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs, and twelve goats, as ſin-offerings for the twelve tribes, in acknowledgment of the bleſſing of their deliverance from captivity into the condition of their former ſtate, and to his holy worſhip again in a new temple. The prieſts and Levites had their porters at every gate, according to the law, the Jews having built galleries round about the temple.

The temple is finiſh'd in ſeven years, Eſdras vii. 5. The dedication of the temple, Ver. 7.

The paſſover is kept, V. 10.

THE feaſt of unleavened bread was now drawing on, and in the firſt month, which the Macedonians call Xanthicus, and we Niſan, the people flock'd up from all places to the city, where they celebrated that feſtival, together with their wives and children, after the practice of their forefathers, with all purity and ſobriety anſwerable to the occaſion. Upon the fourteenth day of the firſt month they held the paſſover, and kept together rejoicing for ſeven days after; offering up ſacrifices and thankſgiving to God, for reſtoring them to the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of their native country, and their antient laws and religion, and for diſpoſing the heart and inclination of the king of Perſia ſo favourably toward them. They ſpared for no coſt in the celebration of this feſtival, and ſo replanted themſelves in Jeruſalem, where they erected an Ariſtocracy; for the ſovereign power was lodg'd in the high-prieſt, till the Aſmonean family, upon a turn of affairs, enter'd upon the government, and turn'd it into a monarchy. Now before the captivity, and for the ſpace of five hundred thirty two years ſix months and ten days, from the time of Saul and David, they were govern'd by kings; and ſo they were likewiſe before, though under the name of judges, and that form of government continued upwards of five hundred years, after the adminiſtration of Moſes and Joſhua. This was the ſtate of the Jews in the reſtoration under Cyrus and Darius.

An ariſtocracy erected.

The Samaritans ſpiteful and envious to the Jews.

BUT the Samaritans, who were an envious ſpiteful ſort of people, put them to a great deal of vexatious trouble; for they were powerful and wealthy, and claiming kindred with the Perſians, they valued themſelves upon the credit of their original. They murmured at the taxes that were laid upon them by way of contribution to the ſacrifices, made an intereſt to the ſuperintendent of the works; and, in ſhort, either by themſelves, or by others, they improv'd all opportunities of doing us miſchief. This diſorder, in fine, went ſo far, that the ſenate and the people of Jeruſalem drew up a complaint againſt the Samaritans, and ſent Zorobabel with four more of his collegues upon the embaſſy with it to Darius. When the king came to conſider the crimes that were charg'd upon the Samaritans, he gave them a

Zorobabel and four more ſent with a complaint to Darius againſt the Samaritans.

letter back with them for the officers and lieutenants of that province, and the ſenate of Samaria, in words to this purpoſe:

King Darius to Tangar and Sambaba, the maſter of our horſe at Samaria, and to Sadrack Bobelon, and the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects there, ſendeth greeting.

Darius reproves them for being ſo croſs to the Jews.

“WHEREAS I am given to underſtand by Zorobabel, Ananias, and Mardochæus, on the part of the Jews, that you ſtand accuſed of interrupting and diſcouraging the rebuilding of the temple, and of refuſing to bear your part in the charge of the ſacrifices, which by my order and command you ought to have done: this is to will and require you upon the ſight of this letter, forthwith to ſupply them out of my treaſury in Samaria, with whatſoever they ſhall want for the uſe of their ſacrifices and worſhip, to the end that they may offer up daily prayers and oblations, both for myſelf and for my people.”

CHAP. V.

Xerxes ſucceeds Darius, and grants to Eſdras whatever he deſires in favour of the Jews. The character and death of Eſdras. Nehemiah gets permiſſion of Xerxes to rebuild the walls of Jeruſalem.

Xerxes ſucceeds his father Darius.

AFTER the death of Darius, his ſon * Xerxes ſucceeded to the government, the heir of his father's piety, as well as of his kingdom; for he made good all that his predeceſſor had done in favour of the Jews and their religion, having a great tenderneſs for both. Joachim the ſon of Jehu was at this time high-prieſt; but the name of the high-prieſt of the Jews that liv'd at Babylon, was Eſdras, a man of a moſt exemplary piety and juſtice, and no man had a fairer reputation among the people. He was ſo well vers'd and skill'd in the Moſaick law, that the king had a particular eſteem for him on that account. Upon a reſolution taken to go to Jeruſalem, and to carry ſeveral of the Babylonian Jews along with him, he deſir'd ſuch a letter from the king as might recommend him to the governors and lieutenants of Syria, which he obtain'd, and the purport of it was this:

Eſdras deſigns for Jeruſalem, with as many of the Babylonian Jews as he can get along with him, 1 Eſdras viii. 5, 6.

Xerxes, the king of kings, to Eſdras the prieſt, and reader of the holy law of God, greeting.

Xerxes gives him letters of licence, recommendation, credit, and authority, Ver. 9--24.

“WHEREAS it is decreed by me and my ſeven counſellors, that what Iſraelites ſoever within my dominions, with their prieſts and Levites, ſhall think fit to bear you company to Jeruſalem, I have, out of my royal clemency, granted them free leave to go to Judea, to worſhip according to the laws of their country; and likewiſe to take along with them all the gold and ſilver, be it never ſo much, that your people all over Babylon ſhall willingly contribute toward that ſervice, for the buying of ſacrifices, to offer upon the altar to your God, and for making ſuch veſſels of gold and ſilver, as you and your brethren ſhall judge meet. It is alſo my will, that what is thus given you, be dedicated to your God; and if you ſhall have occaſion for any thing elſe, uſe your own diſcretion, and ſupply yourſelf out of the publick treaſure; to which end I have already written to the officers that have the cuſtody of it in Syria and Phenicia, expreſly commanding them to furniſh whatſoever Eſdras the prieſt, and the reader of the law of God ſhall deſire, without any delay; and to the end that God may proſper both me and mine, I will have a hundred Côres † of wheat dedicated to God, according to the proviſion of the law; and for the magiſtrates, I do ſtrictly charge and require of them, that they exact nothing from the prieſts, Levites, holy ſingers, porters, or other officers of the temple, and that they lay no burdens upon them. And for yourſelf, Eſdras, I do hereby give you full authority, according to the wiſdom you have received from above, to conſtitute judges that may ſee juſtice done to all people through Syria and Phenicia, that underſtand the law, and are conſcientious in their duty; and at the ſame time do you inſtruct the ignorant, to the end that all tranſgreſſors againſt the law of God, and of the king, may be puniſh'd according to their demerit; ſome with pecuniary fines, others with death, according to the quality of the offence, where it ſhall be found committed, either through contumacy or weakneſs. Farewel.”

A meeting of the Jews at Babylon, Ver. 27.

Eſdras's credentials read, and copies of them diſperſed.

Upon the credit of this commiſſion Eſdras draws a mighty train of people after him, Ver. 28--61.

UPON the receipt of this letter, Eſdras worſhipped God, and gave thanks, aſcribing to his bleſſed providence all the benefits and grace they had received from the king, who ſerv'd but as the inſtrument of that divine and original goodneſs. The Jews of that country were upon this occaſion ſummon'd to a general meeting at Babylon, where the letter was read, and the copy of it tranſcrib'd and ſent away, to be communicated to all the Jews in Media, but Eſdras kept the original to himſelf. This account of the king's wonderful piety towards God, and of the reſpect and kindneſs he had for Eſdras, was a ſurprize of wonderful ſatisfaction to the people; for great numbers of them pack'd up their goods and effects, and haſten'd away to Babylon, with a purpoſe to return to Jeruſalem; but there were then another ſort of Iſraelites, who being accuſtom'd to the place, and ſettled in their habitations, choſe rather to continue where they were; and this is the reaſon that there are only two tribes to be found in Aſia and Europe, under the Roman emperor. As for the other ten tribes, they are all planted beyond the Euphrates, and ſo prodigiouſly encreas'd in number, that they are hardly to be computed. The publication of this recommendatory teſtimonial brought over abundance of people to Eſdras, and not only prieſts and Levites, but temple-porters, ſingers, and other

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* Vorſtius, in his 5 Exercit. upon Daniel, ſhews that Joſephus errs, in making Xerxes, the ſon of Darius Hyſtaſpes, to be the ſame with Artaxerxes, by whoſe permiſſion the Jews return'd to Paleſtine, as we have it in the book of Nehemiah.

† A Côre was the ſame as a Chomer, and contained about ſix hundred and five Engliſh pints; an hundred Côres therefore muſt amount to ſixty thouſand five hundred pints, Engliſh meaſure.

officers

Eſdras's arrival at Jeruſalem, where he delivers up his truſt of preſents into the treaſury, 1 Eſdras viii. 61--64.

officers and ſervants appertaining thereunto. As for thoſe who had a mind to return out of captivity into their own country, he appointed them a rendezvous at the Euphrates, where, after a three days faſt, and the ſolemnity of vows and prayers for a ſafe and a proſperous voyage, (Eſdras excuſing himſelf from the guard of horſe that was offer'd him, as being already under the protection of the Almighty,) they enter'd upon their journey on the twelfth day of the firſt month, in the ſeventh year of the reign of Xerxes, and got to Jeruſalem in the fifth month of the ſame year, where Eſdras immediately deliver'd out the money he brought, to the prieſts that had the cuſtody of the holy treaſure; ſix hundred and fifty * talents of ſilver, a † hundred talents of ſilver veſſels, twenty ‡ talents of veſſels of gold, and twelve ‖ talents of fine braſs, that was even more precious than gold itſelf. Theſe were the bounties of the king and his friends, and of the Iſraelites that continued in Babylon. When Eſdras had acquitted himſelf of this truſt, he offered unto God burnt-offerings, according to the direction of the law, twelve bulls for the whole people of Iſrael, ſeventy two ſheep and lambs, and twelve goats for a ſin-offering. He communicated alſo the king's letter to the ſtewards and governors of Phenicia and Cele-Syria, who had the Iſraelites in great honour, and readily ſupplied them with whatever they wanted, when they ſaw they could do no other. This was all done by the advice of Eſdras; and I do verily perſuade myſelf, that God's bleſſing went along with it, for the very piety and virtue of the man.

A complaint to Eſdras againſt thoſe Levites that had married ſtrange women, Ver. 92. and Ezra ix. 1, 2.

Esdras's lamentation, Ezra ix. 5, &c.

and interceſſion for the offenders, ib.

By this time they had been a little compoſed and ſettled in their affairs, it came to the ears of Eſdras, that ſome of the prieſts and Levites had departed from the rule of the law, and their duty, in marrying into foreign families, and ſo confounding the ſacerdotal race. Hereupon there was application made to him, that he would ſtand by and ſupport the laws, for fear God in his wrath, for the iniquity of ſome few, ſhould avenge himſelf upon the whole body of the people. Eſdras, upon this complaint, rent his cloaths in a paſſion of ſorrow, tearing the hair off of his head and beard, and caſting himſelf upon the ground, in a deſpair of doing any good in this matter; for there were ſo many great men concern'd in this abomination, that he thought it would be to no purpoſe to lay any injunction upon them to part with their wives and children, ſo that he continued ſtill deſponding, with his face upon the earth. All people that had any ſenſe of goodneſs and reverence for the laws of God and their country, gather'd together about him, to condole with him, and to ſympathize in his ſorrows. Eſdras in the mean time, holding up his hands, ſaid, “Thou, O God, knows I am “aſhamed to lift up my eyes to heaven on the “behalf of theſe people, when I conſider, “that after all the dreadful judgments upon “their anceſtors for their diſobedience, they “will yet go on in the ſteps of their forefathers. But, Lord, thy mercy is infinite; “wherefore have pity, I beſeech thee, upon “this miſerable remnant of thy diſtreſſed ſervants; and as thou haſt been graciouſly “pleaſed to bring them home again, perfect “the work of thy redemption, in the pardon “of their preſent tranſgreſſion. It is confeſs'd “that they deſerve to die for their iniquity; “but their truſt is in thy goodneſs.”

A reſolution taken to turn away their ſtrange wives and children by them, Ezra x. 1--9.

A meeting at Jeruſalem upon it, ibid.

A commiſſion of enquiry for innocent men to take an account of the guilty, Ver. 12--16.

While the holy man was in this agony of pious affliction, with a multitude of men, women, and children, gather'd about him, there came to him one Jechonias, a man of quality in Jeruſalem, with a publick confeſſion and declaration of the ſin they were all guilty of, that contrary to the law had married ſtrange women, adviſing him to impoſe an oath upon all that had ſo done, to turn away all their wives and children they had by them; and whoever ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to that law, to be ſeverely puniſhed for it. Eſdras lik'd the counſel, and took an oath of the chief of the prieſts and Levites, and of all Iſrael, to do as was propounded. So ſoon as this was over, he went from the temple to the chamber of Joanan, the ſon of Eliaſib, where he ſpent that whole day without eating any thing, for the trouble that was upon him. The next thing he did, was to command by proclamation, all thoſe people that were now return'd out of captivity, to meet at Jeruſalem in two or three days; and in caſe of any failure, either by neglect or contempt, the penalty to be excommunication, and confiſcation of goods to the holy treaſury. Within three days the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin aſſembled together, on the twentieth day of the ninth month, which the Hebrews call Thebeth, and the Macedonians Appellæus; and when they had placed themſelves in the upper part of the temple, the elders being there preſent, Eſdras ſtood up and told them, “That whereas they “were all guilty of a grievous ſin, that in “contempt of their country's laws had enter'd into marriage with ſtrangers, they had “no way to recover God's favour, and to ſecure themſelves, but by utterly caſting off “the women they had ſo taken.” Whereupon they all cried out with one voice, that they were ready to do it; but the number being very great, the ſeaſon extremely cold, and the buſineſs a matter of importance, they look'd upon it as a thing that requir'd time and conſideration to go through with it; ſo that upon this reflection it was propoſed that a commiſſion of enquiry might be iſſued out to a ſelect number of eminent men and elders, that were innocent themſelves of the fact in queſtion. This motion was receiv'd and approv'd, without any demur or contradiction, and upon the firſt day of the tenth month they enter'd upon the inquiſition, which continued till the firſt day of the month following; and upon the ſcrutiny, they found great numbers of the relations of Jeſus the high-prieſt, as well as of other prieſts and Levites, and the reſt of the Iſraelites, that being involv'd in

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* An hundred and fifty talents weighed ſeventy four thouſand, one hundred and forty pounds, ſeven ounces, and ten pennyweights, and their value in ſilver amounted to two hundred and twenty two thouſand, four hundred and twenty one pounds, ſeventeen ſhillings, and ſix pence.

† An hundred talents weighed eleven thouſand four hundred and ſix pounds, three ounces, and amounted in value to thirty four thouſand two hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen ſhillings.

‡ Twenty talents weighed two thouſand two hundred and eighty one pounds, three ounces, and their value in gold was worth an hundred and nine thouſand five hundred pounds.

‖ Twelve talents weighed thirteen thouſand ſix hundred and eighty nine pounds.

An abdication agreed upon, Ezra x. 17, &c.

the ſame common tranſgreſſion, joined immediately in the abandoning of their wives and children, ſo much did they prefer the reſpect they had for the obſervance of their laws, to any other tenderneſs of love and inclination, how powerful ſoever. After the ſolemnity of this diſclaimer, they offer'd up rams according to cuſtom, for peace-offerings; which is enough ſaid, without naming the perſons. Eſdras, by this means, ſet them right again in the reſtraint of their marriages, and ſettled ſuch a reformation in that particular, as was upon that foundation to ſtand firm for ever after.

The feaſt of tabernacles, 1 Eſdras ix. 37.

Eſdras reads the law of Moſes to the people, Ver. 40, &c. and Nehemiah viii.

In the ſeventh was the feaſt of tabernacles, and almoſt the whole multitude of the Iſraelites were now met together upon that occaſion, in that part of the temple that looks toward the eaſt, where Eſdras at their requeſt read the law of God unto them as he ſtood in the middle of the crowd; and this lecture continued from morning to mid-day, to the very great edification of all the hearers; for they were thereby not only given to underſtand the rules and meaſures of truth and righteouſneſs, preſent and to come; but their thoughts were alſo carried back to reflections upon things paſt, in the hiſtory of the calamities that their foreſathers had endured, only for the violation of thoſe laws, in the obſervance whereof they might have been ſecure and happy. This conſideration drew tears from their eyes, and Eſdras taking notice how this compaſſionate ſoftneſs wrought upon them, bad them go home, and ſet their hearts at reſt, for it was a kind of prophaning of the holy ſolemnity, to weep upon a feſtival; wherefore he adviſed them to be rather as free and merry as they could, and to eat, drink, and rejoice, in honour of the day, exhorting them not to make their repentance a mortification to them, any further than to ſecure them for the future from a relapſe into the ſame miſtakes. The people were willing enough to follow his counſel, and ſo celebrated the feaſt as they ought to do; and after eight days ſpent in mirth and feaſting, they return'd every man to his own habitation, but not without thankful acknowledgments to Eſdras for the reformation he had wrought in the government. By this meritorious ſervice of his, he gain'd infinitely upon the hearts and affections of the people, ſo that he liv'd with honour, and died at Jeruſalem in an advanc'd age, where he had alſo a moſt magnificent burial. Jehoiakim the high-prieſt died alſo about the ſame time, and Eliaſim his ſon ſucceeded him.

The death of Eſdras. The death of Jehoiakim the high-prieſt, and Eliaſim his ſon ſucceeds him. Nehemiah cup-bearer to Xerxes, Nehemiah ii. 1.

There was among the Jewiſh captives a certain perſon whoſe name was Nehemiah, the butler or the cup-bearer to Xerxes. He was walking one day before Suſa, the capital of Perſia, and happened to hear ſome travellers that had come a long journey together into the city, talking Hebrew one to another. Upon this occaſion he ask'd them from what quarter they came? They told him from Judea. So he asked them further, from one thing to another, how it far'd with the people there, and what news from Jeruſalem? Why truly they made anſwer, that matters went very ill with them; their walls all pull'd down, and their country laid open to the outrages and incurſions of their ſpiteful neighbours; themſelves carried away into captivity, and the highways ſtrew'd every where up and down with dead bodies. Nehemiah could not forbear weeping at this deplorable calamity of his countrymen and kindred; and with his eyes erected toward heaven, cried out to Almighty God, "Lord, ſays he, how long! "how long Lord wilt thou ſuffer thy people "to be trampled upon, and expoſed for a prey "to mankind?" While Nehemiah was at the gate, and in the middle of his lamentations, one brought him word, that the king was ready to go to ſupper; ſo he preſently haſten'd away, all in confuſion and diſorder to his waiting. The king, after ſupper, being ſomewhat more cheerful than before, and taking notice of ſome ſort of heavineſs in the countenance of Nehemiah, asked him what he ail'd. "Alas! Sir, ſays Nehemiah, after a "ſhort ejaculatory prayer that God would "give energy and perſuaſion to his words, how "is it poſſible for me to be otherwiſe than "overwhelm'd with ſadneſs and heavineſs of "heart, when the place of my nativity is laid "waſte and deſtroy'd, Jeruſalem made an heap "of rubbiſh, the gates burnt, the ſepulchres "and monuments of my anceſtors broken up, "and the aſhes of the dead ſacrilegiouſly pro"phan'd? Now after all this, Sir, I have "but one favour to requeſt of you, which is, "that I may have your royal leave to take a "journey thither, to help forward the rebuild"ing of the walls, and finiſhing of what re"mains toward the erecting of the temple." The king granted his petition, and promiſed him letters recommendatory to the governors where he was to paſs, with orders to treat him with all manner of reſpect, and to ſupply him with whatever he wanted toward the work he was about; wherefore, ſays the king, ſet your thoughts at reſt, and go on cheerfully in my ſervice. Upon this aſſurance Nehemiah clear'd up, came to himſelf again, and bleſſed God and the king upon finding ſo gracious a diſpoſition in his favour. On the day following the king ſent for Nehemiah, and gave him letters of credit to Sadeus, the governor of Syria, Phenicia, and Samaria, with orders and inſtructions to receive and aſſiſt him, as he had promiſed. He went firſt to Babylon, and from thence, with as many of his friends and companions as voluntarily offer'd themſelves to bear him company, he went away to Jeruſalem, where he arriv'd in the twenty fifth year of the reign of Xerxes; and having firſt given his friends the ſight of his credentials, he deliver'd them to Sadeus, and his collegues, according to the addreſs. He preſently after this ſummon'd a general meeting of the people up to Jeruſalem, and harangu'd them in the temple after the following manner:

His lamentation for the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, Nehemiah i.

He gets leave of Xerxes to aſſiſt in the repairing of the city and temple, Nehemiah ii. 6.

Xerxes gives him letters of recommendation and commiſſion, V. 8.

He calls an aſſembly at Jeruſalem, Ver. 9, &c.

Nehemiah animates the people to go on courageouſly in the work, ibid.

"You cannot, ſays he, but ſee and under"ſtand, ye men of Judea, that we ourſelves "are at this day under the power and provi"dence of the ſame almighty and merciful "God that did ſo many great things for our "foreſathers Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, out "of a gracious regard to their piety and juſ"tice; and it is by the favour of that God "that I have now obtained leave from the "king to enter upon the rebuilding of your "walls, and the putting of an end to the "work of the temple, that is yet unfiniſh'd. "But taking this for granted by the way, that "the neighbouring nations are enemies to your "undertaking, and will do all that is to be

“ done in nature, for the croſſing your deſign, when they come once to ſee you heartily intent upon the work; I ſhall therefore recommend it to you in the firſt place to pluck up a good heart, and to caſt yourſelves upon God, who will moſt certainly defeat all the practices of your enemies; and ſecondly, that you ply your buſineſs day and night, without any intermiſſion, either of care or of labour, this being the proper ſeaſon for it.”

Nehemiah gives the neceſſary orders, Nehemiah ii. 9.

Upon this advice and exhortation Nehemiah immediately order'd the magiſtrates to ſurvey the ground, and take meaſure of the walls; and according to that computation to make an equal diſtribution of the work among the people, at ſo much a town, or a village, as it ſhould fall out in proportion; promiſing at the ſame time the aſſiſtance of himſelf, and of all that belonged to him, to join in the ſervice; and with theſe words he diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

and diſcharges the meeting, ib.

The authority of Nehemiah made ſuch an impreſſion upon the Jews, that they immediately applied themſelves to their buſineſs.

The firſt time theſe people were call'd Jews.

This was the firſt time that the people were ever call'd Jews, or their country Judea; and it was ſo called from the tribe of Judah, that were formerly poſſeſs'd of that quarter.

The neighbouring nations do all they can by force and treachery to diſappoint the enterprize, Nehemiah iv. 1--12.

THE rumour of this enterprize was no ſooner brought to the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Samaritans, and the Cele-Syrians, but they were all raging mad at it, and left nothing unattempted, either by force or by treachery, to diſappoint it. They lay in wait for the Jews up and down in ambuſhes, and deſtroy'd a a great many of them by ſurprize. They kept ruffians in pay, to attempt upon the perſon of Nehemiah himſelf; plying the people alſo with ſo many falſe alarums, and ſham ſtories of menace and invaſion, that the multitude were within a little of quitting the undertaking upon the very fright; but Nehemiah ſtood as firm as a rock all this while, and under the ſecurity of a ſlender guard, wrought on without any ſenſe of wearineſs or apprehenſion of danger; and it was not for the ſake of his own ſafety neither, or for the fear of death, that he made this proviſion; but he was very well aſſur'd, that if he himſelf ſhould be cut off, his countrymen would never go through with the building;

The workmen wrought with their arms about them, to prevent a ſurprize, Ver. 13--16.

ſo he gave orders for the future, that all the carpenters, maſons, and other labourers, ſhould work with their ſwords by their ſides, and their bucklers within diſtance of having them ready upon occaſion. He appointed trumpeters alſo to be poſted within five hundred * paces one of another, and upon any diſcovery of an enemy to give the alarum, that the people might have time enough to ſtand to their arms, without any danger of a ſurprize.

Nehemiah himſelf all the while upon conſtant duty, Ver. 17, &c.

He went every night the round of the city; and his body was ſo inur'd to hard work, hard fare, and watching, that it was proof againſt all thoſe difficulties; for he never eat or ſlept more than juſt to ſupport nature. This was his courſe of life for two years and three months; for juſt ſo long were the walls a finiſhing; and this was in the eight and twentieth year, and the ninth month of the reign of Xerxes.

Upon the perfecting of the works, Nehemiah vi.

Upon the perfecting of the fortifications, Nehemiah and the people offer'd up their ſacrifice, and continued together for eight days in feaſting and rejoicing, which was very unwelcome news to the Syrians, when they came to underſtand it. Nehemiah reflecting upon it, that the city at that time was thin of inhabitants, he perſuaded all the prieſts and Levites thereabouts to take up their habitations in the city, and he would be at the charge of providing them houſes.

Nehemiah provided for the peopling and the maintenance of the city, Nehemiah vii.

He order'd likewiſe the people in the country that follow'd husbandry, to carry their tenths into the city for the maintenance of the prieſts and Levites, and that they might not be diverted by any worldly cares from attending the duty of their office. This was readily agreed to on all hands; and by this means it came by degrees to be better peopled.

The death of Nehemiah.

After this, and a great many other glorious actions, worthy of eternal honour, Nehemiah, now in years, departed this life; a man naturally addicted to virtue and juſtice; a perſon of eminent bounty and charity to his countrymen, as may appear by this everlaſting monument of his generoſity and goodneſs, in the walls of Jeruſalem; and this is the hiſtory of what was done under the reign of Xerxes.

CHAP. VI.

Artaxerxes ſucceeds Xerxes. He puts away his wife Vaſhti, and marries Eſther, the niece of Mordecai. Haman preſſes the rooting out of the Jews, and the putting of Mordecai to death; but he is hanged himſelf upon the very gibbet he provided for Mordecai, and Mordecai promoted.

Cyrus, otherwiſe Artaxerxes, ſucceeds to Xerxes, his father.

AFTER the death of Xerxes, the government deſcended to his ſon Cyrus, whom the Greeks call † Artaxerxes; in whoſe reign over the Perſians, the whole nation of the Jews, with their wives and children, were in great danger of being utterly deſtroy'd, as ſhall be ſhew'd in due time and place. But ſomewhat ſhould be prieviouſly ſaid of the king himſelf, and how it came to paſs that he married a wife of the royal blood of the Jews, and as the hiſtory delivers it, the protectreſs of our nation.

The king makes a magnificent feaſt, Eſther i. 3, 4.

When Artaxerxes had taken the crown upon him, and ſettled the governors of a hundred and twenty ſeven provinces betwixt India and Ethiopia, he made a moſt magnificent and ſumptuous feaſt at Suſa, in the third year of his reign, where he treated his friends and officers, as became the dignity of ſo great a prince; and the ſolemnity laſted a hundred and fourſcore days. There were ſeveral other nations alſo, and their embaſſadors, that aſſiſted at the ceremony of the entertainment ſeven whole days ſucceſſively;

The pomp and order of it, Ver. 5--9.

and it was order'd after this manner: there was a tent erected upon golden and ſilver pillars, cover'd with fine linnen and purple, and large enough to receive ſome thouſands of people. The wine was ſerv'd up in cups of gold and precious ſtones, that were made both for curioſity and delight. There was order given to the waiters, after the Perſian manner, that no man ſhould be forced to drink any more than he had a mind to, and ploclamation made all over his dominions, that they ſhould ſet ſome certain number of days apart for the celebration of a feſtival for the proſperity and ſafety of the kingdom. Queen Vaſhti had her apartment alſo in the palace for the entertainment of the women. She was ſo wonderfully handſome, that the king had a mind to oblige his gueſts with the ſight of her, and ſo ſent for her to come to him;

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* Viz. Five hundred yards, or half a mile.

† In the canonical part of Eſther he is called Ahaſuerus, but in the apocryphal Artaxerxes.

Vaſhti the queen invited to him, Eſther i. 10, 11.

She refuſes to come, though ſent for over and over, Ver. 12.

but the laws of Perſia, it ſeems, will not allow wives to be ſeen by any beſide their domeſticks; ſo that out of a reverence to that prohibition, ſhe refuſed to go to the king, and not only once, but upon ſeveral orders brought her by the eunuchs to the ſame purpoſe, ſhe perſiſted ſtill in the denial. The king took this obſtinacy ſo ill, that after the feſtival was over, he call'd for the ſeven commiſſioners that were expreſly appointed for the interpretation of the Perſian laws to adviſe with, what was to be done in this caſe of his wife's contumacy and diſobedience;

The king adviſes with his council what to do in the caſe, V. 13-15.

complaining that it was not only once, but over and over that ſhe refuſed to come to him; and ſo he deſired to know what the law directed in that caſe. One of them whoſe name was Muchæus, gave his opinion, "That it was not only an affront to himſelf in the matter of fact, but a preſident of dangerous conſequence to all his ſubjects in general, whoſe wives would be apt to deſpiſe their husbands too, and by that contempt provoke them to lewd courſes, if this exemplary contumacy of the queen's againſt ſo mighty a king ſhould paſs unpuniſh'd; concluding, that as it was a heinous offence, ſo it ought to be encounter'd with an anſwerable ſeverity; and that nothing leſs would ſatisfy, than the baniſhing of Vaſhti from the king's court and preſence for ever; and this to be done alſo by proclamation, and another taken into her place."

Muchæus adviſes him to baniſh her, and turn her off, V. 16-20.

The king was ſo divided betwixt the love he had for the queen, and the reſpect he had for the law, the one being againſt their parting, and the other againſt their living together, that he was miſerably diſtracted what to do in this difficulty of acting againſt his inclination. While he was in this anxiety of thought, his friends plied him with good offices and counſels, to divert him from the weakneſs of making himſelf miſerable for the unprofitable love of one woman, when he might have the greateſt beauties upon the face of the earth at his devotion, if he thought fit to command them; ſo that he had no more to do, but to get a ſight of her, and take her for his wife, that he had moſt a mind to, out of the whole ſex; variety and a new love would quickly wear out the fondneſs of a former, and a little cuſtom and converſation would bring him to himſelf again.

The king yields, Ver. 21, 22.

THE king, upon ſecond thoughts, was well enough pleaſed with the advice, and ſent commiſſioners immediately over all his dominions to take a view of the moſt celebrated beauties they could find, and bring them up to him. They were very punctual and diligent in the execution of their charge; and among others, they found a maid in Babylon, whoſe name was Eſther.

Eſther is brought in to ſupply the place of Vaſhti; an orphan, and under the care of her uncle Mordecai, a Benjamite, Eſther ii. 6--9.

Her father and mother were both dead, and ſhe brought up under the care of her uncle Mordecai, who was of the tribe of Benjamin, and a principal man among the Jews. This virgin was ſo much beyond all the reſt, for the graces of her beauty and perſon, that ſhe was the admiration of every one who ſaw her. She was committed to the care of one of the eunuchs, where ſhe was treated with all poſſible delicacy and reſpect; that is to ſay, with the richeſt of eſſences and perfumes, and all other ornamental curioſities that are made uſe of in courts by great ladies, to make them more agreeable and charming. At this rate was Eſther treated for the ſpace of ſix months, in company with four hundred virgins, after which time, being thus prepared for the king's bed, he had every day one of them brought him, whom he received into his arms, and then ſent back again to the ſame eunuch.

The king falls in love with Eſther, and takes her to wife, ibid.

But when it came to Eſther's turn, he was ſo tranſported with the love of her company and converſation, that he took her to himſelf for his lawful wife, and celebrated the nuptials in the ſeventh year of his reign, and the twelfth month, which is called Adar, ſending his meſſengers every where up and down to proclaim the ſolemnity of a marriage-feſtival. As for the Medes and Perſians, and the great men of other nations, the king himſelf entertain'd them at the wedding-feaſt, for the ſpace of one whole month; and upon his wife's entering into the palace, he placed the crown upon her head, and ſo liv'd with her without ever enquiring after her country, or her extraction.

Mordecai often at the king's gate enquiring after Eſther, Ver. 11.

Her uncle remov'd from Babylon to Suſa, where he would be often waiting at the king's gate, and ſtill inquiſitive after Eſther's welfare, who was equally dear to him, as if ſhe had been his own child.

None to approach the king upon his throne uncall'd, upon pain of death, Eſther iv. 11.

THE king at this time paſs'd an ordinance, that none of his domeſticks ſhould preſume, while he was ſitting upon his royal throne, to come to him, unleſs they were call'd or ſent for, upon pain of loſing their heads for it; and there were officers with their axes ſtill at hand to do the execution. The king in the mean time had a golden ſcepter in his hand, and whenſoever he had a mind to ſave any of thoſe that came uncall'd, he held that ſcepter forth, and upon their touching it, they were exempted from the penalty; and ſo much for that at preſent.

A conſpiracy againſt Artaxerxes diſcover'd to Mordecai, and by him to the king by Eſther, Ver. 21, &c.

THERE broke out a little after this a conſpiracy that was form'd betwixt Bigthan and Tereſh, two of the chamberlains, or eunuchs, againſt the perſon of the king. Barnabazus, a ſervant of one of them, and a Jew by extraction, diſcover'd this treachery to Mordecai, the king's uncle; and he, by the hands of Eſther, to the king himſelf, who had ſuch an apprehenſion of the thing, that he put the criminals to the queſtion, and upon conviction, they were both deliver'd up to juſtice. The king gave Mordecai no other reward for this diſcovery, than by appointing the ſervice and the deliverance to be regiſter'd upon the record, and the allowing him admittance into the palace, with the ſame freedom and privilege as one of his domeſticks.

The ſervice recorded, ib.

HAMAN, the ſon of Ammedatha, an Amalekite, being now advanced by the king, and coming frequently to court, the Perſians, as well as ſtrangers, paid him the greateſt reverence imaginable ſtill in his paſſage; and it was alſo the king's pleaſure and command that it ſhould be ſo.

Haman ſlighted by Mordecai, Eſther iii. 1, 2.

Mordecai was the only perſon that did not bow to him, being a ceremony contrary to the practice of his country, which did not allow of that manner of reſpect. Haman taking notice of this ſingularity in Mordecai, asked him what countryman

Haman finding Mordecai to be a Jew,

meditates a revenge upon the nation. Eſther iii .6.

Haman calumniates the Jews to the king;

and moves to have all the Jews extirpated out his dominions. V. 8--9.

The king leaves it to Haman. V. 11.

Haman iſſues out a proclamation in the king's name, to have them all put to the ſword, man, woman, and child. Eſther xiii. 1--7.

he was? And finding him to be a * Jew, broke out into a violent exclamation, at the inſolence of ſuch a ſcoundrel; that when all the natives and the free-born Perſians made no difficulty of doing him that honour, this Jew, who was no better than a ſlave, ſhould preſume to affront him. In this rage, he took up a deſperate reſolution to be reveng'd upon Mordecai; and the hatred he had for the Jews was ſo mortal, that it was not enough, he thought, to wreak a vengeance upon the perſon of Mordecai alone, without deſtroying the whole race of the Jews at once; not forgetting at the ſame time, that the Amalekites his countrymen, had been formerly beaten out of their land, and utterly exterminated by the Jews. In the heat of this outrageous indignation, Haman haſtens to the king, and accoſts with a complaint in his mouth againſt the Jews, as a vile generation of people in every reſpect, inſociable in their humours, ſingular in their manners, given up to the ſuperſtitious laws and ceremonies ſcattered up and down in all quarters of his dominions, and men that ſhew themſelves in their practices and converſations, the common enemies of mankind. “Now Sir, (ſays Haman,) if you will lay the greateſt obligation in the world upon your ſubjects, you muſt order this ſort of men to be rooted out from among your people, without ſparing ſo much as one captive, or one ſervant, in the whole number. And for our ſecurity, that you ſhall not ſuffer by it in your revenue, I will be anſwerable for † forty thouſand talents of ſilver, to your treaſury, out of my own eſtate; for I ſhall not value any diminution of my own particular fortune, provided that your dominions may be clear'd of this lewd ſort of people.” The king told Haman, upon this propoſal, that he would leave the Jews to be dealt with according to his diſcretion, and remit the money over and above. Haman, immediately upon this, publiſh'd an edict in the king's name, and ſent it abroad thorough all his dominions, to this effect:

The great king Artaxerxes to the hundred and twenty ſeven governors of the provinces betwixt India and Ethiopia, greeting.

“WHEREAS it has pleaſed God to give me the command of ſo many nations, and a dominion over the reſt of the world, as large as I my ſelf deſire, I being reſolved to do nothing that may be either tyrannical or grievous toward my people, and to bear a gentle and an eaſy rule over them, with an eye to the preſerving of their peace and liberties, in the firſt place, and to ſettle them in a ſtate of tranquillity and happineſs not to be ſhaken. All this I have taken in mature conſideration; and being given to underſtand, by my truſty and well beloved friend and counſellor, Haman, a perſon of a try'd faith, prudence and juſtice, and whom I eſteem above all others, that there is a mixture of a ſort of inhuman people among my ſubjects, who take upon them to govern by their own laws, and to preſcribe ways to themſelves in contempt of publick order and government; men deprav'd, both in their cuſtoms, and in their manners; and enemies, not only to monarchy, but to the methods of our royal adminiſtration: This is therefore to will and require, that, upon notice given unto you by Haman (who is to me as a father) of the perſons intended by this my proclamation, you put all the ſaid perſons, men, women and children to the ſword, without any commiſeration or favour, in a ſtrict purſuance of my decree: And it is my farther command, that you put this in execution upon the thirteenth day of the twelfth month of this preſent year; to make but one day's work of the deſtruction of all mine and your enemies, in order to a future peace and ſecurity all our lives after.”

This edict was quickly ſpread from town to town thorough the whole empire, and the people made themſelves ready accordingly to do execution upon the Jews at the day appointed; and there was the ſame diſpoſition to miſchief at Suſa, the king's place of reſidence, as elſewhere. The king and Haman, all this while paſs'd their time in drinking, feaſting and making merry: But the people of the town were under very diſmal apprehenſions, at the thought of ſo barbarous a maſſacre at hand.

Mordecai plants himſelf at the king's gate in ſackcloth and aſhes. Eſther iv. 1, 2.

So ſoon as Mordecai came to be informed of the tenor and intent of this proclamation, he tore his garments, put on ſackcloth, and went up and down the town with aſhes on his head, exclaiming againſt the horrid injuſtice of that murderous and bloody deſign upon the Jews. At this rate he went raving from one place to another, till he came at laſt to ſtop before the gate of the king's palace; for there was no entrance allow'd to any man in that habit. The reſentment and behaviour of the Jews was the ſame in all other places, as well as here, upon the communication of the king's orders: that is to ſay, they were every where overwhelmed with lamentations and deſpair. When it came to the queen's ear, that Mordecai was before the gate of the palace in that forlorn habit, ſhe was troubled at the report, and ſent one out to him to change his Garment; but his anſwer was, that he could not do it, till the cauſe was firſt remov'd that made him take it up. It fell out that Hatach, one of the king's eunuchs, was at that time in the queen's preſence; ſo ſhe call'd him to her, and preſently ſent him out to inform himſelf what had befallen Mordecai, that he ſhould put himſelf into ſuch a dreſs, and then refuſe to quit it again at her requeſt. The eunuch put theſe queſtions to Mordecai, who gave him the whole ſtory of the buſineſs at length, and in order, how the king, at the inſtigation of Haman, had iſſued out his royal proclamation thorough all his dominions, for the extirpating of the Jews,

Eſther ſends Hatach to Mordecai to know the meaning of it. V. 5.

Mordecai tells the meſſenger the whole ſtory of the edict. V. 7--1.

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[*] See Cunæus de Rep. Hebr. l. iii. c. 4.

[†] We take the talent here meant to be the Babylonian, which was much inferior to the Hebrew, and weighed only ſixty ſix pounds, ſix ounces, eight pennyweights, and eighteen grains, and its value in ſilver amounted to no more than one hundred ninty nine pounds, twelve ſhillings, and two pence farthing; forty thouſand therefore muſt weigh two million ſix hundred ſixty one thouſand ſix hundred and ten pounds, and amount in value to ſeven million nine hundred eighty four thouſand three hundred and ſeventy five pounds Engliſh money: But the ſum here ſeems greatly exaggerated by Joſephus; for in Eſther iii. 9. there is mention made of no more than ten thouſand talents of ſilver, that Haman offer'd to pay the king upon this account.

and how vaſt a ſum of money Haman had offer'd by way of compoſition, for leave to do it. Mordecai gave him a true copy of the edict from the original, to be deliver'd to the queen; deſiring farther, that ſhe would be pleas'd to make an humble application to the king upon this matter, and to intercede with him on their behalf; for the lives of the whole nation were in queſtion, and this was not a time to ſtand upon punctilio's, or neceſſities of ſtate; for Haman, that was as the king's right hand, would never leave calumniating the Jews, and exaſperating the king againſt them, till he had gain'd his point. Upon the eunuch's giving the queen this account of the matter, ſhe ſent Mordecai word back again, "That it was a capital crime to break in upon the king when he was upon his throne of ſtate, without being call'd to attend him, unleſs he ſhould vouchſafe to hold forth his golden ſcepter in token of his pardon." When Mordecai heard this, he preſs'd the queen once again, by the ſame meſſenger as before, telling her, that it was not her own perſonal ſafety that was now the queſtion, but the ſecurity of the whole race; adviſing her likewiſe to have a care how ſhe ſlipt that opportunity of doing ſo neceſſary and charitable an office; and to aſſure her that God himſelf would relieve them, even if ſhe ſhould neglect to do it: And that ſhe and her family might live to be at the mercy of thoſe that ſhe now deſpiſed. Eſther then made uſe of the ſame meſſenger back again to her uncle, to call an aſſembly of the Jews together at Suſa, and to indict a three days faſt for the ſafety of the queen; that ſhe and her ſervants would do the like; and that after that preparation, ſhe was reſolved to go to the king, in deſpite of all prohibition and danger: And that if ſhe muſt die, ſhe would frankly expoſe her life in that ſervice. Mordecai did as the queen order'd him; appointed a publick faſt, and humbled himſelf in ſupplications to Almighty God, to defeat the malice of their enemies; and according to his wonted goodneſs, to extend his mercy to penitent offenders, and finally to deliver them from the deſtruction denounced againſt them: Repreſenting that "it was not for any fault of their own that they were expoſed to this extremity, but it was the pride of Haman's ſtomach, that thought it an indignity offer'd to himſelf, in the refuſal of that adoration to him, that was only due to God:" And that a whole nation was now to be rooted out, becauſe they would not be corrupted into a violation and contempt of the divine laws. The devotions of the whole multitude were all upon the ſame ſubject too, deſiring God to vouchſafe them his protection, and to avert that dreadful judgment from the Iſraelites, that now hung over their heads. The queen herſelf worſhipped likewiſe with her face proſtrate upon the ground, after the manner of her country, in a mourning weed, and impoſing upon herſelf a three days abſtinence from either meat or drink, or any other ſenſual ſatisfaction, beſeeching God to move the king's heart, in favour of her mediation for a miſerable and perſecuted people, by rendering both her words and her perſon more acceptable than ever, upon this fatal extremity, to the confuſion of their enemies, and of all their malicious deſigns upon her poor countrymen.

Mordecai begs Eſther's interceſſion. Eſther iv. 7, 8.

Eſther lays before him the danger of attempting it. V. 11.

Mordecai preſſes it again. V. 13, 15.

The queen adviſes the indicting of a three days faſt;

which was done and obſerv'd accordingly. V. 16, 17.

AFTER three days ſpent in a fervent and pious importunity for mercy and compaſſion from above, the queen put on her royal apparel; and with her two handmaids, leaning gently upon the one, and the other bearing up her train ſhe advanced towards the king; her face being cover'd with ſuch a bluſh as expreſs'd both grace and majeſty together, but at the ſame time not without ſome mixture alſo of doubtful apprehenſion; for upon the ſight of the king mounted on his throne, and the ſparkling glory of his robes, that were all over embroider'd with gold, pearl and precious ſtones, ſhe was taken all of a ſudden with a trembling at ſo ſurprizing a ſpectacle: And upon fancying over and above, that the king look'd upon her as if he were a little uneaſy, and out of humour, ſhe fell into the arms of one of her maids in a downright ſwoon †. This accident, by the intervention of God's holy will and providence, put the king into a fright, for fear ſhe might not come to herſelf again; ſo that making what haſte he could from his throne, he took her into his arms, and with the kindeſt words that could be, gave her this comfort, that no advantage ſhould be made of the law to her prejudice, though ſhe came without calling; for that was a decree that extended only to ſubjects; wherein ſhe was not at all concern'd, whom he look'd upon as his companion and partner in the empire. With theſe words he put his golden ſcepter into her hands, and laying it gently upon her neck, ſecur'd her from any farther fear or danger. Upon this tenderneſs both of love and aſſurance, coming to the uſe of her ſpeech and reaſon again, "Sir, (ſays ſhe) it is impoſſible for me to expreſs the manner of this ſudden ſeizure: But I had no ſooner the awful appearance of your ſacred perſon and majeſty in my eye, but my heart fail'd me." The queen accompany'd theſe words with ſo languiſhing an accent, and ſo weak a voice, that the lively repreſentation of what ſhe felt made the king ſtill more ſolicitous to comfort her; which he did in terms ſo explicit, that he bad her aſk him any thing to the one half of his kingdom, and that it ſhould be given her. Eſther told him that her requeſt was only this, that he would be pleaſed to take part of a treat with her that day; which ſhe had provided for him, and permit Haman to come along with him. Her ſuit was granted, and they both came; and when the king was in his cups, and in good humour, he call'd upon his wife as before, to aſk what ſhe pleaſed within that compaſs, and it ſhould be granted her. The queen begg'd the king's favour for the ſame honour again the day following at another entertainment, bringing Haman along with him once again; and ſhe would then take the freedom, ſhe ſaid, to preſent him her petition. The king was very well pleas'd with the propoſition; but Haman,

After three days humiliation, the queen approaches the king, Eſther v. 1.

and falls down in a ſwoon.

The king takes her into his arms and comforts her.

He gives her his golden ſcepter. V. 2.

The king bids her aſk any thing of him. V. 3.

Eſther's requeſt is only the king's company, and Haman with him. V. 4.

The king grants her ſuit, and bids her aſk again. V. 5, 6.

She begs the ſame honour for next day. V. 8.

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† This circumſtance of the queen's ſwooning is not mentioned in any of the canonical chapters of the book of Eſther, but in the fifteenth of the apocryphal.

overjoy'd at it, to find himſelf the only man that was ſingled out upon ſo honourable an occaſion, to bear the king company at a treat: But in his return homeward it was his fortune to ſee Mordecai the Jew in the king's palace; and taking notice that he paid him no ſort of reverence, he went with his wife Zeriſh with a knot of his friends about him, and there told them the whole ſtory, how much he was in the good graces of the king and the queen; how he had ſupp'd with them that day, upon a particular invitation, and was to be with them to-morrow again upon the ſame account. "But ſtill after all this (ſays he,) the ſawcy ſtiffneſs of the Jew Mordecai gives me no ſmall uneaſineſs."

Haman goes home to his friends overjoy'd with the ſtory; only he is offended with the ſtiffneſs of the Jew Mordecai. Eſther v. 9--13.

Zeriſh adviſes the ſetting up of a gibbet, and getting leave to hang up Mordecai. V. 14.

Why then, ſays Zeriſh, let me adviſe you what to do. Order a gallows of * fifty cubits high to be immediately ſet up, and get the king's leave to-morrow morning to hang up Mordecai upon it. Haman took his wife's counſel, and commanded his people to erect ſuch a gallows in his own palace, which he deſign'd for the execution of the Jew; and the gibbet was ſet up accordingly.

A gallows is ſet up, ibid. The king lay waking that night, and orders his ſecretary to read over ſome memorials to him. Being upon the ſubject of ſervices and rewards, he comes at laſt to Mordecai's diſcovery: and finds no mention of any advantage to him for the ſervice. Eſther vi. 1--3.

But God, who foreſees and orders all events, diſappointed wicked Haman in all his impious hopes and purpoſes; for that very night, the king finding that he could not ſleep, and accounting it time loſt to lie idle and waking, choſe rather to employ his thoughts upon ſomewhat that might turn to the advantage of his government, and ſo commanded his ſecretary to bring him his memorials and papers of ſtate, as well modern as ancient, and to read the contents of them. The king found upon the reading of them, the name of a perſon that had great honours and poſſeſſions given him, as a reward for a glorious and a remarkable action: And ſo likewiſe of another, that made his fortune by the bounties of his prince for his fidelity; coming at laſt to the particular ſtory of the conſpiracy of the two eunuchs, Bigthan and Tereſh againſt the perſon of the king; and of the diſcovery of this treaſon by Mordecai. The ſecretary read it over, and was paſſing forward to the the next; but the king bad him hold, and ask'd him if that perſon had any reward given him for his ſervice. The other made anſwer, that there was no reward mentioned in the relation, and ſo the king bad him ſtop there; and inquire of the waiters what time of night it was: And anſwer being brought that it was break of day, he bad his ſecretary go ſee if any of his friends were at the palace-gate, and bring him word; when he came to look, whom ſhould he find there but Haman, who was earlier up than ordinary, for fear of being too late with his petition to the king againſt the life of Mordecai. Word being brought to the king that Haman was at the gate, he ordered him to be call'd in; and upon his entrance into the lodging, the king ſpoke to him after this manner:

The king puts the caſe to Haman, what he ſhould do for the man he had the greateſt obligation for in the world. V. 6.

"I know (ſays he,) that you are the kindeſt friend to me in the world; and therefore I would ask your counſel, what mark of honour you would adviſe me to beſtow upon the perſon that I have the greateſt obligation to, imaginable; and I would do it with a reſpect to my own royal dignity, as well as to my affection."

Haman gave his opinion highly in his favour. V. 7. --9.

Haman made no doubt of finding his own intereſt in his reſolution to this queſtion, preſuming that this character could not be intended of any other than of himſelf: So Haman gave his opinion, that the king ſhould cloath the man whom he deſired to honour, with own his royal apparel, mount him upon his own horſe, make him a preſent of a golden chain, and then cauſe ſome one or other of his particular confidents and friends to march before him, as a herald, and make proclamation all over the city: That "thus ſhall it be done to the man that the king vouchſafes to honour."

Not doubting but the queſtion pointed at himſelf.

Haman is ordered to do honour to Mordecai, V. 10.

Now Haman ſuggeſted this counſel to the king; in confidence that he would adjudge this honour to him, and no other; and the king was highly pleaſed with the motion: "Wherefore go (ſays he,) and take the horſe, the apparel and the chain, and when you have found out Mordecai the Jew, equip him in theſe accoutrements; and when he is mounted, do you march before him in the quality of an officer, to make the proclamation; for you, being my particular friend, are the fitteſt man both to adviſe withal, and to execute your own counſel. I will do this honour to Mordecai, becauſe I am indebted to him for my life." This order being intirely unexpected, ſtruck Haman like a thunder-bolt:

and in the greateſt confuſion imaginable, he executes his orders. V. 11, &c.

But in this confuſion, however, he durſt do no other than execute it; and ſo was oblig'd to go with the horſe, habit, and the gold chain to look for Mordecai; and finding him at the palace-gate in his rags of humiliation, he bad him ſtrip himſelf of his ſackcloth, and put on that purple. Now the Jew, knowing nothing of the matter, took the whole ceremony for a mock, and treated Haman in plain terms, as a mean inſolent wretch, to inſult at that rate over the miſerable: But upon a farther reaſoning of the matter, Haman convinced him at laſt, that the king had order'd this honour to be done him in recompence of the ſervice he had render'd him in the ſaving of his life from the conſpiracy of the two eunuchs: and being thus convinced, he put on the royal purple, and the golden chain, mounted the king's horſe, and took the tour of the city; Haman making proclamation before him, Thus ſhall it be done unto him that the king honours. Mordecai, after this, went to the king; Haman ſneaking away ſhamefully to his own houſe, where he entertain'd his ſorrowful wife and friends, with the lamentable account of what had paſs'd. Upon the hearing of circumſtances, they found that there was no revenging themſelves upon Mordecai, for God had taken him into his protection.

As they were in the middle of this diſcourſe, the king's eunuchs came from Eſther, to call away Haman preſently to ſupper. One of them, whoſe name was Sabuchadas, taking notice of a gibbet that was erected there in the court, ask'd one of the ſervants the meaning of it, and underſtanding that it was prepared for Mordecai, the queen's uncle, whom Haman had deſigned to beg of the king for execution, he made no more words of it.

As the king and Haman were at ſupper with Eſther, the king bids her ask once again, as before, Eſther. vii. V. 2.

As they were at ſupper, and all parties pleaſed with the entertainment, the king put the for-

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* Fifty cubits, as we have before remarked, were ſomething, upwards of ninety one Engliſh feet, that is, thirty yards and one foot.

mer day's propoſal over again to the queen, with an aſſurance, that let her aſk what ſhe pleaſed, it ſhould not be denied her. Upon that occaſion ſhe fell into a deploring, ſad diſcourſe, upon the miſerable ſtate and danger of the Jewiſh nation; and how ſhe herſelf, and her countrymen were all deſign'd for deſtruction, giving the king to underſtand that this was the ſubject ſhe deſir'd leave to ſpeak upon. “She did not deſire, ſhe ſaid, to give any interruption to his affairs of ſtate; or if it had been ſo order'd that her countrymen might have only been ſold for ſlaves, this calamity might have paſs'd yet for tolerable; ſo that ſhe had only this ſuit to move him in, that he would be pleaſed to put a ſtop to the imminent deſtruction that was otherwiſe to be executed upon the whole race.” The king call'd out preſently to know who it was that had any ſuch deſign a foot. The queen made anſwer, without mincing the matter, “That Haman was the author of that advice, and that he did it out of an impulſe of pure malice to the people.” This diſcourſe put the king out of humour, and ſo he withdrew from the treat into the garden. Haman by this time found the ſtorm a coming, and began to apply himſelf to the queen, with acknowledgments of his miſtakes, and deſire of pardon; and caſting himſelf upon the bed by her as in a way of humiliation and reſpect. The king returning at the ſame time, and ſeeing Haman in that poſture upon the bed, was more irritated by that circumſtance, than by all the reſt, calling him the baſeſt and the wickedeſt of men, for ſo inſolent an attempt upon the honour of his wife. Theſe words were accompanied with ſuch a fierceneſs of tone and action, that Haman was directly out of his wits at the hearing of them, and had not one ſyllable to ſay for himſelf. Upon this the eunuch before mentioned told the king of a gibbet of fifty cubits in height, that Haman had ſet up for Mordecai in his own court, as he underſtood by one of his ſervants, when he was there to give him an invitation to ſupper. The king immediately took up a reſolution of inflicting the ſame puniſhment upon Haman, that he had prepar'd for Mordecai, and ſo order'd him immediately to be hang'd upon the ſame gibbet. I cannot paſs over this wonderful harmony of providences, without a remark upon the almighty power and the admirable juſtice and wiſdom of God, not only in bringing Haman to his deſerved puniſhment, but entrapping him in the very ſnare he had laid for another, and turning a malicious device upon the head of the contriver.

The queen's ſuit was only for a ſtop to the deſtruction of the Jews,

which Haman had deſign'd, Eſther vii. 3-6.

The king highly offended with Haman, Ver. 7.

An eunuch tells the king of a gallows ſet up by Haman for the execution of Mordecai, Ver. 9.

Haman order'd to be hang'd immediately upon the ſame gibbet, Ver. 10.

This was the end of Haman, the wicked abuſer of the king's goodneſs and bounty. His body was deliver'd up to juſtice, and his eſtate given to the queen. The queen had by this time made it known to the king that Mordecai was her kinſman; ſo that he ſent for him, and deliver'd him the ſame ring that Haman had been entruſted with before. The poſſeſſions of Haman, that the king had granted to the queen, ſhe beſtow'd upon Mordecai, and then made it her requeſt to his majeſty, that he would deliver the Jews out of that apprehenſion for their lives, that was yet upon them, minding him of the letters that Haman the ſon of Ammedatha, had diſperſed in his name all over the empire, making declaration that her own life depended upon the ſafety of her country and her relations. The king gave her his royal word, that nothing ſhould be done to the Jews without her privity and goodwill; and he gave her farther liberty to write what ſhe thought fit, concerning the Jews, in his name, and the letters ſhould be ſign'd and ſeal'd, and diſpers'd by his order throughout all his dominions; and when they ſhould once come to be confirm'd by the royal ſignature, their authority would paſs without any diſpute or contradiction; wherefore the king appointed his ſcribes and ſecretaries to attend him, commanding them to write letters on the behalf of the Jews to the magiſtrates of all the nations that lie betwixt India and Ethiopia, under the command of a hundred and twenty ſeven governors. Of which letter this is a true copy:

Mordecai is now made known and preferr'd, Eſther viii. 1, 2.

Artaxerxes, the great king, to our truſty magiſtrates, greeting.

“WHEREAS it is a common practice in the world for men that are advanced rather upon favour than merit, not only to inſult over their inferiors, but to fly in the faces even of their benefactors themſelves, and as much as in them lies, to extinguiſh all ſenſe of gratitude or good-nature in human ſociety; perverting alſo out of a pride and impotency of mind, the power and credit that was given them, to the diſhonour of their patrons, from whom they receiv'd it; and all under ſuch an appearance too, as if they thought God himſelf could not ſee through the diſguiſe; beſide that, it is no new thing neither, for ſtate-minions to gratify their own private paſſions to the prejudice of their maſters, by miſrepreſenting things and men, and calumniating the innocent; and by theſe ill offices with the prince, to put honeſt men in danger of their lives. I do not ſpeak this upon hiſtory or hearſay, but upon the certainty of what I have ſeen with my own eyes, and upon proof, not rumour; wherefore let no heed be given for the future to bare accuſations, or, in truth, ſlanders rather; but let the fact be ſtrictly examin'd, and the perſon accuſed be either acquitted or puniſh'd, as he ſhall be found innocent or guilty.

The king vacates his letters againſt the Jews, Eſther xvi.

“It is well known that Haman, the ſon of Ammedatha, was by extraction an Amalekite, and not a Perſian, and with what tenderneſs of affection and hoſpitality I receiv'd him; what honours I conferr'd upon him, even to the degree of calling and eſteeming him as my father, commanding all my ſubjects to pay a reverence, next in order to what they ought to my own perſon. Now this man was ſo intoxicated with the fumes of his vanity and weakneſs, that paſſing all the meaſures of ſobriety and duty, he improved the power I gave him, ſo far as in him lay, toward the ſupplanting of me in my kingdom, and the deſtroying of that perſon by treacherous practices, to whom I ſtand indebted for my life and government. I ſpeak of Mordecai, my benefactor and preſerver, and of my deareſt wife the queen likewiſe, whom I tender as the one half of my own ſoul, and my partner in the empire; his plot being in the firſt place perfidiouſly "to attempt upon the lives of my moſt neceſſary friends, and then to ſeize my royal authority to his own uſe.

"Now for ſo much as the lewd deſigns of this wicked man are unqueſtionably notorious, and particularly his bloody and barbarous contrivance for the total extirpation of the Jews, this is to notify and declare, that I find theſe people ſo far from being troubleſome or ſeditious as he repreſents them, that on the contrary I do highly approve of their inſtitutions, ways, and manners, as a people worſhipping the ſame God, to whoſe bounty and protection our family ſtands indebted both for the poſſeſſion and preſervation of our empire. It is therefore our royal pleaſure, by theſe preſents, not only to diſcharge the ſame people of all the pains and penalties to which they were made liable by our letters communicated to you by the hand of Haman; but likewiſe, the ſaid mandate notwithſtanding, that you treat them with all manner of gentleneſs and reſpect; having cauſed the author of this malicious perſecution, with his whole family, to be put to death upon a gibbet before the gates of Suſa, as a moſt neceſſary ſacrifice to divine juſtice.

"This is alſo farther to will and require you, that you forthwith diſpatch copies of theſe our letters through all our dominions, permitting the Jews to live in a peaceable enjoyment of their own laws, and that you give them your aid and aſſiſtance toward the vindicating of themſelves upon thoſe that ſpitefully and injuriouſly oppreſs'd them in their adverſity; and whereas the preciſe time appointed for the utter extermination and deſtruction of theſe people was to have been upon the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, or the month of Adar, it is our pleaſure, that you pitch upon the ſame month and day for the work of their deliverance, as a circumſtance the moſt agreeable to the methods of God's power and juſtice, not doubting but that this way of proceeding will be much to the ſatisfaction of all our friends, and the example of it ſtand upon record to poſterity, for a monumental caution to all traitors in time to come; and be it likewiſe known to all our cities, towns, and people herein concerned, that what perſon ſoever ſhall preſume either by diſobedience, or neglect, to act in any thing contrary to the tenor of this our imperial command, he ſhall be liable to military execution by fire and ſword, whereof all our ſubjects are to take warning, and the Jews to be in readineſs at the time aſſigned, to do themſelves right upon their enemies."

There were couriers immediately diſpatch'd with theſe letters to all quarters. Mordecai in the mean while coming forth out of the palace dreſſed in royal robes, a crown, and golden chain, the Jews preſently interpreted his appearance in a common bleſſing to them all; and the publication of the king's letters through all the towns and cities of his dominions, diffuſed ſuch an univerſal joy amongſt them, that every man look'd as if he were animated with a new ſoul; nay, and this grace of the king had ſo powerful an influence and effect, even upon other nations, that many of them circumciſed themſelves, in hopes they might eſcape better under the diſguiſe of Jews, who were highly elevated by the king's aſſigning them the ſame day for their revenge that had been deſigned for their execution; that is to ſay, the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which the Hebrews call Adar, and the Macedonians Dyſtrus. Upon the obtaining of this mandate, the princes, governors, magiſtrates, and lieutenancies did all pay a more than ordinary reverence to the Jews, for fear of the power of Mordecai.

The ſame day aſſign'd to the Jews for their revenge that was appointed for their deſtruction, Eſther ix. 1--11.

Upon the publiſhing of this edict, the Jews put five hundred of their enemies to the ſword at Suſa, and the king ſhew'd the queen the number of them; but there was no account taken as yet of thoſe that were ſlain elſewhere; ſo he propoſed it to her, if ſhe would require any thing more, for he was reſolved to deny her nothing. Her requeſt was then, that the Jews might have one day's revenge more upon their enemies, and that the ten ſons of Haman might be hang'd upon the gallows, which the king granted alſo for the day following, without any heſitation or delay; ſo that they gather'd in troops together upon the fourteenth, and killed near three hundred more of their adverſaries, without ſo much as touching any of their goods; but upon the ſame heat in other places up and down the empire, they deſtroy'd ſeventy five thouſand of thoſe whom they reputed to be their enemies. This ſlaughter was made upon the thirteenth, and on the day following they feaſted; and ſo at Suſa alſo they celebrated the fourteenth of the following month as a feſtival; and theſe days are ſtill obſerved by the Jews with the ſame ſolemnity, regaling one another by way of compliment, with ſome preſent or portion of the entertainment. Mordecai, upon this, ſent his orders to all the Jews under the dominion of Artaxerxes, requiring them to obſerve thoſe days for feſtivals, and to tranſmit the obſervance of them to poſterity, and ſo to make it everlaſting, for the perpetual memory of the thing; for it was but reaſonable to celebrate their deliverance by a ſolemnity of rejoicing upon the ſame day that was by the treachery of Haman appointed for the maſſacre, and to make it a day of thankſgiving, in memory as well of their being freed from the danger, as of having their enemies given up into their hands. Upon this account it is that thoſe days are obſerv'd, which they call Phruræa, or Purim; that is to ſay, feaſts of conſervation. Mordecai all this while was a man of great power with the king, both in reſpect of his adminiſtration, being near his perſon, and as an aſſiſtant and companion to the queen. The affairs of the Jews proſper'd under their direction and favour beyond all expectation; and let this ſuffice for the hiſtory of our people under Artaxerxes.

The ten ſons of Haman hang'd, ibid.

The Jews kill'd about ſeventy five thouſand of their enemies in ſeveral places upon the ſame day, Ver. 16.

The day of the Jews ſolemnity celebrated by an anniverſary feſtival, Ver. 17, &c.

The feaſt of Purim, ibid.

Mordecai in great credit, Eſther x.

CHAP. VII.

John, the high-prieſt, kills his brother Jeſus in the temple. Manaſſes, the brother of Jaddus the high-prieſt, marries the daughter of Sanballat.

After the death of Eliaſib the high-prieſt, his ſon Judas, by an hereditary right, ſucceeded to the office; and after his

Judas ſucceeds Eliaſib in the pontificate, and his ſon John ſucceeds him.

deceaſe came on in courſe his ſon John, who was the occaſion of the violation, and the prophanation of the temple afterward by Bagoſes, the commander in chief of the troops of Artaxerxes, impoſing a tribute alſo upon the Jews, obliging them to allow out of the publick treaſure, fifty * drachma's a day for every lamb they ſacrificed, before they enter'd upon their daily offerings, which impoſition came thus to be brought on. John had a brother whoſe name was Jeſus, and Bagoſes being very much his friend, took upon him the advancing of Jeſus to the pontificate. Jeſus depended ſo much upon this aſſurance, that he took the liberty to enter into a diſpute with his brother, in the temple itſelf, upon this ſubject; and the conteſt went ſo far, that his brother, in a rage, ſet upon him and kill'd him; the greateſt affront to religion certainly that ever was committed, eſpecially by a prieſt; and for the farther aggravation of the ſcandal, it was beyond all preſident, either among the Greeks, or Barbarians; but God would not ſuffer ſo audacious an affront to eſcape unpuniſh'd. Now the people loſt their liberty for it, and the Perſians prophaned the temple; for ſo ſoon as the news of it came to Bagoſes, that the high-prieſt had ſpilt the blood of his brother in the very temple, he call'd out to the Jews in contempt and indignation. "Prophane "wretches, ſays he, to make a ſhambles of "the place of your worſhip!" At the ſame time preſſing to get into the temple, but being oppos'd in his paſſage, "What, ſays he, do "you look upon my living body to be fouler "than the carcaſs that lies here within?" And with theſe words forced his way. Upon this occaſion he kept a ſevere hand over the Jews for ſeven years; but after the death of John, his ſon Jaddus came to the prieſthood. This Jaddus had a brother whoſe name was Manaſſes, to whom Sanballat, underſtanding Jeruſalem to be a famous city, and that the kings of it had put the Syrians and Aſſyrians to many difficulties, frankly gave his daughter † Nicaſa in marriage as a teſt and earneſt of the amity he propounded to himſelf with the Jews. This was that Sanballat that govern'd Samaria under the laſt Darius, a Chuthite born, from whence the Samaritans had their original.

Bagoſes advances Jeſus to the pontificate in the place of his brother John.

John kills Jeſus upon a quarrel in the temple.

Jaddus ſucceeds John, and Manaſſes ſucceeds Jaddus.

The Samaritans derive from the Chuthites.

CHAP. VIII.

Alexander the Great carries the war out of Europe into Aſia; breaks the Perſian empire; and when it was expected he ſhould have deſtroy'd Jeruſalem, he treated the Jews with all tenderneſs and reſpect.

Philip of Macedon murder'd. His ſon Alexander ſucceeds him.

IT was about this time that Philip the king of Macedon was treacherouſly murder'd in the city of Ægea, by Pauſanias, the ſon of Ceraſtes, of the family of Oreſtes. Alexander the ſon ſucceeded the father, and croſſing the Helleſpont, gave Darius a notable overthrow at the river Granicus. After which he ſubdued Lydia and Ionia, and paſſing his army through Caria, he enter'd into Pamphylia, as is ſaid elſewhere.

Manaſſes gives a ſcandal by marrying a ſtrange woman.

The elders of Jeruſalem were at this time very much unſatisfied with the brother of Jaddus the high-prieſt, for taking to wife a ſtrange woman; inſomuch, that the diſguſt they had, fell little ſhort of a tumult; for it look'd like a ſtep toward the antiquating of their country's laws about marriages; and that if they ſuffer'd it to go on, it would come by little and little to a cuſtom. Neither had they forgotten that this very thing was the cauſe of their former captivity, and of all the calamities that enſued upon it; that is to ſay, the tranſgreſſion that drew thoſe judgments upon them, was the marrying of women that were not of their own extraction, and therefore they poſitively required, that Manaſſes ſhould either diſmiſs his wife, or ſerve no more at the altar. But the ‡ high-prieſt and the people being mov'd with indignation, after this would not ſuffer Manaſſes to officiate at the altar, whereupon he went to Sanballat, his father-in-law, with a profeſſion of the great affection he had for his daughter; but at the ſame time he could not ſubmit to loſe his prieſthood and honour that was annexed to his family, and the higheſt of all others in eſteem among the Jews, for the ſake of a wife, though never ſo excellent. Sanballat told him upon this, that he would undertake not only to ſecure him the exerciſe of the function, but advance him to the pontificate, and eſtabliſh him prince of the whole country, upon condition of owning his daughter for his wife, and that he would build a temple for him upon mount Garizin, that overlooks Samaria and the reſt of the mountains thereabouts, not inferior to that at Jeruſalem; and this he took upon him to ſee effected by the conſent of Darius himſelf. Manaſſes depended ſo abſolutely upon this aſſurance, that he made no doubt at all of the performance, and ſo he continued with his father. Sanballat was now in years, and finding a great many prieſts and Iſraelites hamper'd in ſuch matches, the ſtate of Jeruſalem was not a little troubled at it; for all thoſe irregular people went over to Manaſſes, Sanballat furniſhing them with money, houſes, land, and ſtock, and all to maintain the ambition of his ſon-in-law.

He is order'd either to put away his wife, or to lay down his office.

Manaſſes lays his caſe before Sanballat.

Sanballat undertakes to ſecure him to all purpoſes, make him prince of the whole country, build him a temple at Garizin, equal to that at Jeruſalem, with Darius's leave and conſent, which Manaſſes depends upon, and continues with his father.

Divers prieſts and Iſraelites concern'd in ſuch matches go over to Manaſſes.

Alexander's victory over Darius at Granicus.

Upon the news of Alexander's paſſing the Helleſpont, and the famous victory he had obtained at the river Granicus, Darius, to prevent his farther progreſs, drew together all the force he could make, both horſe and foot, to obſtruct his paſſage, with a reſolution to give the Macedonians battle, before they ſhould over-run the whole of Aſia, which they intended to do; ſo that having paſs'd the Euphrates with his army, and likewiſe Taurus a mountain in Cilicia, he put himſelf there in order, with a reſolution to fight the enemy in that province. Sanballat was not a little comforted with this advance of Darius; and in a full confidence of ſucceſs, told Manaſſes, that every thing ſhould be made good that he had promis'd him, ſo ſoon as the king ſhould return; for he was fully perſuaded, and all the Aſiaticks were of his opinion too, that the Macedonians with their handful of men would never ſtand the firſt ſhock. But in the event they found their miſtake; for upon the armies joining, Darius was totally routed, a great part of his army loſt, his mother, wife, and children made priſoners, and himſelf forced

Darius totally routed.

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* Viz. About one pound and nine ſhillings of our money.

† Iſacha, Rufin.

‡ See biſhop Mountague's fourth Apparat.

Alexander marches into Syria, takes Damaſcus and Sidon, and lays ſiege to Tyre.

The high-prieſt excuſes it, that they were under an oath to Darius.

Alexander takes Tyre by aſſault, and beſieges Gaza.

to fly into Perſia. Alexander in the mean time marched into Syria, took Damaſcus and Sidon, and laid ſiege to Tyre, writing alſo to the high-prieſt of the Jews, that he expected the ſame aſſiſtances from them which they had before allow'd to Darius, and that they ſhould provide a market for the ſupply of his army, where he might have neceſſaries for his money, aſſuring them that they ſhould have no reaſon to repent the reſpect. The anſwer the high-prieſt return'd was briefly this, that they had bound themſelves by an oath to Darius, never to bear arms againſt him, and that they were tied up by that obligation during his life. Alexander was highly incenſed at this return, but went on with the ſiege of Tyre, making no doubt but to be ſuddenly maſter of it, with terrible menaces, that upon the reducing of that place he would march againſt the high-prieſt himſelf, and give all people to underſtand, how far oaths were to be broken or kept. Alexander, that was indefatigable, took Tyre by aſſault; from whence he proceeded to beſiege Gaza, a Perſian garriſon, of which one Babemeſes was the governor.

Sanballat goes over with eight thouſand men from Darius to Alexander,

and gets leave to build a temple in that province.

Manaſſes to be the high-prieſt, and the honour of it to go to the iſſue of Sanballat's daughter.

Sanballat dies, and Alexander advances againſt Jeruſalem.

Jaddus the high-prieſt is order'd in a dream to open the gates, and march out to meet Alexander.

The prieſts and citizens march out accordingly.

Alexander with a reſpectful reverence ſalutes the high-prieſt in perſon.

Alexander calls to mind the figure of Jaddus in a viſion he had at Dion.

The prieſts conduct Alexander into the temple, where he ſacrifices in form.

But to return now to the buſineſs of Sanballat: when he found that Alexander was before Tyre, he took that opportunity of going over to him with eight thouſand of his own men, and ſo betook himſelf to the enemy's camp, delivering up his truſt, and transferring his allegiance from Darius to Alexander, who received him with open arms, and bad him ſpeak freely whatever he had to ſay. So Sanballat told him, that he had a ſon-in-law, whoſe name was Manaſſes, the brother of Jaddus, the high-prieſt of the Jews, and great numbers of that people following him, who deſired nothing more than leave to build a temple in that province; ſetting forth alſo, that it would be Alexander's intereſt to permit it, if it were but to divide the power of the Jews, and to prevent commotions; for they are vaſtly numerous, and as likely to be troubleſome to other kings, as they were formerly to the Syrians. This favour was no ſooner granted, but they were immediately, all hands at work, upon the building of the temple; Manaſſes to be the high-prieſt, and the honour to deſcend to the poſterity of Sanballat's daughter, as he projected to himſelf; but after ſeven months time ſpent before Tyre, and two more at Gaza, Sanballat died, and Alexander preſently upon the taking of Gaza, advanced to Jeruſalem, which put Jaddus the high-prieſt to his wit's end how to behave himſelf in an addreſs to a prince whom he had ſo highly provoked by a refuſal to comply with his orders; wherefore he appointed publick prayers and ſacrifices to be offer'd up to God for his aſſiſtance and protection, and for the common welfare of the people. On the night following God appear'd to the high-prieſt in a dream, bidding him to be of good courage, adorn the city with flowers and garlands, and without more ado to open the gates, the people to march out in white garments to meet Alexander, and himſelf with the reſt of the prieſts, in the habits of their order, depending upon providence for the reſt. Jaddus, upon waking, told the citizens with great joy the ſubſtance of this revelation, and ſo put every thing in order to attend the approach of the king. Upon intelligence a little while after, that he was drawing near toward the town, Jaddus advanced, together with his prieſts and the citizens, in a new and a venerable way of pomp and ſolemnity, to a place that is called Sapha; that is to ſay, a place of proſpect, becauſe it commands the view of both city and temple. The Phenicians and Chaldeans promiſ'd themſelves all the licenſe of blood and pillage upon the high-prieſt himſelf, as well as upon the citizens, that rage or revenge could draw from a victorious prince under the ſenſe and provocation of the affront he had received. But in the event they found the clear contrary; for when Alexander ſaw from a diſtance the order of the proceſſion, the people all in white, with the prieſts at the head of them in their ſilken robes, and the high-prieſt himſelf in his purple ſtole, embroider'd with gold, his mitre upon his head, and a golden plate upon his forehead, with the name of God engraven upon it, the majeſty of this ſpectacle ſtruck him with ſo reverend an awe, that he advanced to him in his own ſingle perſon, ador'd the ſacred inſcription, and ſaluted the high-prieſt himſelf; all the Jews at the ſame time, with one heart and voice, ſaluting Alexander with loud acclamations, and gathering in multitudes about him. The kings of Syria, and the reſt that were there preſent, were ſo amazed at the king's behaviour, that they could hardly take him to be in his right ſenſes; but only Parmenio took the freedom to aſk him, in a familiar way, how it came to paſs that he who was ador'd by the whole earth ſhould now deſcend to bow to a Jewiſh prieſt? No, ſays Alexander, I do not adore the man, but the God whom he ſerves; for ſome time paſt, when I was at Dion in Macedonia, I ſaw this man I remember, and in this very habit. I was then deliberating what courſe I ſhould take to conquer Aſia; and this very perſon bad me paſs my army over the river, and be confident, that if I would take his counſel, I ſhould make myſelf maſter of the Perſian empire. Now upon the view of this man, and in this habit, I call to mind my dream at Dion, and that this is the lively figure of what I ſaw there in a viſion, and of the perſon that encourag'd me to this expedition; ſo that it is not without a divine impulſe that I undertake this war, and I make no doubt at all of gaining my point upon the Perſians, and ſucceeding in all things to my wiſh. After this diſcourſe to Parmenio, the king embrac'd Jaddus, and was conducted into the city by the reſt of the prieſts, where he went up to the temple, and ſacrificed in form, according to order, paying alſo a ſingular veneration to the high-prieſt himſelf, who ſhew'd the king, when the ceremony was over, the book of the prophet Daniel, and in it the prediction of a certain Greek in time to come, that ſhould make himſelf maſter of the Perſian empire, which Alexander interpreted of himſelf; and ſo with great ſatisfaction in all reſpects he diſcharg'd the multitude till the day following, at which time he call'd them together again, to know what requeſt they had to make him. The high-prieſt made anſwer, that they only deſir'd his leave to enjoy the freedom of their own country laws, and that they might be exempted from the ſeventh year's tribute, which was all granted them. They beſought him farther alſo, to allow the ſame freedom to the Jews in Babylon and Media,

dia, which he granted likewiſe; offering them moreover, that if any of them had a mind to take up arms in his ſervice, they ſhould be received into his army, and enjoy the liberty of exerciſing their religion as before, which generoſity brought great numbers of the Jews over to him.

The Samaritans change parties with their intereſt.

Matters being thus ſettled at Jeruſalem, Alexander marched with his army from place to place among the neighbouring cities, and wherever he came he was well received. The Samaritans, whoſe capital at that time was Sichem, near the mountain Garizin, and peopled by Jewiſh deſerters, taking notice how honourably Alexander treated the Jews, began now to bethink themſelves of tacking about again, and returning to their former profeſſion; for theſe people are of that temper, as we have ſaid already, that when they ſee the Jews are in affliction, “They are ſtrangers to us, they “cry; we have nothing to do with them,” which is nothing but the truth. But ſo ſoon as ever fortune ſmiles upon them again, they claim kindred preſently, and value themſelves upon the very heraldry of their deſcent from Joſeph and his ſons, Manaſſeh and Ephraim. Alexander was hardly out of the city, when the Sichemites, in great pomp and parade, and with wonderful joy in their looks, preſented themſelves before him, in company with the troops that Sanballat had ſent over to him; making ſuit to the king, that he would vouchſafe to honour their city and temple with his preſence, who ſpoke them all fair, and promiſed to give them a viſit at his return; but upon their deſiring an immunity of the ſeventh year's tribute, as the other, in regard that they did not ſow in that year, Alexander asked what countrymen the petitioners were? They told him they were Hebrews, but that they were called Sichemites by the Sidonians. The queſtion was put to them again, whether they were Jews or not? They ſaid, no; “Whereupon, ſays Alexander, I have granted this “to the Jews; but, however, when I come “back again, I ſhall do what I think reaſonable, upon a fuller information of the matter:” And ſo the Sichemites were diſmiſs'd; but he took Sanballat's men along with him into Egypt, allotting them a diſtribution of lands to live upon there, which they had afterwards in Thebes, where they were put in garriſon.

They demand the immunity of the ſeventh year's tribute, but it is not granted them.

The irregular Jews at Jeruſalem take ſanctuary with the Sichemites.

After the death of Alexander, the empire was parted among his ſucceſſors, only the temple by Garizin remain'd untouch'd: And if at any time the Jews at Jeruſalem were found guilty of the violation of their laws, as in eating forbidden meats, the breach of the ſabbath, or the like; they took ſanctuary with the Sichemites, upon a pretence that they were unjuſtly accus'd. About this time the high-prieſt Jaddus dy'd; and Onias, his Son, ſucceeded him in the dignity. This is all we ſhall ſay of the ſtate of Jeruſalem at that time.

Onias, the ſon of Jaddus, ſucceeds his father.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK XII.

From the Year of the World 3635 to 3808.

CHAP. I.

After the death of Alexander, his generals ſhare the empire. Ptolemy ſurprizes Jeruſalem; tranſplants divers colonies of Jews into Egypt, and employs them in places of great truſt. The Jews of Jeruſalem, and the Samaritans, are perpetually in war.

The Perſian empire canton'd out into principalities after the death of Alexander.
The ſeveral princes are competitors for the ſovereignty of the whole.

WHEN Alexander king of Macedon had made himſelf abſolute maſter of the Perſian empire, and ſettled the affairs of the Jews, as we have ſhew'd already, he departed this life, and left the empire broken, and parcell'd out into ſo many principalities. Aſia fell to Antigonus. Babylon, with the countries bordering upon it, to Seleucus. The Helleſpont to Lyſimachus, Macedon to * Caſſander, and Egypt and Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus. Upon this diviſion there enſued a long war betwixt theſe ſeveral princes, who were all competitors for the ſovereign command of the whole, to the ruin of ſeveral conſiderable cities, and the loſs of a great many lives. The whole tract of Syria was abundantly ſenſible of this miſery, under the government of Ptolemy, otherwiſe call'd the ſaviour, (though never any man had leſs pretence to that title than himſelf.) This was he who made himſelf maſter of Jeruſalem by a ſtratagem; that is to ſay, upon a ſabbath-day, under a colour of devotion, and then treacherouſly poſſeſs'd himſelf of the city without any oppoſition, difficulty, or ſo much as the leaſt apprehenſion of any danger from him; this being a day of reſt, over and above; which made his entrance as eaſy as his adminiſtration afterwards was tyrannical and barbarous. Agatharchides the Cnidian, ſays much the ſame thing in his hiſtory of the ſucceſſors of Alexander, when he imputes the loſs of our country and liberties to the vanity of our ſuperſtition. His words are theſe:

Ptolemy, otherwiſe call'd the ſaviour.
He ſurprizes Jeruſalem by treachery, under a cloak of religion.

Agatharchides imputes the loſs of it to the Jewiſh ſuperſtition.

"THERE are a people (ſays he,) that are known by the name of Jews, and have their habitation in a great and well fortify'd city call'd Jeruſalem. Theſe men fell into the hands of Ptolemy, and ſubjected themſelves to a cruel ſlavery upon a fantaſtical ſcruple of conſcience, that would not ſuffer them to take up arms againſt an oppreſſor in their own defence, upon that day." This is what Agatharchides delivers concerning our brethren. But Ptolemy carry'd away a great many captives out of the mountainous part of Judea, from about Jeruſalem, Samaria, and the mountain Garizin, which he tranſported into Egypt; and then reflecting upon the ſacredneſs of an oath among the Jews, by their fidelity to Darius, even after his overthrow, notwithſtanding the ſummons, and the invitation of Alexander to come over to him, he diſpoſed of them into ſtrong holds, gariſons, and places of truſt upon their oath of fidelity to be true to him and his ſucceſſors; granting them alſo immunities and privileges in Alexandria, in common with the Macedonians themſelves; ſo that betwixt the temptation of Ptolemy's liberality on the one hand, and the pleaſure and convenience of a fruitful country on the other; there came over great numbers of Jews into Egypt from other parts alſo. But the Jews and the Samaritans could never be reconcil'd yet upon the ſubject of their ancient laws and conſtitutions; the one inſiſting upon it, that the temple at Jeruſalem was the only holy place, and the Jews not allowed to ſend their ſacrifices any where elſe; the other ſaying as much for the temple at Garizin; inſomuch, that there was a great deal of blood ſpilt upon this queſtion.

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* In the copies of Joſephus it is Caſander. But the true reading is Caſſander; as Mr. Spanheim has ſhewn.

The Jews and the Samaritans are divided: one for the temple at Jeruſalem, t'other for that at Garizin.

CHAP. II.

Ptolemy Philadelphus ſets a hundred and twenty thouſand Jews at liberty. He ſends for ſeventy two choſen perſons out of Judea, to turn the Jewiſh laws into Greek. He makes a preſent of rich donatives to the temple, and treats the deputies with a magnificence ſuitable to his greatneſs.

Philadelphus Ptolemy ſucceeds Ptolemy the saviour. He orders Moſes's law to be tranſlated into Greek. 120000 captive Jews ſet at liberty.

[*] AFTER the death of Ptolemy (the ſaviour, as they call'd him) Philadelphus the ſon ſucceeded in courſe to the kingdom of Egypt. He reigned nine and thirty years, and gave orders for the tranſlating of the law into the Greek tongue. There were at that time captives in Egypt, to the number of a hundred and twenty thouſand Jews, which this Philadelphus commanded to be ſet at liberty upon this following occaſion. Demetrius Phalereus having under his care and cuſtody the truſt of the king's library, made it his buſineſs to make a collection of all books that were any where extant at what rate ſoever. This fancy was his particular inclination; ſo that he brought up all the choice books that he could hear of, which he thought might be worthy of a place in the king's ſtudy and good opinion. Philadelphus asking one time how many thouſand volumes he thought he had got? he told him, ſome two hundred thouſand; but that he hop'd in a ſhort time to make them five hundred thouſand; for he was certainly inform'd that there were a world of choice manuſcripts among the Jews, concerning their laws, cuſtoms and ceremonies, that are very well worth the reading, and the honour of a place alſo in the royal library; but being written in their own language and characters, it would be a matter of great difficulty and trouble to turn them into Greek; for though there may ſeem to be ſome reſemblance and affinity betwixt the language and the writing of the one and of the other, there are yet ſeveral niceties peculiar to each, and diſtinct from the other. Not, ſays he, that this is to diſcourage the turning of them out of the Hebrew, and the depoſiting of them in the royal collection, ſo long as there is where-withal to anſwer the expence. The king highly commended this project of Demetrius upon ſuch a collection of books, and wrote to the high-prieſt of the Jews to give him his aſſiſtance in the providing of theſe copies. There was one Ariſtæus, a particular confident of the king's, a man of great modeſty; and upon that account he had his maſter's ear with the more freedom. This ſame Ariſtæus had it a long time in his heart to get the Jews ſet at liberty; and laying hold of this occaſion as the moſt decent opportunity of moving the king about it, he went in the firſt place to Soſibius, Tarantinus, and Andreas, three captains of the guards, to feel how they ſtood affected; and upon finding them well diſpos'd, he beſought them earneſtly to aſſiſt him with their intereſt, toward the doing of ſo good an office; upon which aſſurance he addreſs'd himſelf to the king after this manner.

A collection of 200000 volumes in Ptolemy's library. Demetrius propoſes to make them 500,000.

Philadelphus approves of Demetrius's deſign; and writes to the high-prieſt for Jewiſh manuſcripts. Ariſtæus a friend to the Jews.

Siſibus, Tarantinus, and Andreas, three captains of the guards, well affected to them.

"Sir (ſays he,) if I may preſume to lay my thoughts at your feet in all ſimplicity, and without diſguiſe, ſince it is your royal pleaſure that the laws of the Jews be not only tranſcribed, but tranſlated, to anſwer your preſent purpoſe, I do not well ſee how it can be fairly done, while ſo many of that nation are in bondage under your government, from whom you require and expect ſo neceſſary an aſſiſtance and ſervice. It ſeems to me to be an act worthy of your magnificence and goodneſs, to ſet theſe poor people at liberty from their preſent miſery; for by all that ever I could underſtand of the matter, the ſame God that orders and over-rules your government, is the author of their laws; and both we and they worſhip the ſame creator and almighty power, only under the name of Jupiter, or Jove, à Juvando, from helping, being the life of us all. Wherefore you may be pleaſed, out of a reverence to that God whom they love and worſhip with a zeal and affection beyond all other mortals, to reſtore theſe wretched exiles to their own country, that they may end their days where they receiv'd their birth, as in the place that Providence had aſſigned them. I do not preſume, Sir, to interpoſe on their behalf out of any partiality, upon the account of tribe or extraction, but in a contemplation, that the ſame God is the creator of us all, and that ſo illuſtrious a clemency would be acceptable even to that God himſelf." The king ask'd him then, how many thouſands he thought there were that would ſtand in need of this indulgence? Andreas being preſent, made anſwer, That he believ'd there might be a matter of a hundred and twenty thouſand ſouls. Well, ſays the king to Ariſtæus, and durſt thou take this for ſo moderate a requeſt? Soſibius, and the reſt that were by, ſaid, That it would be an action becoming the dignity of ſo great a prince, to be merciful to others, in acknowledgment of the honour that he himſelf had received from above. The king was ſo well pleaſed with this motion and advice, that he order'd an allowance of a hundred and twenty [†] drachma's to the ſoldiers for every Jew they had in cuſtody, to be made good to them on the next pay-day, over and above their ſtipend, with a further promiſe to anſwer the deſire of Ariſtæus, (or, in truth, the appointment of Providence) in all points, and to ratify the whole by a publick edict, wherein ſhould be

Ariſtæus moves the king on the behalf of the Jews.

The king ſo well pleas'd with Ariſtæus's motion, that he grants more than his asking.

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[*] See Vorſtius's preface to his appendix to the book de Septuagint. Interpret.

[†] Viz. About three pounds, ten ſhillings of our money.

comprehended not only thoſe which his father, or his army, had carried away, but thoſe alſo that either before, or ſince that time, had been taken into captivity. His friends told him that at this rate the deliverance of theſe people would ſtand him in at leaſt four hundred * talents; but the king would not ſcruple to pay that, he ſaid, for the thing ſhould be done. Now for the greater honour of this illuſtrious king, I ſhall here inſert a copy of the proclamation itſelf.

The king diſcharges the Jews by proclamation.

“It is our royal will and pleaſure, that all the Jews whatſoever, that have been ſubdued, and taken by any of my father's forces, upon their incurſions into Syria and Phenicia; and thoſe brought away or ſold, into any of my dominions, and all thoſe likewiſe that either before, or ſince that time, have been ſo ſold and enſlav'd, be all ſet free, upon the payment of one hundred and twenty drachma's for every ſuch ſlave; the ſoldiers to receive this redemption-money, together with their pay, and the reſt out of the treaſury; for the forcing many people away into captivity, and the revenging of their country by the outrage and licence of the ſoldiers, for the ſake purely of the pillage and booty, was a courſe that my father undoubtedly neither intended nor approv'd, and a thing as contrary to common equity and reaſon; wherefore out of a reverence to the memory of my father, and a commiſeration of the poor and weak that ſuffer under the power of oppreſſion and violence, I do hereby expreſly charge and command, that all the Jews that are at this time in ſervitude, be immediately diſmiſs'd upon the payment of the ſum aforeſaid to their reſpective maſters, in obedience to this our mandate, without fraud or colluſion. And farther, that this our proclamation be made publick for three days ſucceſſively after the receipt of it, and in the mean time, that the aforeſaid maſters bring in a liſt of their priſoners to ſuch officers, and in ſuch manner as we ſhall find moſt for our ſervice. And all this to be done upon the peril of the confiſcation of his goods, if any man ſhall be found acting contrary to the tenor hereof.”

An allowance of redemption-money.

Upon the firſt ſight of this draught, the king took notice, that the proviſion for the liberty of thoſe that were taken either before, or after, was not ſo cautiouſly expreſs'd, but there was room left to evade it; ſo that the king, of his own proper generoſity and motion, ſuperadded a latitude of indulgence in thoſe caſes, and gave poſitive orders to the collectors of his tribute, and the officers of his treaſury, to have the money in readineſs for the ranſom of the Jews. So within ſeven days the whole work was diſpatch'd at the king's charge, to the value of four † hundred and ſixty talents; the maſters inſiſting upon the ſame rate for their children, that they had for the reſt, though the king's edict extended no farther than to thoſe that were brought away priſoners, without comprehending ſuch as were born there.

The king enlarges his grant.

When every thing was advanced thus far, with great honour and juſtice, according to the king's mind, he commanded Demetrius to publiſh his purpoſe about the tranſcribing of the Jewiſh books and records, proceeding from one thing to another in order, and with conſideration, ſo that there was entered upon a regiſter, a copy of Demetrius's petition, and likewiſe of the letters that were written upon that occaſion, with an account of the preſents that were made toward the work, and what they were, and by whom; ſo that at firſt ſight, the excellency both of the authors and the contrivers, might appear from the very work itſelf. Now the petition aforeſaid ran in terms much to this purpoſe.

Demetrius to the great king.

The petition of Demetrius about Jewiſh books and records.

“Since it is your royal will and command, that I ſhould do my endeavour to ſupply what may be yet further added toward the perfection of your library, and to find out what curious and uſeful books and copies may have hitherto eſcaped my ſearch and enquiry, this is humbly to inform your majeſty, that after much ſtudy and thought upon this matter, I do not find any thing ſo much conducing to your preſent purpoſe, as the hiſtory of the Jewiſh laws; for being written in Hebrew characters, and in a Hebrew Idiom, it will be hard for us to underſtand them aright; beſides, that the verſion we have already of them, is not ſo correct as it ſhould be, for want of a royal authority and encouragement toward the making of them known; ſo that it will be neceſſary to have them accurately and carefully tranſlated, as being a body of the wiſeſt and perfecteſt laws that are any where extant; God himſelf having been the author of them. For this reaſon, ſays Hecatæus the Abderite, we find in none of the poets or hiſtorians, any mention made of theſe laws, or of the adminiſtrators of them; the original and inſtitution of them being ſacred, and not to prophaned by unhallow'd lips; wherefore your majeſty may be pleaſed, if you ſhall judge it meet, to write to the high-prieſt of the Jews, only to ſend you out of every tribe, ſix elders, whom he ſhall make choice of, as men the beſt ſkill'd in the knowledge of their conſtitutions and cuſtoms; and by their aſſiſtance, in the interpreting and expounding of their writings, we may be able to gather ſomething from them to your majeſty's ſatisfaction.”

The hiſtory of the Jewiſh laws.

Hecatæus obſerves upon thoſe laws.

Six elders propos'd out of every tribe, to aſſiſt in the interpretation of the writings.

The king, upon this motion, gave directions for letters to be written to Eleazar the high-prieſt, according to the propoſal of Demetrius, taking notice alſo of the general releaſe of all the Jews that were priſoners in Egypt. The king ſent a preſent alſo

Letters order'd to Eleazar the high-prieſt according to this propoſal. The king's munificent preſents.

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* Suppoſing the talents here meant to be Hebrew ones, which were much the largeſt, four hundred muſt weigh forty five thouſand ſix hundred twenty five pounds, and their value in ſilver amount to one hundred thirty ſix thouſand eight hundred ſeventy five pounds; but if Egyptian ones, a much leſs ſum.

† Four hundred and ſixty Hebrew talents weighed fifty two thouſand four hundred ſixty eight pounds, and their value in ſilver amounted to one hundred fifty ſeven thouſand four hundred and ſix pounds, but even this ſum would have fallen far ſhort of ranſoming one hundred and twenty thouſand ſouls, at an hundred and twenty drachma's an head, ſuppoſing with Andreas in the preceeding page, the number proved ſo great; or learned men are very much out in their adjuſting of the weight and value of the drachma's and talents of the antients.

of [*] fifty talents of gold, for cups and bowls, and to a great value in precious ſtones, ordering thoſe that had care of the coffers, wherein they were depoſited, to let the lapidaries take and chuſe as they thought fit; and beſide all this, the king aſſign'd [†] a hundred talents more for ſacrifices, and other ſervices of the temple. I muſt not paſs over the particulars of the magnificence, and the curioſity of the whole work; but in the firſt place I ſhall give the reader the copy of the letter that was written to Eleazar, together with an account how he came to this dignity.

Onias the high-prieſt dies, and his ſon Simon ſucceeds him.

Upon the death of the high-prieſt Onias, his ſon Simon ſucceeded to the office, a perſon of ſingular piety towards God, and of an exemplary tenderneſs and good-nature toward mankind; from which character he was ſirnamed the Juſt. Simon liv'd not long, and leaving behind him only one ſon, a child, whoſe name was Onias, his brother Eleazar, of whom we are now ſpeaking, enter'd upon the pontificate; and it was to this Eleazar that Ptolemy wrote the following letter.

Simon dies, and leaving only one ſon Onias, a child, Eleazar his brother enters upon the pontificate.

King Ptolemy to Eleazar the high-prieſt, ſendeth greeting.

Ptolemy's letter to Eleazar.

“WHEREAS there were great numbers of Jews in my dominions that were brought captives hither by the Perſians while they were in power; and whereas my father had ſo great a value for them, that he entruſted ſeveral of them in his armies, others in his ſtrong holds and gariſons, for a check upon the Egyptians, with the allowance of large penſions for their ſervice, be it known unto you, that I myſelf alſo, as I have been eaſy and gentle to all ſince my coming to this government, ſo I have had a more peculiar tenderneſs to your people, having ſet above a hundred thouſand of them at liberty, and paid the charge of their ranſoms out of my own coffers. Some of them I have made uſe of in my army, others, as I found them diſcreet and truſty, I have entertain'd about my perſon, and in the court, reckoning upon it, that I can do nothing more acceptable to God, than good offices to others for his ſake, to whom I owe my government and being; wherefore out of a deſire to oblige the Jews all over the world, to the uttermoſt of my power, I have propoſed to myſelf the turning the books of your law into Greek, and to give the tranſlation a proper place in my own library. In order to the compaſſing of this deſign, I ſhall repute it as a great favour if you'll make choice of ſix elders out of each of your ſeveral tribes, whom you know to have the greateſt ſkill and underſtanding in the laws, and ſend them to aſſiſt me in this tranſlation; for I promiſe myſelf, if I ſucceed in this undertaking, to gain immortal honour by it. The perſons I employ to treat with you about this affair, are Andreas, a captain of my guards, and Ariſtæus, two of my truſty and well-beloved friends; whom I have charged alſo with a preſent of a hundred talents of ſilver for you, which I ſend as an obligation of my firſt-fruits, towards your ſacrifices and your temple. Write me back what you pleaſe, it ſhall be welcome to me.”

The king's munificence toward the ſervice of the holy temple and altar.

Upon the receipt of this letter, Eleazar, with all the deference and reſpect imaginable, returned this following anſwer.

Eleazar the high-prieſt to king Ptolemy, greeting.

Eleazar's anſwer to Ptolemy's letter.

“IF it be well with your moſt excellent majeſty, with your queen Arſinoe, and with your illuſtrious family, it is ſo likewiſe with your ſervants the Jews. Your moſt gracious letter is come to our hands, and we have read it in a full congregation with infinite joy and affection, as an inſtance not only of your clemency and good-will towards a diſtreſſed people, but as a token alſo of your ſingular reverence and piety for the worſhip of the great God. We have received alſo by the ſame hands; that is to ſay, by the hands of Andreas and Ariſtæus (your well-beloved and learned friends, and perſons highly worthy to be eſteem'd) twenty golden cups, thirty ſilver ones, five goblets, and a table to be conſecrated for the ſervice of the altar, together with a hundred talents towards the charge of ſacrifices, and other ſervices for the temple; all which we have ſhewed and repreſented unto our brethren, in the moſt affectionate terms of gratitude and reſpect; and we are all ſo ſenſible of the generous obligations you have been pleaſed to lay upon us, that you may depend upon our readineſs to ſerve and obey you in all things without reſerve, to the uttermoſt of our power, in a juſt acknowledgment of your grace and goodneſs. In purſuance of this ſenſe and conſcience of our duty, we have recommended unto God in our publick prayers the protection of your royal perſon, ſiſter, and children, together with all that love and are dear to you, wiſhing peace and proſperity to yourſelf and people; and beſeeching God, that the work you have now in hand, of compiling a collection and hiſtory of our laws and antiquities, may be of as much ſatisfaction and advantage to you as your own heart can deſire. In order to this end I have ſent you ſix elders out of every tribe, with the law, to attend your pleaſure, remitting ourſelves upon the whole matter to your piety and juſtice, that after the tranſcribing of them, they may be return'd to us ſafe by the ſame bearer; recommending your majeſty to the providence of the Almighty.”

The particulars of Ptolemy's donatives.

Six elders out of every tribe ſent to attend the king with the books of the Jewiſh laws.

This was the high-prieſt's anſwer to the king's letter, to which were ſubjoined, the names of the ſeventy elders that were ſent by Eleazar upon this occaſion, which names I ſhall not need to enumerate over again in this place. But for the magnificence and curioſity of the donatives and preſents for the ſervice of God, that part of the account cannot be paſs'd over in ſilence, without great injuſtice to the king's honour, piety, and bounty; conſidering with what liberality and expence he promoted the work, the countenance and encouragement that he gave to the proſecution of it, and the aſſiduity of his care and watchfulneſs in overlooking the workmen, to ſee that they ſhould neither be heedleſs nor idle. Now in theſe caſes I am obliged to be more particular, not as a branch of the hiſtory, but as a memorial of the king's greatneſs of mind, that ſhall ſtand upon record to his everlaſting fame; and I ſhall begin with the deſcription of the table.

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[*] Admitting theſe to be Jewiſh talents, fifty weighed five thouſand ſeven hundred and three pounds, one ounce, ten penny weights; and their value in gold amounted to two hundred ſeventy three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty pounds; but if Egyptian, fifty muſt weigh three thouſand eight hundred two pounds, one ounce; and their value in gold amount to one hundred eighty two thouſand five hundred pounds Engliſh money, according to Calmet's tables.

[†] An hundred talents, ſuppoſing them Hebrew, weighed eleven thouſand four hundred and ſix pounds, three ounces; and their value in ſilver amounted to thirty four thouſand two hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen ſhillings; but ſuppoſing them to be Egyptian, which ſeems more probable, ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and four pounds, two ounces, and were worth in value twenty two thouſand eight hundred and twelve pounds, ten ſhillings, of our money.

The golden table.

As to the dimenſions, the king ſent his artificers to learn out the meaſure of the former table at Jeruſalem, and to ſee whether the place would not bear a bigger. They brought him word that he might make it as big as he pleas'd; whereupon he propoſed to himſelf to make this five times larger than the other. But conſidering, upon ſecond thoughts, that ſo great a bulk might poſſibly make it too cumberſome and unweildy for daily uſe, and look more like a work for oſtentation than for ſervice, he came to a reſolution upon the firſt ſcantling; and to ſupply the expence, he ſav'd in weight and metal, in a charge upon extraordinary workmanſhip and beauty. Now the king had a wonderful inſight into the nature and reaſon of things, and ſuch a preſence of thought, for the finding out of expedients and new inventions, that it was a common practice with him to form his own deſigns, and preſcribe to the very workmen themſelves, their preciſe rules and meaſures; ſo that for the proportions of this table, he order'd it to be two cubits and a half long, one over, and one and a half in height; all of ſolid gold, and round about it a border of a hand's breadth, ſet out on three ſides with curious carving of flower works, twiſted ſtrings, and other agreeable figures; which being triangular, were likewiſe ſo equal and juſt, that turn it which way you would, (as it was eaſily tranſpos'd,) the proſpect would be ſtill the ſame. This table, in fine, was delicately wrought all over, but that part of it eſpecially that was moſt in ſight; with an intermixture of precious ſtones loop'd together by golden buckles, to the ſtring-work beforementioned, at equal diſtances one from another. The outſide of it was ſet with other rich ſtones of an oval cut, and an emboſs'd work of twigs and branches creeping round the table. There were alſo ſeveral ſorts of fruits wrought together under the figure of a crown, as bunches of grapes, ears of corn, pomegranates, &c. all in their proper and natural poſition, and expreſs'd by ſtones ſet in gold, bearing the native colour of what they repreſented. Under this crown was another row of ovals; which, for the matter, the order, and ornament, was ſo like the former, and ſo exactly uniform from top to bottom, that there was no diſtinguiſhing one part from the other. Under the table from ſide to ſide, there paſs'd a golden plate of four fingers breadth; and into this plate the feet were faſten'd with ſprings and hooks to keep them firm and ſteady, by binding the cover and the frame together. There was drawn alſo upon this table the reſemblance of a meander, the courſe of it mark'd out with ſtones of luſtre and value, ſparkling like ſo many ſtars; as rubies, emeralds, and whatever elſe was moſt precious or excellent in the kind. Along this meander there were divers pieces of ſculpture in bows and knots, that had ſomewhat in them of the figure of a lozenge; and they were ſo embelliſh'd by an orderly diſpoſition of cryſtal and amber, for the advantage of the view, that it made, all together, one of the moſt agreeable ſpectacles imaginable. The corniſhes of the feet had the reſemblance of a lilly work; the ſtem upright, with the leaves and tendrils winding under the table. The baſis was a hand's breadth over, garniſh'd with rubies, and a border round about it, and two hands diſtance betwixt the feet that reſted upon it. The graving work of theſe feet was incomparable, being the fancy of a foliage of the vine and the ivy, render'd ſo exquiſitely to the life, (with grapes, berries, and all,) that it was hard to ſay which was which; but upon the leaſt breath of air, the leaves would move and play, as if it had been the work of nature rather than of art. This table conſiſted of three parts, which were ſo artificially put together, that there were no joints to be diſcern'd, or ſo much as to be imagin'd where they met, and the thickneſs of it was half a cubit. This great prince gave to underſtand by the magnificence of his preſent, in the ineſtimable value of the materials, and the exquiſite curioſity and perfection of the whole work, that what he abated of his firſt project in ſize and proportion, was abundantly ſupplied by a moſt munificent expence in art and ornament.

There was alſo a pair of large golden cups, wrought half way up the bowl, ſcallopwiſe, and inlaid with all ſorts of precious ſtones, orderly ranged into the reſemblance of a meander of a cubit over, with delicate figures of twigs and creepers, branching out into a kind of net-work up to the brim, and interlaced with ſeveral compartiments in form of a lozenge, about four fingers broad, and adorned with ſtones of value, as before; the borders were alſo ſet out with an intermixture of lillies, flowers, vines, grapes, and the like, round the lips of the veſſel. This was the form of finiſhing of theſe goblets; and for the contents, they held a matter of three or four gallons a-piece; and then for the ſilver pieces, they were ſo glorious and radiant, that no cryſtal mirror was comparable to them.

The king's additional bounties.

The king, after all this, furniſhed yet thirty golden veſſels more, richly ſet out, and adorned up and down with precious ſtones, and overſhadowed in the intervals with vine and ivy leaves in curious ſculpture. Neither was the excellency of theſe miraculous pieces to be wholly aſcribed to the deſign and maſtery of the artificer; but the king himſelf took a kind of glory in contributing every way to the perfection of the work, making it a great part of his care and buſineſs, to viſit the ſhops, and ſuperintend the maſters themſelves, in the execution of their charge and profeſſion, which made them much more induſtrious and intent, when they ſaw the king himſelf had a more than ordinary regard and concern for the well doing of every thing, than they would have been otherwiſe.

Upon the receipt and dedication of the king's donatives, his commiſſioners are honourably treated and diſmiſs'd.

Upon the delivery of theſe donatives, and the dedication of them to the uſe and ſervice of the holy temple at Jeruſalem, Eleazar treated the king's commiſſioners with all honour and acknowledgment, and ſo diſmiſs'd them with good wiſhes and preſents, to return to their maſter. The king had no ſooner heard of their arrival at Alexandria, and that they had brought the ſeventy elders along with them, but he ſent inſtantly for his two ambaſſadors, Andreas and Ariſtæus, from whom he receiv'd Eleazar's letter, and particular ſatiſfaction to many queſtions by-the-by. His mind was ſo bent upon an immediate conference with the ſeventy perſons that were ſent over to him to interpret the laws, that no creature had acceſs to him upon any particular buſineſs, though contrary to his cuſtom of giving private audience once in five days, and publick once a month. Having thus ſecured himſelf from the importunity of any of thoſe caſual interruptions, he only waited the coming of Eleazar's agents, who attended him ſoon after with preſents from the high-prieſt, and with certain manuſcripts of the Jewiſh laws written upon parchment in golden letters. Upon the king's asking for the books, they were produced, to his great admiration at the nicety of the work; for the leaves were ſo artificially put together, that there was no diſcerning where one skin was join'd to another; his majeſty at the ſame time telling them, that he had a great reſpect for the perſons that brought him that rarity, a greater yet for him that ſent it, but the greateſt reverence of all for the author of thoſe laws that were now brought and ſent him. The deputies and their aſſiſtants gave the king with one heart and voice ſuch moving inſtances, by their joint prayers and acclamations, of the zeal and paſſion they had for the ſervice, that he could not forbear weeping at the tenderneſs of the reſpect; for there are tears of joy, as well as of ſorrow. The writings were then put into the hands of the officers that were to have them in charge, and the king taking the deputies into his arms, told them that he would only in the firſt place ſpeak a word or two to the buſineſs they came about, and after that take their perſons into his particular care; for he looked upon the day of their arrival, he ſaid, as ſo great a providence to him, that he reſolved to have it obſerved all the days of his life, as an anniverſary feſtival in memory of the bleſſing; and it fell out luckily in this too, that it happen'd to be upon the very day of his naval victory over Antigonus. The king, in fine, told them that they ſhould be his gueſts, and order'd them the moſt beautiful apartments in his own palace. The care of entertaining and providing for ſtrangers was properly Nicanor's province, who appointed Dorotheus under him in this, as in other caſes, to ſee that nothing might be wanting. Now the king's method was this, both for the honour and convenience of ſtrangers, that they ſhould be all treated after the way of their own country; and inſtructions were accordingly given on the behalf of the elders too, that the uncouth novelty of things might not diſguſt them.

Eleazar attends the king with preſents and parchment manuſcripts of the Jewiſh laws in golden letters.

The king's order and method of entertaining the commiſſioners.

The management of this affair was committed to Dorotheus, as a perſon well vers'd in the faſhions and cuſtoms of the Jews. There was in the firſt place two ſeats diſpoſed of; one on the king's right hand, the other on his left, by his own order, and with all becoming deference to the commiſſioners. When the gueſts had taken their places, the king bad Dorotheus ſerve them after the ſame manner, as he had formerly ſerv'd their countrymen upon the like occaſion; ſo that the Egyptian prieſts and officers that uſually did duty at the king's eating time, were all diſcharg'd; and one of our own deputies and prieſts, Eliſa by name, was called out by the king himſelf to bleſs the table, who thereupon ſtood up to give God thanks; and after the ſolemnity of a benediction, upon what they were about to receive, and a fervent prayer for the happineſs of the king and his people, to the infinite ſatisfaction of all that were preſent, the company fell cheerfully to the meat that was before them. The king took occaſion while they were at dinner, to ſtart ſeveral philoſophical queſtions, curious and diverting enough, and ſo to bandy them about from one to another, by way of entertainment and diſcourſe. The ſenſe and judgment of the commiſſioners was ſo grave and pertinent to every point, that the king took a wonderful delight in the converſation, and ſo they continued feaſting and rejoicing for the ſpace of twelve days. If any man has a mind to know the particular points that were here in agitation, I ſhall only refer him to a book of Ariſtæus, expreſly writ upon this ſubject. The excellency of this converſation had wonderful effects, not only upon the king, but they brought over Menedemus the philoſopher alſo to acknowledge an over-ruling providence, and to put a final end to that controverſy; the king acknowledging himſelf all this while to be ſo exceedingly edified by converſing with theſe people, that they had perfected and inſtructed him in the very art of government; ſo he ordered them a gratification of * three talents a man, and they were then conducted to their lodgings. At the end of three days, Demetrius took them along with him by a cauſeway of ſeven furlongs in length, and a bridge of communication betwixt the iſland and the continent, and ſo advancing from thence northward, ſettled them in a houſe by the ſea ſide, where they might be from noiſe and diſturbance; the retreat, in fine, being very commodious for men of thought and contemplation. When they were now ſo diſpoſed of, that there was nothing more to be deſir'd in favour of the undertaking, he made it his requeſt, that they would immediately fall to work upon the interpretation, and ſo God ſpeed them in the enterprize. They ſpared for neither care nor pains, but kept cloſe to their ſtudies from early in the morning till three in the afternoon, which was their dinner-time; Dorotheus not forgetting, according to the king's order, to ſupply them with delicacies from his own table, over and above a plentiful competency of proviſions at the king's ordinary allowance. It was their cuſtom to wait upon the king eve-

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* Theſe, as they were given in Egypt, were, moſt probably, Egyptian talents, three of which weighed two hundred and twenty eight pounds, one ounce, and ten pennyweights, and in value amounted to ſix hundred and eighty four pounds, ſeven ſhillings, and ſix pence of our money, according to Calmet's tables.

ry morning at his levee, and thence to betake themſelves to their taſk again, ſtill waſhing their hands with ſea-water, before they enter'd upon their buſineſs.

The tranſlation finiſh'd in ſeventy two days;

Read over, examin'd, and approv'd.

This verſion of the law was finiſhed within the compaſs of ſeventy two days, and when that was over, Demetrius call'd all the Jews together into the place where it was tranſlated, and in the preſence of the interpreters read over the book, the whole aſſembly unanimouſly approving of the interpretation, and extolling Demetrius as the occaſion of the great advantages they had receiv'd. He deſired alſo, that it might be read by the eminent men of the nation; and after this the high-prieſt, the elders, and the magiſtrates of the people propoſed, that ſince the tranſlation was ſo happily finiſh'd, the authority of it might be ratified, and the text remain unalterable for ever. They were all ſo perfectly of the ſame mind, that they came to this reſolution, that the book might be ſubjected to a further examination and reviſe; and if there ſhould be found any thing in it of exceſs or defect, it might, upon mature conſideration, be rectified; but that upon a further approbation it ſhould ſtand good for ever.

Reviſed, and finally ratified.

The king was doubly pleaſed, to the higheſt degree; firſt, for the gaining of his point; and ſecondly, that it ſucceeded ſo happily to the advantage of the publick. But when he came to hear it read to him, he was tranſported with joy, in the contemplation of the wiſdom of the law-giver, and enter'd into a diſcourſe with Demetrius, that neither any hiſtorian nor poet ſhould ever make mention of theſe incomparable laws. Demetrius made anſwer, that the frame of them being ſo manifeſtly divine, and the matter of them ſo venerable, people were afraid of meddling with them, eſpecially conſidering what judgments had befallen ſeveral people for their temerity of prophaning them; as Theopompus, taking upon him the part of a plagiary in publiſhing texts of holy writ as his own invention, was ſtruck with a fit of madneſs that held him thirty days; and in the intervals of his phrenzy was conſcious of the ſin, and asked God forgiveneſs for it, having revelations alſo in his ſleep that it was his audacious curioſity, in confounding ſacred things with prophane, that brought this diſtemper upon him. But, in fine, upon his repentance and amendment, he was reſtored again to his right mind; and ſo it fared likewiſe with Theodectes the poet, who was ſtruck blind upon the intermixing of divine writ with tragedy; and upon the acknowledgment of his ſin, reſtored to his ſight again.

Theopompus runs mad,

upon confounding ſacred things with prophane.

Theodectes ſtruck blind for the ſame preſumption.

The king, upon the receipt of theſe books from Demetrius, bleſs'd God and worſhipp'd, giving a ſtrict command for the preſerving of them ſafe and entire, deſiring the interpreters alſo, that he might ſee them again as often as they could upon a viſit; aſſuring them, that it ſhould turn to their honour as well as to their advantage. He was obliged at preſent, he ſaid, to part with them; but whenever they ſhould come hereafter upon their own accord, they ſhould not fail of ſuch an acknowledgment as might become wiſe men to receive, and a great prince to give. Upon this the king diſmiſs'd them with a preſent to each of them, of three rich ſuits of raiment, * two talents of gold, the value of † one talent in cups, couches to ſit and eat upon, with preſents alſo for the high-prieſt, of ten beds with ſilver feet, and ſuits of furniture belonging to them; a chalice of thirty ‡ talents, ten purple robes, a glorious crown, and a hundred pieces of fine linnen, beſides cups and goblets of ſeveral ſorts, and two golden veſſels dedicated expreſly to the ſervice of the temple; deſiring the high-prieſt by letter, that if any of theſe commiſſioners ſhould have a mind to come to him again at any time hereafter, he ſhould give them leave; for he had a high eſteem for the converſation of learned men, and could not think his favours better beſtow'd than upon ſuch company. This is the ſhort hiſtory of what Philadelphus did to the honour of the Jews.

The king diſmiſſes the interpreters with variety of rich preſents.

CHAP. III.

The kings of Aſia always very kind to the Jews. Antiochus the Great marries his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy king of Egypt.

The Jews much in favour with the kings of Aſia. Seleucus Nicanor grants them great privileges.

THE Jews were in great eſteem alſo among the kings of Aſia, both for their faith and ſkill in military matters; inſomuch that Seleucus, ſirnamed Nicanor, gave them the privileges of freemen in all the cities he built throughout Aſia and the Lower Syria; nay, and in the metropolis of Antioch itſelf too, declaring it to be his will and pleaſure, that they ſhould enjoy the ſame rights and immunities with the Greeks and Macedonians, which was no more than what they are poſſeſs'd of to this very day. As for example, the Jews being interdicted the uſe of foreign oil, the Olympick officers who had the ordering of that affair, were obliged by the government to allow them ſo much money in lieu of it. The people of Antioch inſiſted upon the abrogating of that cuſtom in the following war; but Mutianus, who was then governor of the province of Syria, would not ſuffer it. In the reign afterward of Veſpaſian, and his ſon Titus, the people of Alexandria would have had the Jews disfranchis'd; but ſuch was the honour and the juſtice of the Romans, and eſpecially of thoſe two magnanimous princes before-mentioned, that they could not obtain it; not that they wanted either pretence or provocation for a revenge upon a people that had been ſuch a thorn in their ſides, by ſo troubleſome a war, and ſo obſtinate a rebellion; but they look'd upon their rights and privileges to be ſtill ſacred, and therefore refuſed to gratify either their own paſſions, or the importunity of two great nations with any vindictive act of injuſtice. They laid more weight upon the ſenſe of their ancient merits, than upon that of their preſent miſdemeanor, and would not do a mean thing, though in favour of never ſo conſider-

Veſpaſian and his ſon Titus continue them, though the people of Alexandria preſs to have them disfranchis'd.

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* Two Egyptian talents, for ſuch we ſuppoſe to be here meant, weighed an hundred and fifty two pounds, one ounce, and their value in gold was worth ſeven thouſand three hundred pounds, Engliſh money.

† One talent weighed ſeventy ſix pounds, and ten pennyweights, and its value in gold was worth three thouſand ſix hundred and fifty pounds.

‡ Thirty talents weighed two thouſand two hundred and eighty one pounds, three ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to ſix thouſand eight hundred and forty three pounds, fifteen ſhillings, of our money.

able an intereſt. As for them, they ſaid, that had taken up arms againſt the Romans, they had ſuffer'd enough in all conſcience by the calamities of the war, without any other forfeiture; and to puniſh thoſe who had not offended, would be an indignity againſt common ſenſe and juſtice.

Marcus Agrippa ſtands by them alſo againſt the Ionians.

Nicolaus of Damaſcus pleads for the Jews, and obtains a judgment for them.

The hiſtory of Nicolaus of Damaſcus.

The juſtice and generoſity of Veſpaſian and Titus.

We read likewiſe to the ſame purpoſe of Marcus Agrippa's good affection to the Jews; for when the Jonians, in a ſeditious animoſity againſt thoſe people, went open-mouth'd to them with a remonſtrance, that their city being ſinlgy and entirely their own, by the gift of Antiochus, the grandſon of Seleucus, whom the Grecians ſirnamed the God, they deſired to be put in poſſeſſion of it with ſole privileges, excluſive of all other people; demanding farther, that if the Jews ſhould pretend to the ſame immunities, it might be upon condition of their worſhipping the ſame gods. The Jews brought the queſtion to an iſſue, Nicolaus of Damaſcus being of their council, who obtained judgment for them in favour of the right they claim'd to the free exerciſe and enjoyment of their own laws and cuſtoms; Agrippa pronouncing upon the whole matter, that he could not agree to any innovation upon that point. He that would be farther ſatisfied in the ſeries of this tranſaction, may read the whole ſtory at large in Nicolaus's hiſtory, B. 123, 124. But not being at that time in war with the Romans, I do not ſo much wonder at Agrippa's judgment in this particular, as I do at the generoſity and candor of Veſpaſian and Titus, whoſe very names are not to be mention'd but with infinite honour and admiration; perſons that in all the outrages of a fierce and a bloody war, could never be tranſported beyond the ſtricteſt bounds of humanity and moderation. But to go on where I left off:

During the war betwixt Antiochus and Philopator Ptolemy, the Jews were ſtill ſufferers.

Antiochus makes himſelf maſter of Judea.

Under the reign of Antiochus the Great, Aſia, Judea, and Cele-Syria, were never at reſt; for Antiochus being at that time in actual hoſtility with Philopator Ptolemy, and his ſon Ptolemy, ſirnamed Epiphanes, whether ſide ſoever had the better of it, the Jews betwixt the proſperous and adverſe fortune of Antiochus, were ſtill ſure to be ſufferers, like a veſſel in a ſtorm at ſea, that is batter'd and daſh'd betwixt two billows, as well on the one ſide as the other; but Antiochus, in the end, prevail'd, and made himſelf maſter of Judea.

Scopas breaks into Cele-Syria.

Antiochus beats him out again.

In proceſs of time, after the death of Philopator, his ſon ſent a great army into Cele-Syria, under the command of Scopas, who took ſeveral of their cities, and reduced Judea by force; but Antiochus a while after obtained a notable victory over Scopas, at the head of the river Jordan, and recover'd the places in Cele-Syria and Samaria, which Scopas had got poſſeſſion of before. The Jews, upon this ſucceſs, render'd themſelves upon their own accord, received the army into their city, provided plentifully for the elephants, and valiantly aſſiſted in the attack of the caſtle, where Scopas had left a body of men in gariſon. Antiochus thought it but reaſonable to gratify the Jews with ſome honourable mark of the ſenſe he had of their good-will and ſervices upon this occaſion, and ſo wrote to ſuch of his friends and officers as were witneſſes of the obligations they had laid upon him; giving to underſtand in the ſaid letters, what manner of requital he intended to make them. You ſhall have the copy of it in its due place, but I am firſt to tell you what Polybius the Megalopolitan, in the ſixteenth book of his hiſtory, ſays upon this ſubject. “Scopas, ſays he, Ptolemy's general, made a winter war with the Jews, broke into the heart of their country, and wholly ſubdued it.” And then he goes on a little after, in the ſame book, with the ſtory of Scopas's being defeated by Antiochus, over-running Bathamea, Samaria, Gadara, and Abila; after which the Jews of Jeruſalem, and of the glorious temple there, went over to him. “I ſhould ſay a great deal more, ſays he, upon this text, but I muſt put it off to another time.” Thus far went Polybius; but I ſhall now return to my relation, taking the letter of Antiochus in my way.

See Polybius Megalopolitanus.

The Jews of Jeruſalem go over to Antiochus.

King Antiochus to Ptolemy, greeting.

Antiochus to Ptolemy in honour and favour of the Jews.

“WHEREAS we have received ſeveral inſtances of the good diſpoſitions and affections of the Jews toward us and our ſervice, from the time of our firſt coming into their country, which they have expreſs'd by their pomp and reſpect of their elders and magiſtrates, in attending us in a body upon the way, and the ſplendid reception of our perſon, and our army into the city, and making ſo ample a proviſion, both for our horſes and elephants, aſſiſting us likewiſe againſt the gariſon of the Egyptians in the caſtle: theſe good offices being duly conſider'd, we reckon ourſelves bound, in piety and honour, to beſtow upon them ſome diſtinguiſhing marks of our acknowledgment and eſteem, by contributing toward the repairing of their miſerable city, and reſtoring it to its former ſtate of reputation and glory, by recalling all their countrymen, where-ever diſtreſſed, to their former habitations; and in order to the compaſſing of thoſe ends, we have in the firſt place aſſigned twenty thouſand pieces of ſilver toward the charges of their ſacrifices, wine, oil; and frankincenſe; and for fine flower, according to the cuſtom of the place, one thouſand four hundred and ſixty meaſures of wheat, and three hundred ſeventy five meaſures of ſalt; and it is our will and pleaſure, that all this may be executed and made good according to my order; and then for any thing that may be wanting toward the repairing of the temple, porch, galleries, or whatever elſe, it it our will that the timber be ſupplied, whether from Judea, Libanus, or elſewhere, without any tax or duty; and we do likewiſe grant the ſame immunity for all other materials, that ſhall be made uſe of for the holy temple, with permiſſion moreover of an univerſal liberty to live and govern themſelves according to their country-laws; and we do hereby reſpectively diſcharge their elders, prieſts, ſcribes, and ſinging-men, of poll-taxes, royal duties, and of all other tributes whatſoever; and for a further encouragement to the ſpeedy re-peopling of this city, we do by our royal authority grant unto all the preſent inhabitants of the ſame, and to ſuch others as ſhall come to reſide there, at any time betwixt this and the month of Hyperberetæus next enſuing, a total exemption from all publick impoſitions for the ſpace of three years to come; and ſo likewiſe from that time forward, an abatement of one third part of all taxes, in conſideration of their paſt damages and ſufferings. And finally, whereas great numbers of theſe people have been carry'd away captive, and remain to this day in bondage, we do farther command, that they be forthwith ſet at liberty, with reſtitution, in ſatisfaction for what had been taken from them. And ſo we bid you heartily farewel."

A ſecond edict of Antiochus relating to the Jews religion, laws, and cuſtoms.

This gracious prince did not ſtop here neither; but follow'd his generous declaration in favour of the people, with another edict, which he cauſ'd to be publiſh'd all over his dominions, in ſubſtance as follows: that is to ſay, "That no ſtranger ſhall preſume to enter into the temple, but with the conſent of the Jews, and without being purify'd and qualify'd beforehand for his admittance, according to the laws of the country: that no man ſhall dare to bring into the city, the fleſh either of horſes or mules, or of aſſes, wild or tame; the fleſh of panthers, foxes, hares, or of any other creatures that the Jews are not allow'd ſo much as to touch, nor the ſkins of any of them; nor to bring up, or feed any of theſe, or any other creatures in the city, but ſuch as their forefathers, according to God's appointment, made uſe of for ſacrifices, upon the penalty of [*] three thouſand drachmas, to be levy'd upon every offender againſt the ſaid orders, for the uſe and benefit of the prieſts."

This king had another eminent occaſion alſo to give the world a ſignal proof of the high eſteem he had for us in the matter of our piety and allegiance. Upon the breaking out of a commotion in Phrygia and Lydia, Zeuxes at that time commanding an army in the upland provinces, the king preſently order'd this general, a perſon for whom he had a ſingular reſpect, to ſend away from Babylon ſuch a number of the Jews there, into Phrygia, giving him his inſtructions in a letter to this effect:

The king Antiochus to Zeuxes, his friend and father, greeting.

Antiochus to his general Zeuxes, much to the reputation of the Jews.

"IF you are well, all is well; for I am ſo too. Whereas I am given to underſtand, that there are ſeveral perſons who ſtrive to raiſe ſeditions and make innovations in Phrygia and Lydia, it ſtands me upon to look well about me betimes; ſo that I am now to acquaint you that I am adviſed by my council, and friends, to take two thouſand Jewiſh families out of Babylon and Meſopotamia, and to tranſport them into Phrygia, with their goods and whatever belongs to them, and there to place them for a guard in ſtrong holds and garriſons, being thoroughly ſatisfy'd in the knowledge I have of their zeal and fidelity; not only from the principles of their religion, but from the proof and experience of their allegiance to my anceſtors. Wherefore, it is my pleaſure (all difficulties notwithſtanding) that they be forthwith tranſplanted; giving them all aſſurance, that they ſhall ſtill enjoy the freedom of their own laws and cuſtoms. And upon their arrival there, you are to aſſign them lands and poſſeſſions, with all ſorts of conveniencies for building, planting and tillage; with an immunity alſo from all taxes and contributions, out of the profits for ten year to come. And in the mean while, till they may be able to ſupport themſelves out of the fruits of their own induſtry, you are to allow them a competent proviſion of wheat, for the maintenance of themſelves and their families: by which kind uſage they will be encouraged to act more chearfully in our ſervice. You are finally to take care, that they be not expoſed to any ſort of trouble or moleſtation. And ſo we bid you farewel."

Antiochus marries Cleopatra the daughter of Ptolemy.

This is enough to ſhew what eſteem Antiochus the great had for the Jews: after which, there followed a league of amity and alliance betwixt this king and Ptolemy, upon a marriage with his daughter Cleopatra, who had in lieu of a portion, Cele-Syria, Phenicia, Judea and Samaria. The revenue was in partition betwixt the two kings, and let out in farm to ſome of the principal men in the reſpective provinces, who took care of the collections, and ſo paid their proportions into the king's treaſury, according to the contract.

The Samaritans bitter enemies to the Jews.

Manaſſes had the pontificate after his nephew Eleazar, and Onias, a weak prince, ſucceeded Manaſſes.

Ptolemy menaces Onias by his embaſſador Athenion, for refuſing to pay him his annual tribute.

The Samaritans were at this time proud and powerful, and moſt particularly troubleſome and vexatious in their inroads upon the Jews; carrying ſeveral of them away captives; and this ravage was committed chiefly in the time of the high-prieſt Onias: for after the death of Eleazar, his uncle Manaſſes took the pontificate; and after his death, ſucceeded Onias, the ſon of Simon the Juſt; which Simon was the brother of Eleazar, as we have ſaid already. This Onias was weak and covetous, to the degree of refuſing the king the coſtomary tribute of [†] twenty talents, which his anceſtors ſtill made to him, in acknowledgment of a duty. This coarſe behaviour of Onias, incenſed Ptolemy Euergetes the father of Philopator to ſuch a degree, that he ſent an embaſſador expreſly to Jeruſalem, with a menace to demand the payment of it, upon the peril of having an army quarter'd upon their country at diſcretion, and a new plantation ſettled there, if they did not immediately comply. This meſſage gave the Jews moſt terrible apprehenſions; but Onias out-faced the danger, his heart being only ſet upon his money.

CHAP. IV.

Joſeph, the nephew of Onias, begs his uncle's pardon of Ptolemy; makes his own fortune by it, and advances his ſon Hyrcanus. The death of Joſeph.

Joſeph the nephew of Onias.

THERE was one Joſeph, the ſon of Tobias, by the ſiſter of Onias the high-prieſt. This Joſeph was a young man, but for his integrity, prudence and juſtice, a perſon of great reputation among the Jews. While he was one time at Phichola, the place of his birth, his mother ſent him an account of the meſſenger before ſpoken of, and of his buſineſs, who went immediately with an invective to Onias for ſo manifeſt an expoſure of the publick peace; reproaching him withal, that if he could but ſave his money, he car'd not what became of the people, to whom he ſtood indebted for his promotion, both ſacerdotal and civil. But however, if his heart was ſo overcome with the love of money, that he would ſacrifice his country, friends and all, rather than part with it, he adviſed him at leaſt to make a dutiful application to the king about it, and to try if he could get the whole, or at leaſt ſome part of it remitted. Onias made anſwer, that he was not ſo fond of his place either in church or ſtate, but he could willingly part with both, if it were permitted him, rather than go to the king upon that errand; and that for his part he would not meddle in the matter. Why then, ſays Joſeph, will you give me leave to attend the king upon the ſame commiſſion? Onias told him [with all his heart.] So Joſeph went up to the temple, where he called a congregation, and bad them chear up their hearts, for he was in hope that this failing of his uncle would have no further ill conſequence; telling them, that if they thought fit, he would wait upon the king himſelf in their name, and do the beſt he could to ſet matters right again. The whole multitude gave him thanks for the propoſal, and ſo left the buſineſs entirely to his management. Joſeph, upon this, went his way preſently to find out the king's commiſſioner; and when he had treated him ſplendidly for ſome certain days, and made him rich preſents, he diſmiſs'd him to his maſter again, with an aſſurance that he himſelf would follow him very ſuddenly. Joſeph's heart was now ſet more and more upon this expedition, being not only encouraged and invited to it by the king's meſſenger, but ſure alſo of the beſt ſervice he could do him there; who made no doubt at all neither, but that upon ſuch an application, Joſeph might gain his point. This perſon was mightily taken with the good graces and addreſs of the young man; and upon his return into Egypt, reflecting abundantly upon the ingratitude of Onias, he did not forget at the ſame time, to ſpeak the beſt things in the world of Joſeph, who he ſaid would be there himſelf e'er long, on the behalf of the people; which office he had now taken upon himſelf, to atone for the ill-natur'd lazineſs of his uncle. This miniſter, in fine, was ſo taken up ſtill upon the ſubject of Joſeph's character and commendations, that the king and his wife Cleopatra were half in love with him before ever they ſaw him. Upon this occaſion, Joſeph ſent to his friends in Samaria to take up money for his equipage; which in clothes, horſes, carriages, plate, and other neceſſaries, ſtood him in a matter of * twenty thouſand drachma's. He had the hap, in his way to Alexandria, to fall into company with a train of the princes and nobility of Syria and Phenicia, who were at that time trooping up to the king to treat with him about his revenue, according to a yearly cuſtom they had of putting it up by the way of outcry to the faireſt bidder. Theſe great men made themſelves merry at the poor pitiful appearance of Joſeph and his retinue: but he kept on his way ſtill, directly to Alexandria; and being there informed that the king was ſtill at Memphis, he proſecuted his Journey; and had the good hap to meet him ſitting in his chariot with the queen, and his particular confident Athenion, in his return to Alexandria. This Athenion was the perſon that carry'd the embaſſy to Jeruſalem, and was ſo honourably treated by Joſeph there. Joſeph was no ſooner in his eye, but he gave the king to underſtand that this was the young man whom he had ſpoken ſo many excellent things of, at his coming back from Jeruſalem. Ptolemy upon this, ſtopt and ſaluted him, and took him into his chariot; complaining upon the firſt greeting, how ill he had been us'd by Onias. "Sir (ſays Joſeph) an old man is the ſecond time a child, and I hope your majeſty will impute nothing to Onias beyond that infirmity; but for the young men that are in their vigour of ſtrength and underſtanding, I dare be anſwerable for it, that you ſhall not find any one of us wanting in his duty." The king was ſo delighted with this taſte of Joſeph's diſcretion and civility, upon this firſt interview, that he gave orders immediately for the lodging of him in his own palace, and entertaining of him at his own table; which ſingular reſpect gave no ſmall diſguſt to the envious Syrian noblemen, when they came to ſee at Alexandria the honour that was done to Joſeph.

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[*] Three thouſand drachma's, reckoning a drachma worth ſeven pence of our money, amounted to eighty ſeven pound ten ſhillings.

[†] Twenty Hebrew talents weighed two thouſand two hundred and eighty one pound, three ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to ſix thouſand eight hundred and forty three pound fifteen ſhillings of our money.

Joſeph reaſons the caſe of Ptolemy with his uncle, but can do no good upon him.

Joſeph courts Athenion with treats and preſents. Athenion goes back to to his maſter, and Joſeph promiſes to follow him.

Athenion does Joſeph all good offices:

While Joſeph provides for his journey.

He falls in upon the way with a train of great perſons going to treat with the king about farming his revenue.

The king happens to meet Joſeph upon the way; and upon Athenion's telling him who he was, the king takes him into his chariot.

The king blames Onias: and Joſeph imputes it to age and infirmity.

The king entertains him in his own palace.

The day of auction was now come on, when the ſeveral branches of the revenue were to be put up, and the nobility of every ſeveral province reſpectively to bid for the purchaſe; ſo they came to a contract for eight thouſand talents upon the duties out of Cele-Syria, Phenicia, Judea and Samaria. Joſeph blam'd the contractors, for beating down the compoſition ſo much below the value, and propounded the doubling of it himſelf, over and above the forfeitures, which theſe publicans had reſerved for themſelves. The king was very well pleas'd with this propoſal for the improvement of his revenue, and in favour of the propoſer himſelf too. But what ſecurity can you give, ſays he, for the performance of what you undertake; Joſeph pleaſantly enough reply'd, that he could give him the ſecurity of perſons beyond all exception; and upon the king's bidding him name them, his anſwer was, that he doubted not, but his majeſty and the queen would be bound one to another for his honeſty and juſtice. The king, in fine, was ſo well ſatisfy'd with this ingenious way of proceeding, that he intruſted him with his revenue upon his word, without any other ſureties. This ſurprizing preference of a ſtranger, put the reſt of the undertakers exceedingly out of humour, and out of countenance, to think of going back again with ſhame and repulſe.

Upon the bidding for the farm, Joſeph offers double to the reſt of the contractors.

The king agrees with him without ſecurity.

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* Twenty thouſand drachma's came to about five hundred and eighty three pounds, ſix ſhillings, and four pence, of Engliſh money.

Joſeph with a guard of 2000 ſoldiers, goes to Askalon, to collect the duty.

The people riſe againſt him, and he makes twenty of the ringleaders examples.

JOSEPH, upon being taken into this truſt, deſir'd a guard of two thouſand ſoldiers to ſupport him in the collecting of the duty, in caſe of any oppoſition; which guard was granted him; and thereupon having borrow'd * five hundred talents of the king's friends in Alexandria, he went his way into Syria. Upon his coming to Askalon, and demanding the king's tribute there, they did not only refuſe him the money, but affronted him outrageouſly with foul words; but he preſently cauſed his ſoldiers to take up twenty of the ringleaders, and inflict exemplary juſtice upon them; raiſing a † thouſand talents out of their forfeited eſtates, and ſent the treaſure to the king, with a particular account of what had been done. The king was ſo wonderfully taken with the conduct and diſcretion of the proceeding, that he entruſted him after that to do whatever he thought fit. The freſh example of this ſeverity upon the people of Askalon, wrought ſuch an effect upon the reſt of the Syrians elſewhere, that they ſet their gates open in all places to Joſeph, and without any difficulty, or ſcruple, paid their taxes. The inhabitants of Scythopolis followed the precedent alſo of Askalon, in the obſtinate refuſal of their cuſtomary impoſitions, and in the contempt of the king's officers and authority; ſo that Joſeph was forced to deal with the heads of the faction there, as he had done before with thoſe at Askalon; confiſcating their eſtates, and applying the forfeitures to the king's uſe, and the maintenance of the government; accounting it a point of wiſdom to ſecure what they had got, and to make their country maintain it ſelf; to ſay nothing of the many rich preſents that were made by-the-bye, both to the king and to his people; and many more to the king's well-wiſhers and favourites; by which means Joſeph both gained friends, and kept them.

Scythopolis follows the preſident of Askalon in the ſtubbornneſs of the faction, and Joſeph makes them as exemplary in in their puniſhment.

How Joſeph came to marry Solymius's daughter, by whom he had Hyrcanus.

JOSEPH liv'd in this ſtate of proſperity for the ſpace of two and twenty years, having had ſeven ſons by one wife, and another by the daughter of his brother Solymius, whoſe name was Hyrcanus, whom he took to wife upon this occaſion.

Joſeph falls in love with a beautiful woman at Alexandria.

Being a ſtranſhe could not be his wife, and therefore he gets her for his miſtreſs.

Solymius puts his daughter to bed to him.

TRAVELLING one time in company with his brother to Alexandria, to find out ſome Jew of quality that might be a match for a daughter of his that he took along with him, and was at that time marriageable; as he was at ſupper with the king, he fell paſſionately in love with a beautiful maid that he ſaw dance there for the king's entertainment. He made his brother his only confident of the ſecret, deſiring him that ſince he could not lawfully enjoy her as his wife, (being a ſtranger) he would do him the good office to bring them together privately. His brother, promiſing that he would do what he could in it, dreſs'd up his own daughter, and at night put her to bed to him. Joſeph, who had drunk pretty plentifully, paſs'd the firſt night by a miſtake with his brother's daughter, and never found the error. This abuſe was put upon him over and over, and the oftner he enjoy'd this converſation, the more enamour'd he grew of his miſtreſs, till at laſt he made his moan to his brother, that he was afraid he ſhould never get that love out of his heart; beſide that he fear'd the king would never agree to make a match of it. As for that fancy, ſays Solymius, trouble your head no farther; for you may lawfully enjoy the woman you love, and enjoy her as your wife too. Solymius confeſſed the whole matter to him; and that he had rather choſen to ſuffer an affront in the perſon of his daughter, than to have his brother guilty of ſo diſhonourable a ſin. Joſeph upon this diſcovery, extoll'd his brother's tenderneſs and friendſhip to the skies, and marry'd his daughter; by whom he had Hyrcanus, as we have ſaid already. This ſame Hyrcanus, at thirteen years of age, gave the world ſuch hopes of him, to all the purpoſes of generoſity, underſtanding, and good-nature, that the pregnancy of this youth (being the youngeſt of that ſtock) drew a mortal envy upon him from the reſt of his brothers; as having the reputation of an advantage over all the reſt. Now Joſeph, out of a deſire to make an experiment, which of his children was the beſt inclin'd, ſent them one by one to the moſt expert maſters he could think of in their ſeveral profeſſions; but betwixt ſloth and lazineſs, they all came home again as ignorant as they went out. Joſeph, after this, ſent his youngeſt ſon Hyrcanus, upon a ſeven days journey into a deſart with three hundred pair of oxen to plough and ſow there, having firſt privately taken away the lines that ſhould couple the yoak and the plough together. When he came to the place, and wanted his tackle, he was adviſ'd by ſome husbandmen to ſend home to his father for it; but he was againſt loſing ſo much time, and therefore bethought himſelf of an invention that look'd liker the ſtratagem of an old beaten ſoldier than the ſhift of a child; that is to ſay, he cauſed ten yoak of oxen to be kill'd, dividing the fleſh among his workmen; and cutting the skins into thongs, he tack'd the oxen and their gears together; plough'd up the ground, and ſow'd it as his father had order'd him, and ſo went home again. Upon his return, his father kiſſed and embraced him, bleſſing himſelf at his preſence of thought, and the prudence of his behaviour, and to conſider, that ſo very a youth ſhould have the ſteddineſs of mind to put ſo extraordinary an invention in execution. So that Hyrcanus was to his father as if he had been his only ſon; but his brothers hated him.

Solymius finding him ſo much delighted with his companion, tells Joſeph the whole ſtory.

Joſeph thanks him for his friendſhip, and marries his daughter, by whom he hath Hyrcanus.

The early pregnancy and reputation of Hyrcanus, being the youngeſt of eight ſons, makes the reſt hate him

The prudence and ſagacity of Hyrcanus.

ABOUT this time, there was news brought to Joſeph that the queen was deliver'd of a ſon, to the exceeding joy of the princes and great men of Syria, who preſently marched together in great pomp to Alexandria, to gratulate the king and the court upon this bleſſing; only Joſeph, by reaſon of his age, was forced to ſtay behind. But he had a mind however to feel how his ſons ſtood affected to this expedition; and upon putting them to the queſtion, "one did not underſtand the ways "of the court, (he ſaid) another made a diffi- "culty of ſhewing himſelf to the king;" and ſo with one pretence after another, they put it to

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* Five hundred talents weighed thirty eight thouſand and twenty pound ten ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to one hundred and fourteen thouſand and ſixty two pounds ten ſhillings, of our money.

† The talents here meant we take to be the Syrians, one of which weighed fourteen pound three ounces one pennyweight and twenty one grains, and its value in ſilver amounted to forty two pound, fifteen ſhillings, and fivepence halfpenny half farthing; a thouſand muſt therefore weigh fourteen thouſand two hundred and fifty ſeven pound nine ounces fifteen pennyweights, and amount in value to forty two thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy three pound eighteen ſhillings and nine pence.

Joſeph ſends Hyrcanus upon a compliment to Ptolemy to joy him on the birth of a young prince.

Joſeph gives him letters of credit to Arion his agent at Alexandria.

Hyrcanus haſtens away to Arion.

Hyrcanus demands 1000 talents for preſents.

Arion expoſtulates the matter, and Hyrcanus puts him in chains.

Ptolemy ſends for Hyrcanus to chide him for what he had done.

Hyrcanus excuſes himſelf at preſent,

in ſuch a manner as gives the king great ſatisfaction.

their father to ſend Hyrcanus, on the errand; which he was very glad to hear, and had him call'd immediately. "Son, (ſays Joſeph) "what if I ſhould ſend you now upon a compliment to the king? could you behave "your ſelf, do you think, as you ought to "do?" Why Sir, ſays Hyrcanus, I ſhould take it for a great honour to be ſo employ'd, and moſt readily obey you. And ſays he further, I ſhould not put you to any great expence neither; for I would manage every thing as well as I could, and a matter of ten thouſand drachma's would do my buſineſs. The father was much delighted with his ſon's ſobriety and moderation; and ſo the diſcourſe ſtopt for a while, till the ſon after a little pauſe broke the ſilence. "Sir, (ſays he) if I durſt "be ſo free with you, I would propoſe it to "you not to ſend the king any preſents from "this place; but rather to write to your a"gent at Alexandria, to furniſh me where"withal to buy the richeſt, and the moſt a"greeable curioſities for preſents for the king, "that are to be had for money." Joſeph reckon'd upon it, that about ten * talents, perhaps, might ſerve the turn; ſo that he comply'd with his ſon, and gave him letters of credit to Arion his caſh-keeper at Alexandria, who had ſome † three thouſand talents at that time in his hands; it being Joſeph's method ſtill to remit thither the collections he receiv'd in Syria, to be there return'd into the treaſury upon the preciſe pay-day; which Arion was intruſted to take care of. Hyrcanus was no ſooner diſpatch'd, but away he went to Arion at Alexandria with his letters; his brothers at the ſame time being engag'd in a ſecret practice and deſign upon his life. Upon the delivery of his credentials, Arion asked him how many talents would ſerve his turn; computing that about ten talents, or ſomewhat over, might be ſufficient. Hyrcanus told him, that he ſhould have occaſion for a ‡ thouſand talents. What, ſays Arion, to be ſquander'd away in luxury and profuſion? No no, Sir, (ſays he) your father made his fortune by induſtry and good husbandry, and you ſhould do well to tread in his ſteps. In ſhort, you are like to have but ten talents of me, and I will ſee every penny of the money laid out upon the preſents too. This inſolence of his, provoked Hyrcanus to put him in chains. Now the wife of Arion being much in the queen's favour, carry'd the tidings of this adventure preſently to her miſtreſs; and the queen imparted it to the king, not without ſomewhat of reproach upon the raſhneſs and intemperance of the young man. This complaint was ſoon follow'd by a meſſage from the king to Hyrcanus, giving to underſtand, that he being ſent expreſly by his father to attend his majeſty, he very much wonder'd that he ſhould never come at him; and not only at that neither, but likewiſe at his taking upon him to impriſon his father's agent; wherefore it was his majeſty's command, that he ſhould wait upon him, and acquit himſelf, if he could, of the charge that was exhibited againſt him. Hyrcanus deſir'd the meſſenger to inform the king, that by the Jewiſh law no man was permitted to eat of the fleſh of any thing that was ſacrificed, who had not been firſt in the temple, and offered ſacrifice himſelf; which by a parity of reaſon was his very caſe, for he durſt not wait upon his majeſty till he had firſt preſented the oblations which his father had intruſted him withal, in teſtimony of his gratitude and duty; and for the matter of puniſhing a ſervant for his diſobedience, he thought, with ſubmiſſion, that he had great right on his ſide; for the relation is ſo near betwixt great maſters and little ones, that an ill example in a ſubject ſtretches in the conſequence to the king himſelf; for where the contempt of authority paſſes with impunity, the precedent is contagious. The king could not but ſmile and wonder at the hearing of this, to find ſo great a ſoul in a perſon of ſo green years.

Arion at laſt ſupplies Hyrcanus with the thouſand talents; and ſo he provides his preſents.

Hyrcanus being treated ſoon after at the king's table, the gueſts ſet Tryphon, a buffoon, upon him to make ſport with him.

Hyrcanus's ſharp and ingenious way of acquainting himſelf.

Arion perceiving by this time that his court-intereſt fail'd him, deliver'd the thouſand talents that were demanded of him, as a compoſition for his liberty. After three days, Hyrcanus went to court to pay his reſpects to the king and queen; where he had the honour out of a ſingular reſpect they bore to his father, to be admitted to their table. While this was in agitation, he contracted privately with certain merchants for a hundred of the moſt beautiful youths that were to be gotten, at a talent a head, and as many lovely ingenious girls at the ſame price. Being invited after this to the king's entertainment, together with other perſons of the moſt eminent quality, the officers that had the ordering of the ceremony in the ranging of the gueſts, aſſigned Hyrcanus, being but a youth, the loweſt place at the table. When the reſt of the company had fill'd their bellies with the fleſh, they laid their bones together by conſent, in a mockery, before Hyrcanus; and ſet on Tryphon, a jeſting buffoon that the king took pleaſure to make ſport with; who in his buffooning way deſir'd the king to take notice what a heap of bones Hyrcanus had before him. Juſt ſo, ſays he, has the father pick'd the bones of all Syria, as the ſon has ſerv'd thoſe bones that are now before him. The king could not but ſmile at the drollery of the conceit, and asked Hyrcanus how he came to have ſuch a pile of bones before him. Oh Sir, ſays he, there's no wonder in it at all; for the dogs devour fleſh, and bones and all, pointing with his eye to thoſe that had none before them; but men, ſays he, ſuch as I am, when they have eat the fleſh, throw away the bones as I do. The king found him ſo facetious, that he not only applauded him himſelf, but recommended him alſo to the reſpect and kindneſs of the company.

Hyrcanus made his court upon the day following to the king's friends, and the great men about him; where he artfully pump'd out of the ſervants what preſents their maſters

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* Ten talents weighed ſeven hundred and ſixty pound five ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to two thouſand two hundred and eighty one pounds five ſhillings.

† Three thouſand talents weighed two hundred eighteen thouſand, one hundred and twenty five pounds, and their value in ſilver amounted to ſix hundred eighty four thouſand three hundred and ſeventy five pounds, Engliſh money.

‡ A thouſand talents weighed ſeventy ſix thouſand and forty one pounds eight ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to two hundred twenty eight thouſand, one hundred and twenty five pounds, of our money.

intended

The magnificence and curioſity of Hyrcanus's preſents.

The king is ſo delighted with it, that he bids him aſk what he will and he ſhall have it. Hyrcanus only deſires the king's recommendatory letters back again, which the king grants, and ſo with honourable preſents diſmiſſes him.

The brothers aſſault Hyrcanus, and are worſted.

Hyrcanus keeps on his way to Jeruſalem.

intended to compliment the king withal, upon the birth of the prince. So one ſaid, * twelve talents, perhaps; another more or leſs, according to their ability; ſome, in fine, one thing, ſome another; Hyrcanus ſeeming uneaſy all this while, upon a pretence, that he could not come up to their proportion; for † five talents, he ſaid, was all that he was able to advance. Theſe ſervants told their maſters what paſs'd betwixt them and Hyrcanus, who were not a little pleaſed to think how the narrowneſs of the young's man preſent would leſſen him in the eſteem of the king. But when it came to appear upon the day appointed for the ſolemnity of making their oblations, that ‡ twenty talents was the moſt that was given by any man, Hyrcanus only excepted, whoſe preſent was a hundred boys, and a hundred girls; the former for the king, the other for the queen; and with every one of them ‖ a talent for another preſent over and above. This was ſo exceſſive and ſo unexpected a munificence, that the king himſelf and all his friends were in admiration at it; beſide the gratuity of divers talents more, that were diſtributed among the king's miniſters and officers, for fear of the worſt; Hyrcanus's brothers having employed their uttermoſt intereſt with them to get him deſtroy'd. The king was ſo tenderly ſenſible of the greatneſs of the young man's mind, and the graceful way of expreſſing it, that he bad him aſk what he would, and he ſhould have it; of which generous offer he made no other uſe, than to deſire his majeſty's letters of recommendation back again to his father and brethren; ſo the king took an honourable leave of him, preſented him like a prince; and with recommendatory letters to his father and brothers, and to his own officers and governors, he gave him his diſcharge. But when his brothers came to underſtand how magnificently the king and queen had receiv'd him, and the eſteem they had of him, and that his reputation was now much greater at his return than it was before this expedition, they laid their heads together how they might lay an ambuſh for him upon the road, intercept and deſtroy him; and this not altogether without their father's privity neither, who was ſo highly diſguſted at his extravagant expence upon the late preſents, that he did not much care what became of him, though he was forced, however, to diſſemble the matter for fear of the king. It came to this iſſue in the concluſion, that the brothers met, and aſſaulted him upon the way; and after a reſolute reſiſtance on his part, loſt a conſiderable number of the train; two of the brotherhood kill'd upon the place, and the reſt made the beſt ſhift they could to get back again to their father at Jeruſalem. Hyrcanus kept on his way into the city; but finding that no body own'd him there, he croſs'd the river Jordan for his own ſecurity, where he ſpent the remainder of his life in gathering the king's duties from the Barbarians. This was in the days of Seleucus the king of Aſia, otherwiſe called Soter, or the Saviour, the ſon of Antiochus the Great. About the ſame time died Joſeph, the father of Hyrcanus, a man of great piety and reſolution, and a perſon that highly contributed to the relief and well-being of the Jews in all their diſtreſſes. He executed a commiſſion of receiver of all publick duties in Syria, Phenicia, and Samaria, for the ſpace of two and twenty years. His uncle Onias died alſo about the ſame time, and his ſon Simon ſucceeded him to the prieſthood; and he going off too, his ſon Onias ſucceeded him, to whom Arius king of the Lacedemonians ſent an embaſſy in the terms following.

The death of Joſeph, his character and commiſſion.

Onias dies, and Simon ſucceeds him in the pontificate.

CHAP. V.

Arius king of Lacedemon claims kindred of the Jews, and writes to Onias the high-prieſt, about an alliance. The Lacedemonians derive from Abraham. Hyrcanus builds a glorious caſtle by the name of Tyre. He lays violent hands upon himſelf.

Arius king of Lacedemon to the high-prieſt Onias.

Arius king of the Lacedemonians to Onias, health.

"WHEREAS there is come to our "hand an ancient manuſcript, ſetting "forth the near affinity betwixt our anceſtors "and yours, and the relation we have to the "line of Abraham, it is but reaſonable for "brethren ſo nearly allied to do all good offices one toward another. This is therefore "to offer you the command of any thing within our power to ſerve you, as we ourſelves "ſhall take the ſame freedom in looking upon "your concerns as our own, and joining in "one common intereſt. You are to receive "this letter from our truſty ſubject and ſervant Demoteles, written in a quarto page, "and ſeal'd with the figure of an eagle holding a dragon in her talons." This was the purport of the letter.

All in mutiny and ſedition after the death of Joſeph.

Hyrcanus keeps beyond Jordan, for fear of his brothers.

A deſcription of a wonderful caſtle that Hyrcanus built by the name of Tyre.

AFTER the death of Joſeph, the people broke out into mutinies and ſeditions, upon the quarrel of the ſons that he had left behind him, the elder brothers making war upon the younger; the greater part of the people appearing alſo in favour of the former; and among the reſt, Simon the high-prieſt, upon the account of his relation. Hyrcanus did not think fit to return to Jeruſalem, but however kept himſelf ſtill beyond Jordan, where he maintain'd a perpetual war with the Arabians, killing great numbers of them, and carrying others into captivity. He cauſed to be erected there a marvellous ſtrong caſtle, the walls from the bottom to the top all of white ſtone, with figures upon them of ſeveral ſorts of creatures, of an extraordinary ſize and proportion. This building was encompaſſed with a deep ditch, or moat, and vaults cut out through a mountain juſt oppoſite to it, of ſeveral furlongs in length, and only broad enough at the mouth for one man to enter at a time, which they did both for fear and ſecurity. There were alſo in this caſtle fair eating-rooms, and places for entertainment and lodging; variety of fountains up and down, both for pleaſure and for ornament; large courts, ſtately buildings, lovely and ſpacious gardens; and to this place thus perfected he gave the name of Tyre, which lies upon the borders of Arabia and Judea beyond Jordan, and not far from the country of the Eſſebonites. Hyrcanus held this government for the ſpace of ſeven years; that is to ſay, for the whole time that Seleucus reign'd in Syria. After his death his brother Antiochus ſucceeded him, otherwiſe called Epiphanes, and then died Ptolemy alſo, king of Egypt, who was likewiſe called Epiphanes. This Ptolemy left two ſons behind him, both of them minors; the name of the elder was Philometor, and the name of the other Phyſcon. Antiochus was at that time very ſtrong and powerful; inſomuch, that Hyrcanus, for fear of being call'd to an account for his inroads upon the Arabians, laid violent hands upon himſelf, and Antiochus took poſſeſſion of all his goods and eſtate.

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* 'Tis not an eaſy matter to determine here what talents are meant, but ſuppoſing them to be Egyptian, twelve weighed nine hundred and twelve pounds, three ounces, and in value amounted to two thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty ſeven pounds, ten ſhillings.

† Five weighed three hundred and eighty pounds, two ounces, and ten pennyweights, and in value amounted to eleven hundred and forty pounds, twelve ſhillings, and ſix pence.

‡ Twenty weighed fifteen hundred and twenty pounds, ten ounces, and in value amounted to four thouſand five hundred and ſixty two pounds, ten ſhillings.

‖ Two hundred talents weighed fifteen thouſand two hundred and eight pounds, four ounces, and in value amounted to forty five thouſand ſix hundred and twenty five pounds of our money; but if Syrian talents are here meant, the amount of each of them reſpectively would fall ſhort above one quarter.

Seleucus dies, and Antiochus ſucceeds him.

Ptolemy king of Egypt dies, and leaves behind him two ſons, Philometor and Phyſcon.

Hyrcanus lays violent hands upon himſelf.

CHAP. VI.

Onias, otherwiſe Menelaus, is excluded from the pontificate. He betakes himſelf to Antiochus, and apoſtatizes from his religion. Antiochus makes a furious inroad into Egypt, but the Romans force him back again.

Antiochus upon the death of Onias advances Jeſus to the high-prieſthood, under the name of Jaſon, who is depoſed, and the dignity transferr'd to his younger brother Onias, under the name of Menelaus.

Two factions; the ſons of Tobias ſide with Menelaus, and the multitude with Jaſon. The party of Tobias renounces the Jewiſh religion for that of the Greeks.

ONIAS the high-prieſt dying about this time, Antiochus Epiphanes advanced his brother Jeſus to the pontificate, in the minority of a ſon he had then living, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. This Jeſus fell under the king's dilpleaſure, who depoſed him from the pontificate, and transferred it afterward to Onias the younger brother. Now theſe were the three ſons of Simon, and they all came to the dignity, as we have already ſet forth; but Jeſus choſe rather to take upon himſelf the name of Jaſon, as the other changed his name for Menelaus. In this confuſion of chopping and changing, one brother advanc'd a faction againſt the other, and the people divided upon it. The ſons of Tobias ſided with the new high-prieſt Menelaus; but the greater part of the multitude joined intereſts with Jaſon, and ſo much overpower'd the other, that Menelaus and the ſons of Tobias withdrew to Antioch, declaring themſelves that they would no longer be tied up to their country's laws and inſtitutions, but go over to the religion of their king, and the Greek way of worſhip; deſiring liberty to erect a kind of academy, or place for publick exerciſes in Jeruſalem. Upon the obtaining of this licence, they order'd their bodies ſo, that even naked, there was no viſible difference betwixt them and the Greeks, at the ſame time caſting off all regard to the Jewiſh laws and cuſtoms, and betaking themſelves to the ways and manners of other nations.

Antiochus breaks into Egypt, takes Memphis, and marches againſt Alexandria.

Antiochus finding himſelf at this time ſo eaſy at home, and his people ſo well ſettled, had a great mind to try an expedition into Egypt, partly out of an ambition to make himſelf maſter of the country, and partly encourag'd by the weakneſs and inability of Ptolemy's ſons, to manage ſuch a war; ſo that he advanced with a mighty army to Peluſium, where he ſlily circumvented Philometor by craft, and got footing in Egypt; advancing from thence to Memphis, and other neighbouring places, which he reduced likewiſe; and ſo to Alexandria, with a deſign to reduce at once both the king and the city; but upon the peremptory command of the Romans, to withdraw his army immediately, upon his utmoſt peril, he gave over his deſign, and quitted what he had taken, as we have ſaid heretofore; but in regard that we have only touch'd upon this ſubject in our former writings, it will be now neceſſary to handle the hiſtory of this king more at large, and in particular to report the manner of his taking Jeruſalem and the temple.

The Romans command him to withdraw; whereupon he quits what he had taken.

CHAP. VII.

Jeruſalem betray'd to Antiochus. The temple rifled, the city levell'd, and the worſhip of God forbidden upon pain of death and torments. A great many Jews turn idolaters. The Samaritans dedicate the temple at Garizin to Jupiter.

Antiochus takes Jeruſalem by treachery; ſacks it, and lays it waſte.

ANTIOCHUS, at his return from Egypt, when he was frighted away by the menaces of the Romans, marched with his army outright to Jeruſalem, and enter'd the city in the hundred and forty third year, from the time that the kingdom of Syria fell into the family of Seleucus. He made himſelf maſter of it without any ſort of difficulty; for the gates were ſet open to him, by the treachery of a party he had made in the town, where he exerciſed great cruelty, and put a great many people to the ſword, without diſtinction of friend or foe; pillag'd the city, and carried the treaſure away to Antioch.

The time when this calamity happen'd.

The ſpoil, to an incredible value.

This calamity happen'd in the ſecond year after the taking of the city, in the hundred and forty fifth year from the firſt Seleucus, the twenty fifth day of the month, which we call Chaſleu, the Macedonians Appellæus, and in the hundred and fifty third olympiad. In the licence of this outrage they did not ſpare ſo much as thoſe who quietly open'd the gates to them, only for the greater liberty of breaking in upon the riches of the temple, where the ſpoil was ſo conſiderable, that the very value, they thought, might in ſome degree atone for the treachery. The temple, in ſhort, was wholly ſtripp'd and rifled, all the holy veſſels and utenſils taken away, the golden candleſticks, the golden altar, and the table of ſhew-bread, as they call'd it, among the reſt. The curtains, and the embroidery of ſilk and fine linnen; nay, the very hiding-places, where they conceal'd an immenſe maſs of treaſure, were all laid open and expos'd, and not ſo much as any relicks left of this prodigious wealth; and further to conſummate the miſery of theſe poor people, their daily ſacrifices were forbidden, the city levell'd with the ground, the inhabitants partly kill'd, partly carried away captives, together with their wives and children, to the number of ten thouſand; their walls demoliſh'd, and their ſtately edifices conſum'd by fire. He erected a tower in the city that overlook'd and commanded the temple itſelf; and when he had ſupplied and fortified the place, put a ſtrong gariſon of Macedonians into it, but not without a mixture of execrable and apoſtate Jews, that were as malicious as the very worſt of their enemies. He raiſed an altar in the temple, and ſacrificed hogs upon it, in a moſt ſpiteful contradiction to the laws and conſtitutions of the Jews. He forced all people to extremities, who would not renounce the true God, and worſhip his idols; and ſo in all other cities and towns, he built temples and altars for the daily ſacrifice of ſwines fleſh. He made it grievouſly penal for any of the Jews to circumciſe their children, keeping officers and informers ſtill at hand, either to proſecute them upon the violation of his edicts, or to extort from them an obedience by terror or force; and ſo it was in fine, that the greater part of the Jews, either of their own accord, or out of fear of puniſhment, complied with the king's orders, though there were others again ſo brave and generous, as to ſtand firm againſt all trials of torment and death itſelf, rather than depart from the religion and laws of their country; having their bodies cut and torn with whips, and then crucified alive, with their wives, and ſo many of their children as were circumcis'd, hanging about their necks according to the king's order. The holy ſcriptures were deſtroyed alſo wherever they were found; and it was made death ſo much as to entertain them.

Unheard-of cruelties.

The Samaritans were no longer of the ſtock of Abraham, they ſay, but Medes and Perſians.

THE Samaritans, conformable to the character we have before given of them, when they found the Jews reduced to ſo miſerable a ſtate of diſtreſs, for fear of being brought to bear a ſhare in their calamities, immediately diſclaimed all kindred with them, diſowning the temple of Garizin for the temple of God, and alledging themſelves to be of the race (as indeed they were) of the Medes and Perſians. To enforce the belief of which, and in order to take off the danger apprehended upon this occaſion, they ſent a ſolemn embaſſy and addreſs to Antiochus, in theſe terms:

To the king Antiochus Epiphanes, the illuſtrious god, the humble petition of the Sidonians, inhabitants of Sichem, ſheweth,

The Sichemites petition to Antiochus.

“THAT the forefathers of your petitioners lying under the affliction of many and grievous plagues in their own country, were partly wrought upon by that calamity, and in part prevail'd upon by the ſuperſtition of an ancient cuſtom, to join in the religious obſervance of a certain feſtival, which the Jews call the ſabbath, and in the erecting of a temple upon the mountain Garizin, where ſacrifices were offered to a God without a name. Now ſince it is ſo, that your majeſty hath been pleaſed to inflict a puniſhment upon this wicked people, ſuitable to the heinouſneſs of their offences, and to appoint officers, who upon a ſuppoſition that we were all of the ſame ſtock, are thereby induced to involve your petitioners with the Jews in the ſame crime; whereas we derive our original from the Sidonians, as we can make appear by records extant to this day: May it therefore pleaſe your majeſty, out of your clemency and goodneſs, to grant ſuch order to Apollonius our governor, and to Nicanor his deputy, in favour of your petitioners, that they may not be any further moleſted for the future, upon the ſuſpicion of any correſpondency or confederacy with the Jews, to whom we are as much ſtrangers in our manners, as in our extraction; and we do further pray, that the temple which hath ſtood hitherto without any dedication at all, may from this time forward be called the Temple of Jupiter of Greece, to the end that when we ſhall live in more ſecurity and freedom, as to the government of our own private affairs, we may the better attend thoſe duties in the advancement of your ſervice and revenue.” In anſwer to this requeſt of the Samaritans, the king wrote back as follows:

They renounce the Jews and their cuſtoms, and deſire that the temple of Garizin may be henceforth called the temple of Jupiter of Greece.

King Antiochus to Nicanor.

Antiochus to Nicanor, in favour of the Sidonians.

“HAVING receiv'd a petition from the Sidonians at Sichem, which we have here annexed to this letter, this is to let you underſtand, that it appeareth unto us, and to our council, upon the information of the bearers thereof, that the Sidonians are no way guilty of the crimes charged upon the Jews; but on the contrary, that they govern themſelves according to the way and faſhion of the Greeks; wherefore it is our will and pleaſure that they receive no further trouble about this matter; and as to what concerns the temple, it is our will likewiſe, that from this time forward it may be known and diſtinguiſh'd by the name of the Temple of Jupiter of Greece. We have written to the ſame effect alſo to our governor Apollonius. Dated in the year forty ſix, and the eleventh day of the month of Hecatombæon.”

CHAP. VIII.

Matthias and his ſons kill the meſſengers that would force them to a falſe worſhip. His dying ſpeech.

1 Maccab. ii. 1.

THERE lived at this time in Modim, a village of Judea, one [*] Matthias, a prieſt of the family of Joarib, and a native of Jeruſalem. This Matthias was the [†] ſon of John, the ſon of Simon, and Simon the ſon of Aſmonæus. Matthias had five ſons; Joannan, who was ſirnamed Gaddis; Simon, otherwiſe Thaſſi; Judas, who was alſo called Maccabæus; Eleazar, alias Auran; and Jonathan, ſirnamed Apphus. This Matthias would be every now and then condoling with his ſons, upon the deplorable ſtate of the Jewiſh nation, their city laid deſolate, their temple pillag'd and prophan'd, with a thouſand other calamities; and he would be often ſaying alſo, how much more glorious it would be to fall a ſacrifice to the laws and religion of their country, than

The zeal and reſolution of Matthias and his five ſons, for the religion of their country, Ver. 2--14.

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[*] Al. Mattathias. See Druſius's commentary upon the words of the New Teſtament.

[†] In the firſt book of the Jewiſh wars, chap. i. he calls him the ſon of Aſmonæus. See Vorſtius's diſſertation de Synedriis Hebræorum.

to linger out a miſerable life after this ſervile manner.

The king's officers tempt Matthias with rewards and threatenings to worſhip as he is commanded; but he poſitively refuſes. 1 Maccab. ii. 15--22.

He kills an apoſtate Jew in the very act of idolatry, with the officer that commanded the party, Ver. 24, 25.

Matthias and his ſons withdrew into the wilderneſs, and multitudes follow their example, Ver. 27--30.

The ſoldiers fall upon them in their hidden places upon the ſabday, and kill about 1000 of them without any reſiſtance, Ver. 31--38.

Matthias cries down the doctrine of non-reſiſtance upon that day, and cures the ſuperſtition, Ver. 39--41.

Matthias deſtroys the idol altars, and puts apoſtates to the ſword. V. 44--48.

Upon the coming of the king's officers into the village to preſs the execution of their maſter's orders, they began with Matthias, as a perſon of authority, and one who might be a leading example to all the reſt. They laid before him the danger of diſobeying, with the advantages and rewards he ſhould receive upon his compliance; and upon theſe terms charg'd him in the king's name to worſhip as he was commanded, which he not only refuſed to do, but told them poſitively moreover, that if every ſoul within their maſter's dominions ſhould yield to him in that particular, he would never either ſubmit to him himſelf, or adviſe any of his ſons to abandon the religion of their country. Matthias ſtopt here; and after a ſhort ſilence, out ſtept a Jew to ſacrifice according to the king's way; but Matthias and his ſons were ſo inflam'd at the indignity of this affront, that in a fury they not only kill'd the Jew, but the king's officer Apelles, with all his guard about him, as they were forcing the people to that abominable worſhip. In this heat they overturn'd the altar alſo; Matthias calling out with a loud voice to the people about him, "As many of you, ſays he, as have an hearty regard for the purity of your religion, follow me." And ſo the father and the ſons withdrew themſelves immediately into the wilderneſs, leaving their goods and their effects behind them. Soon after this a great part of the reſt, of the people with their wives and children, after ſo generous an example, fled into the ſame deſart, where they made a ſhift to live for ſome time in caves. When this came to the ear of the king's general officers, they drew the gariſon out of the caſtle at Jeruſalem, and march'd after the Jews into the wilderneſs. Upon coming up to them, they eſſay'd to bring them over firſt by good counſel and fair words, adviſing them to bethink themſelves, and to take ſoberer meaſures, without forcing the ſoldiers upon the neceſſity of a military execution: but all this was to no purpoſe; and when they ſaw there was no good to be done that way, they pitch'd upon the ſabbath-day for an attack upon them; burning and deſtroying them in their holes, without any ſort of reſiſtance, and without ſo much as ſtopping the mouths of their caves; for ſuch was the reverence they had for the ſacredneſs of that day, and for the obſervance of the laws that commanded them to keep it holy, that they choſe rather to periſh, than prophane it. There were a matter of a thouſand of them, men, women, and children, who were thus ſuffocated under ground; but there were great numbers alſo that made their eſcape, and liſted themſelves under the command of Matthias. But upon this experiment he preached another doctrine to them; and that in caſe of ſuch an extremity, they were not to refuſe fighting, but to defend themſelves upon the ſabbath, as well as upon another day; for otherwiſe that ſcruple would be their total deſtruction; when their enemies taking advantage of that ſuperſtition, would be ſure ſtill to attack them at a time when they were certain they ſhould meet with no reſiſtance. The reaſon of this diſcourſe was ſo clear, that they were all convinced of the lawfulneſs of uſing their arms upon the ſabbath, in caſe of neceſſity; and the practice of it has continu'd ever ſince. This great general was by this time maſter of a conſiderable force; inſomuch that he deſtroy'd their altars, and put all apoſtates to the ſword wherever he could come at them; appointing children to be circumcis'd, which was before forbidden; and driving away the king's officers that were appointed to hinder it; having drawn into a body, all that had diſperſed themſelves up and down into privacies and hiding-places for fear of the enemy.

The dying ſpeech and advice of Matthias to his ſons. V. 49--69.

Matthias having now been a full year in this command, felt himſelf ſeiz'd with a mortal illneſs; and calling his ſons about him, ſpoke to them to this purpoſe. "My dear ſons (ſays he) my life is drawing to an end; but I am now to charge you upon my bleſſing, before I leave you, that you ſtand firm to the cauſe that your father has aſſerted before you, without any ſtaggering or ſhrinking. Remember what I have told you; and do as I have adviſ'd you. Do your utmoſt to ſupport the rights and the laws of your country, and to reſtore the order of a nation that wants but very little of being ſwallow'd up in confuſion; have nothing to do with thoſe, that either for fear, or for intereſt, have betray'd it. Shew yourſelves to be ſons worthy of ſuch a father; and in contempt of all force and extremity, carry your lives in your hands and deliver them up with comfort, if any ocaſion ſhould require it, in defence of your country; computing with yourſelves, that this is the way to preſerve you in God's favour; and that in conſideration of ſo unſhaken a virtue, he will in time reſtore you to the liberty of your former life and manners. Our bodies 'tis true, are mortal; but great and generous actions will make us immortal in our memory, and that's the glory I would have you aſpire to; that is to ſay, the glory of making the hiſtory of your life famous to after ages by your illuſtrious actions. Be ſure, in the firſt place, to agree among yourſelves, and in what caſe ſoever any one of you hath an advantage over the reſt, give way to every man in the buſineſs of his province and talent. As for example; it being Simon's faculty to make a right judgment of things, I ſhall adviſe you to pay the ſame regard to his counſels as thoſe of a father; Maccabæus excels in military conduct and bravery; wherefore chuſe him for your general, as the beſt qualify'd for the vindicating of your friends, and for the cruſhing of your enemies. Do but mind your buſineſs; and depend upon it, that all men of honour and piety will join with you."

CHAP. IX.

After the death of Matthias, Judas ſucceeded to the command of the army.

The death of Matthias. V. 70.

Matthias concluded his diſcourſe to his ſons with prayers to God for a bleſſing upon their endeavours, toward the redemption of their countrymen, and the recovery of their ancient rights and privileges. Soon after this he expired, and was bury'd at Modim.

His ſon Judas ſucceeds to his command. 1 Maccab. iii. 1.

Modim. After his funeral obſequies, according to the forms of decency and honour, were well over, Judas, otherwiſe called Maccabæus, had the publick adminiſtration put into his hands; which was in the year one hundred forty ſix, reckoning from Seleucus the firſt; and he was ſo well ſeconded by his brothers, that he clear'd the country of the enemy, put all renegadoes to the ſword, and purged the land from all the abominable pollutions that had been practis'd there.

CHAP. X.

Judas Maccabæus defeats Apollonius, the governour of Samaria, and kills him hand to hand. Seron, upon this, marches againſt Judas. He himſelf falls in the action, and his army is totally routed.

Judas encounters Apollonius; and kills him with his own hand. V. 10, 11.

THE news of this turn of affairs upon the progreſs of Judas, induced Apollonius, the governour of Samaria, to advance with his army againſt Judas; who, without any loſs of time, met him half way, fought and routed him, kill'd a great number of his people upon the place, and Apollonius himſelf for one; diſarming him with his own hand, and carrying off his ſword in triumph. He had alſo the ſpoil of the camp, a booty of prodigious value.

THE tidings of this defeat, and of the vaſt enforcements that came thronging in to Judas, upon the ſucceſs (even to the degree of a conſiderable army) gave Seron the governour of Cœle-Syria to underſtand, that it was high time to look about him; ſo that he took up a reſolution immediately to puſh it to a battle, reckoning himſelf bound, even upon a point of truſt and confidence, to chaſtiſe mutineers, and bring rebels to obedience. In order to this expedition, with what men he had of his own, and with the additional force of a rabble of fugitive Jews, he took his march to Bethoron, a village of Judea, where he pitch'd his camp; whereupon, Judas put himſelf in poſture to encounter him; but finding his ſoldiers out of humour, if not out of heart; whether it was for fear of their mighty army, or for faintneſs upon over-faſting, he made them a ſhort harangue, that animated them with freſh courage and reſolution. "Fellow-" ſoldiers, (ſays he) it is not the arm of fleſh, " but God, that gives the victory; not mul-" titudes of men, but truſt and confidence in " the Almighty. This is no more than we " have found many and many a time experi-" mentally true in the hiſtory of our anceſ-" tors; who with an inconſiderable number " of men, in a righteous cauſe, that is to ſay, " in the defence of their religion, laws, li-" berties, wives and children, have put many " thouſands to flight. Great is truth, in ſhort, " and the force of innocence is invincible." With theſe words, he led his men on to the battle, where they behaved themſelves like heroes; engag'd Seron, and kill'd him upon the ſpot; defeating the whole army of the Aſſyrians. For upon the fall of their general their troops were preſently broken and ſcatter'd, and every man's buſineſs was only to ſhift the beſt he could for himſelf. Judas had the chace of them as far as the plain; about eight hundred of them were ſlain in the field of battle, and the reſt made their eſcape toward the ſea-ſide.

Judas gives battle to Seron; kills him upon the ſpot, and routs his army. V. 13--24.

CHAP. XI.

Judas Maccabæus encounters Antiochus with a mighty army, and defeats him. He cuts off five thouſand of another army under Lyſias, purifies the temple, ſets the country right, and ſo returns to Jeruſalem.

Antiochus makes ſtrong preparations for the next campaign. V. 27, 28.

THESE diſaſters, one upon the neck of another, forced Antiochus upon the neceſſity of an extraordinary levy; inſomuch, that what with his own people, and with Greek mercenaries that he took into pay, he got a mighty army together in a ſhort time, with a reſolution to break into Judea with it early in the next ſpring: But theſe troubles had given ſuch an interruption to the raiſing of his taxes, over and above the frankneſs and generoſity of his own nature, that upon the payment of his troops, he found money fall ſhort, and that the income of his revenue would not anſwer the charge of the war. Upon this conſideration, he propoſed rather to go into Perſia firſt, and to ſupply himſelf with what monies he could pick up out of that province, leaving the command of all the country betwixt Egypt and Euphrates, during his abſence, in the hands of one Lyſias, a perſon of an approved faith and integrity, together with ſome part alſo of his troops and elephants; giving him further in charge, to have a particular care of his ſon Antiochus, till he ſhould come back again. And moreover, that upon the reducing of Judea, and the ſelling of all the inhabitants for ſlaves, he ſhould utterly deſtroy the city, and extirpate the nation. Upon the giving of theſe orders, he marched ſtraight away from Perſia, in the year one hundred and forty ſeven; and paſſing the Euphrates, advanced forward into the higher countries.

Money falling ſhort with him, he goes into Perſia for ſupplies. V. 29--31.

He leaves Lyſias to manage the war of Judea in his abſence, and to take care of his ſon Antiochus. V. 32--36.

Lyſias calls in Ptolemy, Gorgias, and Nicanor, to his aſſiſtance. V. 38.

LYSIAS took to his aſſiſtance, in the execution of this commiſſion, Ptolemy the ſon of Dorymenes, Gorgias, and Nicanor; three of the beſt officers he could find among the king's beſt friends. He put theſe commanders at the head of forty thouſand foot, and ſeven thouſand horſe, with orders to march forthwith into Judea. They advanced as far as Emmaus, and there encamped upon the plain, where there came over to them great numbers of auxiliaries from Syria, and other neighbouring countries, and an abundance of fugitive Jews; beſides ſeveral merchants and traders, with a great deal of money about them to buy ſlaves; who brought fetters alſo and manacles with them of all ſorts to ſecure their captives. The enemy had gotten a formidable army; but Judas however bad them caſt themſelves upon Providence, and fear nothing; and ſo they humbled themſelves in ſackcloth, faſting and prayer, according to the cuſtom of the country, in imminent danger; imploring God's mercy, favour and protection. The general's next buſineſs was to range his men by regiments, troops and companies, into order of battle, according to the Jewiſh cuſtom; and then to diſcharge the army of all new-married men, and ſuch as had lately made purchaſes, who probably might be thinking of ſomething

Lyſias gets a formidable army; but the Jews caſt themſelves upon Providence. V. 39--54.

elſe when they ſhould be fighting, in a diſtraction betwixt the care of their particular intereſt, and the ſervice of the publick; animating his people alſo at the ſame time, by his words, as well as his actions, to acquit themſelves like men of honour and courage.

A generous ſpeech of Judas to his ſoldiers. 1 Maccab. iii. 55, &c.

“We ſhall never (ſays he,) my fellow ſoldiers and companions, have ſuch an opportunity again of ſhewing our bravery in the defence of our country, and the contempt of all dangers, as we have now before us; for upon the iſſue of to-morrow's combat, depends not only our liberty, but all the comforts and advantages that attend it; and, over and above the bleſſing of ſuch a freedom in itſelf and in its own nature, our very religion lies at ſtake with it too, and we cannot ſecure the one, but by preſerving the other. Bethink yourſelves well what it is that you are to contend for, and you will find it to be no leſs than the whole ſum and ſubſtance of the greateſt happineſs that ever you enjoy'd; that is to ſay, in the peaceable and bleſſed poſſeſſion of your ancient laws, rites, and diſcipline. Now whether you will rather chuſe to periſh with infamy, and to involve the miſerable remainder of all your countrymen in the ſame ruin, or to venture one generous puſh for the redemption of yourſelves, and your friends, that's the ſingle queſtion. Death is the ſame thing to a coward, that it is to a valiant man, and as certain to the one as to the other; but there's a great difference in point of honour, and everlaſting fame, betwixt a gallant man that falls in the vindication of his religion, liberties, laws and country, and a ſcoundrel that abandons all for fear of loſing a life which he cannot ſave at laſt. Take theſe things into your thoughts, and make this uſe of the meditation. You have nothing to truſt to but God's providence, and your own concurring reſolutions; and at the worſt, while we contend for victory, we can never fail of glory.”

Judas has word ſent him that Gorgias intended to beat up his quarters that night. 1 Mac. iv. 1-4.

Judas takes this opportunity of ſurprizing the enemy in their camp at Emmaus. ibid.

After this ſpeech of Judas to his ſoldiers, while his thoughts were intently taken up about the ſucceſs of the approaching battle, there came intelligence to him from a ſure hand, that Gorgias would be with him that night with a thouſand horſe, and five thouſand foot, with ſome Renegado-Jews for their guide, to ſurprize him, and beat up his quarters. This diſcovery put Judas upon a deſign of countermining him; which was at the ſame time to make an attempt upon the camp of the enemy, taking the opportunity of their being ſo divided. In order to this he call'd preſently for ſupper; cauſed ſeveral fires to be made in his camp, and ſo marched all night toward Emmaus, where the enemy lay. Gorgias, in the mean time, finding no body left in the Jews camp; and preſuming that they were run away for fear, to hide themſelves in the mountains, reckon'd that he had little more to do than to learn how he might hunt them out. But Judas coming by break of day to the enemy's camp, with only three thouſand men, and thoſe ill-armed too; and finding the enemy well armed at all points, and their camp in very good order, Judas told his people for their encouragement, that they ſhould not fear to attack them, even if they were all naked, ſo long as they were certain of God's favour and protection, which would ſupport them againſt all other difficulties; and with theſe words, he order'd the ſounding of the charge; and breaking in upon them at the ſame inſtant, put them into ſuch a ſurprize and conſternation, that after the putting of thoſe to the ſword that reſiſted, the reſt betook themſelves to flight, and they had the purſuit of them as far as Gadara, and ſo to the plains of Idumea, Azotus and Jamnia. The number of the ſlain was about three thouſand: But Judas would not ſuffer his people to meddle with the ſpoil, in regard that the troops of Gorgias were as yet entire; but upon the routing of him, he ſaid, that they might take poſſeſſion of the booty at leiſure. While theſe words were between his lips, Gorgias's people diſcovering from an eminence near hand, the dead bodies of their friends; the havock that had been made in their tents, and their camp all in a ſmoak, they took for granted all this while that Judas's men were ſtill in a body, and in condition to attack them; ſo that they fled immediately upon it, and diſperſed themſelves ſeveral ways; every man conſulting his own ſafety. The victory being thus gained without a blow, Judas permitted his men at pleaſure to take the pillage of the field, where they found gold and ſilver, coſtly habits of purple and ſcarlet, and other rich booty in abundance; which they carry'd off ſafe and triumphing, ſinging as they marched, and giving thanks to God, the bleſſed author of that victory, which proved both an earneſt and a foundation of their future freedom.

where he kills part, and gives chace to the reſt. V. 5--15.

Gorgias'ſ people finding the ways ſtrew'd with dead bodies, and the camp in a ſmoak, give all for loſt, and every man ſhifts for himſelf. V. 16--22.

Lyſias recruits, and falls into Judea with a powerful army again the the year following. V. 28.

Lysias was ſo ſenſible of the ſhame and wound of this diſgrace, that to redeem his credit, he brought into the field, the year following, an army of ſixty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe; all try'd and choice men; and with this body he enter'd into Judea, by the way of the mountains, encamping at a place called Bethſura. Judas was not at all diſcourag'd at the odds of number, but marched directly up to him with an army only of ten thouſand men. His truſt was in God alone; ſo that after a ſhort, and a fervent prayer for a bleſſing upon his arms, he charged the enemy ſo home, that upon the firſt ſhock he forced the line, and cut them off five thouſand men upon the place. This unexpected diſaſter put their whole army into ſuch a confuſion, that Lyſias finding them obſtinately determin'd either to live or die free, thought it his beſt courſe to withdraw his troops before the conſternation was gone too far; out of an apprehenſion, not ſo much of their ſtrength, as of their deſpair; ſo that Lyſias returned to Antioch, where he poſted himſelf by the help of mercenaries, and other additional enforcements, to be ready for the firſt opportunity of a revenge upon the Jews.

Judas defeats Lyſias. V. 34.

Judas was ſo fluſhed with theſe repeated ſucceſſes againſt the forces of Antiochus, that he prevailed upon the Jews, in confidence that after ſo many victories obtained, God would not now forſake them, to march without any more delay to Jeruſalem itſelf, and there to purge the temple, and offer up their daily ſacrifices. But when they came thither, and found the temple abandon'd, the gates all burnt, and the courts over-run with weeds, Judas, and his people could not but ſhed tears

Judas marches directly to Jeruſalem to purge the temple, and reſtore God's worſhip. to V. 36, 37.

to ſee the uncouth ſolitude and deformity of the place. The two great works that he firſt enter'd upon, were the aſſault of the citadel, and the cleanſing of the temple. The former he committed to his officers and ſoldiers, and reſerved the care of the other to himſelf. So ſoon as he had gone through with the purging of it in form, he provided new veſſels and utenſils; a candleſtick, a table and an altar of incenſe, all of pure gold; put up new veils and hangings upon the walls, and before the paſſages of the doors; and in the next place ſupply'd the doors themſelves. The altar that had been prophaned with idolatrous ſacrifices, and burnt-offerings, was demoliſh'd, and remov'd; and another of [*] unhewn ſtone erected in the place of it. Upon the twenty fifth day of the month Caſleu, which the Macedonians call Apellæus, they ſet lighted tapers in the candleſticks; offer'd incenſe upon the altar, and laid the ſhew-bread upon the table, and ſo went on to their oblations of burnt-offerings; and this fell out preciſely upon the ſame day, three years from the prophanation of the temple and religion by Antiochus; the temple having now been full three years deſerted. This happened in the [†] year one hundred forty five; the twenty fourth day of the month Apellæus, and the hundred and fifty third Olympiad; which ſolemnity of purification was repeated alſo on the anniverſary day of the year one hundred forty eight; Olympiad one hundred forty and four, as the prophet Daniel had expreſly foretold, four hundred and eight years before the diſſolution by the Macedonians came to paſs.

The temple purify'd, and God's holy worſhip re-eſtabliſh'd. 1 Maccab. iv. V. 38-51.

The celebration of this feſtivity was continued by Judas for eight days, with all ſolemnity of ſacrifices and rejoicing; as magnificent feaſting, and the freedom of indulging themſelves in all honeſt and lawful ſatisfactions and delights; and the air ringing with hymns of acclamation, praiſe, and thankſgiving. The people, in fine, were ſo tranſported at the unexpected bleſſing of finding themſelves reſtored to the religion and laws of their forefathers, that they appointed an anniverſary of eight days ſolemnity to be ſtrictly obſerved by their poſterity for ever after; which we have conſtantly celebrated from that time to this, under the name of the [‡] Feſtival of lights; alluding, I ſuppoſe, to the comfort of that light, which beyond all hope ſhined down from heaven upon us on this occaſion. Judas in the mean while rebuilt the walls of the city, and fortify'd them with ſtrong towers to keep off an enemy; ſettling a gariſon in Bethſura, and putting the place into a ſtate and poſture of defence.

The Feſtival of lights. V. 52-59.

Jeruſalem fortify'd, and put into a poſture of defence. V. 60, 61.

The neighbouring nations were ſo irritated at the growing power and confidence of the Jews, that they ſet their inſtruments at work by fraud and treachery to circumvent them, deſtroying many of them at unawares: Judas, in the mean time, uſing the beſt means he could, either to prevent, or to diſappoint their incurſions. He fell at this time upon Acrabatan, where he killed great numbers of the Edomites, the poſterity of Eſau, making himſelf maſter alſo of a great booty. He block'd up the ſons of Baan likewiſe their chief, in the ſtrong places they were poſſeſſed of, and where they lay in wait to make ſallies upon the Jews, taking the places by aſſault; killing the defendants, and laying the forts in aſhes. After the ſubduing of theſe people, he carried his arms againſt the Ammonites, who had at that time a numerous army under the command of Timotheus. He fought with theſe alſo, and overcame them, and then took the city of Jazar; carry'd away the people's wives and children, captives; and after the pillaging of the city, ſet it on fire, and ſo returned home victorious. He was no ſooner gone, but the people thereabouts taking advantage of his departure, and gathering together at Galaad, made an attempt upon the Jews that lay upon that quarter; who being forced to take ſanctuary in the fortreſs of Dathema, gave intimation to Judas, both by meſſengers and letters, that Timotheus had a deſign to attack them, and ſo prayed him earneſtly for relief. In the very inſtant, while Judas was reading his intelligence, came in ſeveral meſſengers from Galilee, with remonſtrances and complaints that the people of Ptolemais, Tyre and Sidon, and other bordering nations, were all join'd in a confederacy againſt them.

Judas clears the country round about him, 1 Maccab. v. 3, 4, 5.

Over-runs the Ammonites; beats Timotheus their general, and ſo returns victorious. V. 6, 7.

Timotheus threatens the Jews in the fort of Dathema: And they ſend to Judas for relief. V. 9-13.

The Galileans call for help alſo againſt the people at Ptolemais, Tyre, and Sidon.

CHAP. XII.

Simon, the brother of Judas, does great things in Galilee. Judas and Jonathan get a bloody victory over the Ammonites. All the Jews, with their wives, families and effects, tranſported out of Galaad into Judea. Ephron laid in aſhes; and the males put to the ſword. Joſeph and Azarias fight contrary to orders, and are defeated by Gorgias.

JUDAS, who had an eye upon the neceſſity of his friends in both places, ſent his brother Simon with three thouſand choice men to the ſuccour of the Jews at Galilee; and with eight thouſand more marched with his other brother Jonathan to Galaad, leaving the reſt of the army under the command of Joſeph, the ſon of Zacharias and Azarias, as his lieutenant generals for the guard of Jeruſalem, with orders to forbear fighting till his return. Simon, upon his arrival at Galilee, engaged the enemy, and defeated them, giving them chace to the very gates of Ptolemais, and killing about three thouſand in the purſuit. They ſtript them of what they had, and redeemed the priſoners with what goods they had taken from them, and ſo conducted them back to Jeruſalem.

Judas ſends Simon to the relief of Galilee, and marches himſelf with Jonathan to the ſuccour of Galaad, leaving the command of the reſt to Joſeph; with orders not to fight till he came back again. V. 17-19.

Simon relieves Galilee, and ſets the priſoners at liberty, with a great ſlaughter of the enemy. V. 21-23.

At the ſame time Judas, and his brother Jonathan, after three days march beyond Jordan into the wilderneſs, were amicably received by the Nabathites, who very kindly gave them intelligence of the extreme diſtreſs and danger of divers of their friends and countrymen, who were cloſe ſhut up in the towns and caſtles of Galaad; adviſing them withal, that they would, with all imaginable expedition, haſten by the way of the deſart to their relief and aſſiſtance. In this expedition,

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[*] This was according to the Moſaical precept, injoining, Ex. xx. 25. "And if thou wilt make me an altar of ſtone, thou ſhalt not build it of hewen ſtone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it thou haſt polluted it."

[†] See Vorſtius's Chronologia Sacra, cap. xi. p. 152.

[‡] See Selden de Synedr. Hebr. l. iii. c. xiii. p. 130, 131.

Judas and Jonathan relieve a caſtle juſt as the enemy was about to ſcale it, 1 Maccab. v. 24--34.

Judas carries all before him with fire and ſword, Ver. 35, 36.

they took the town of Baraſa by the way, putting all people to the ſword that were able to bear arms, and burning the city to the ground. It was now almoſt night, but Judas ſtill proſecuted his way to a caſtle wherein he underſtood the Jews were beſieg'd; and coming thither betimes in the morning, he found the enemy hard at work with their machines and ſcaling-ladders, to force the place; whereupon he diſtributed his troops into three diviſions; animated his men to behave themſelves reſolutely for the relief of their countrymen and friends; and ſo upon the ſound of the trumpet, charged the enemy in the rear. So ſoon as Timotheus underſtood that Judas Maccabeus had the command of this action, a perſon whoſe valour and conduct he knew ſo much of beforehand by woful experience, his men were ſo diſmay'd at the very name, that they fled immediately upon hearing of it: Eight thouſand of them fell upon the place; the Jews, upon the rout, cloſely purſuing them. Judas, upon the purſuit, took a town of the Barbarians called Mallam, where they put all the males to death, and deſtroy'd the city by fire. They did the ſame thing alſo at Caſphan, and Boſor, and other places that they took in that country.

Timotheus, after this, marches with another huge army againſt Judas, V. 37.

Judas gives Timotheus battle, and breaks him all to pieces with a terrible ſlaughter, Ver. 43.

Some ſhort time after this, Timotheus got a very conſiderable army together; and among other auxiliaries, he had a band of Arabians. They croſs'd the river, and encamped near Raphon, where he encouraged his people to acquit themſelves like men, and to be ſure to keep the Jews from paſſing the river; for the whole cauſe, he ſaid, depended upon it; and that if ever they gain'd that paſs, they would moſt certainly carry the day. When Judas underſtood that Timotheus was reſolved upon, and prepared for a battle, he paſs'd the river immediately with his army, and gave the onſet, and put the army to the rout, upon the firſt encounter; killing thoſe that reſiſted, and putting to flight the reſt; who caſting away their arms, and running ſome one way, ſome another, part of them betook themſelves for ſanctuary to the temple of Carnaim, in hope that the place might protect them. But Judas took the town by force; burnt the temple, and deſtroy'd all the inhabitants by fire and ſword.

Judas tranſports all the Jews about Galaad into Judea, V. 45. Ephron being his neareſt way, he demands a paſſage to it, but is refus'd, Ver. 46, 47.

Judas upon this repulſe takes the place by aſſault, and marches over the ruins, Ver. 50, 51.

They return to Judea, Ver. 52--54.

Not one Jew kill'd, ibid.

This difficulty being over, he gather'd together all the Iſraelites that were in the country of Galaad, with their wives, children, and goods, and carried them all into Judea. The city of Ephron lay ſo directly in his way, that there was no avoiding it without going a great way about; ſo that he ſent a fair meſſage to the inhabitants for leave to paſs with his army through the town; but the ports being barricadoed, and the avenues cut off, the inhabitants in plain terms denied him any paſſage that way. Upon this repulſe he encourag'd his men to attack the town; begirt it immediately, and in one day and night made himſelf maſter of it, laid it in aſhes, and marched with his army over the bodies of the dead through the ruins of it, putting all the males that were found in it to the ſword. After paſſing the river Jordan, they advanced to a great plain near Bethſan, called by the Greeks Scythopolis, and from thence returned to Judea, the people rejoicing all the way they went with hymns and triumphal ſongs, and offering ſacrifices of thankſgiving for the ſafety of the army; for they had not yet loſt ſo much as one Jew in all theſe engagements.

Joſeph fights a battle contrary to his orders, and is defeated, Ver. 55--60.

Joseph, the ſon of Zacharias, and Azarias, two great captains, being left for a guard to Judea, in the abſence of Simon, who was now marched into Galilee againſt the people of Ptolemais, and Judas with his brother Jonathan againſt the Galaadites; theſe commanders thought it incumbent on their honour, to ſignalize themſelves by ſome glorious adventure, as well as their brethren. In this fit of emulation they advanced to Jamnia, where Gorgias, the governor of the place, gave them a fair battle before the town, kill'd a matter of two thouſand of them, and purſued the reſt to the very borders of Judea. This calamity deſervedly befel them, for not obeying the order of their general, who had poſitively commanded them not to engage the enemy upon any terms, till his return. This caution was much to the reputation of the providence and foreſight of Judas, who very well underſtood, that if they departed from their inſtructions, they would ſuffer for it.

Judas, after many glorious exploits, returns to Jeruſalem, V. 61, &c.

But Judas and his brethren carried on the war all this while vigorouſly againſt the Edomites, preſſing them on all hands. They took Hebron by force, demoliſh'd the fortifications of it, and burnt the towers and caſtles down to the ground, laid the enemy's country all waſte, demoliſh'd Mariſſa, and from thence in the ſame heat over-ran and pillag'd Azotus. Having perform'd theſe exploits, and enrich'd themſelves with a conſiderable booty, they returned all ſafe and triumphant to Jeruſalem.

CHAP. XIII.

Antiochus Epiphanes beſieges Elymais, but is forc'd to draw off. He acknowledges the righteous judgment of God in it, and ſo he dies.

Elymais a city in Perſia, with a temple dedicated to Diana, 1 Mac. vi. 1, 2. Antiochus lays ſiege to it, but is beat off, and driven to Babylon, Ver. 3, 4.

Another defeat given him by the Jews, Ver. 5--7.

As Antiochus Epiphanes was about this time in his progreſs through ſome of his highland provinces, he was told of a mighty rich city in Perſia called Elymais, and of a moſt magnificent temple in it dedicated to Diana, where were depoſited precious donatives of all ſorts, with the very ſhields and breaſt-plates of Alexander, the ſon of Philip of Macedon. Antiochus was ſo mov'd with the fame of theſe ſplendid curioſities, that he advanced toward it with his army to take it by aſſault; but the inhabitants, without any regard either to his power, or to his deſign, made a very brave reſiſtance, and diſappointed him of his expectation; nor did they content themſelves with beating him from the walls, but they follow'd him ſo cloſe upon his retreat, that they cut off a good part of his rear, and drove him before them like a fugitive, for protection into Babylon. While the ſenſe of this infamy and loſs was freſh upon him, news came to him of the defeat of his other troops alſo, to whom he had committed the care and conduct of the war againſt the Jews, and of the daily increaſe of their number and power; ſo that with one calamity upon the neck of another, the inſupportable anguiſh of his thoughts made him heart-ſick upon it; and finding himſelf to grow ſtill worſe and worſe, and his end near at hand, Antiochus falls ſick upon it, acknowledges God's juſt judgment for his ſacrilege, and ſo dies, 1 Mac. vi. 8--16.

he call'd his friends about him, and told them both the cauſe and the quality of his diſtemper. "I am here juſtly puniſhed, ſays he, for "the ſake of theſe miſerable Jews, for the ſacrilegious rifling and prophaning of their "temple, and for the contempt of the heavenly God." And with theſe words he expir'd. Now I cannot but admire at Polybius the Megalopolitan,(a man otherwiſe ofcred it,) for ſaying that this judgment befel Antiochus for his deſign of rifling the temple of Diana, which was a ſacrilege only in his will, but never came into act; but if Polybius was of opinion that he deſerv'd this puniſhment only for the intention, he might much more reaſonably have imputed his death to the ſacrilege that he was actually guilty of upon the temple of Jeruſalem. But whether the reader be of Polybius's opinion, or of mine, it is to me indifferent.

Polybius imputes the judgment to a wrong cauſe.

CHAP. XIV.

Antiochus Epiphanes leaves the government to his ſon Antiochus Eupator. Lyſias proclaims him king. Judas lays ſiege to the citadel at Jeruſalem. Antiochus ſets down before Bethſura. They both riſe, and come to a battle. The bravery and death of Eleazar. Judas returns to Jeruſalem. Antiochus takes Bethſura upon conditions, but breaks his articles. The temple makes an obſtinate defence.

Antiochus leaves the regency to Philip, in truſt for his ſon Antiochus, ib.

WHEN Antiochus found himſelf near his end, he ſent for Philip, as the moſt truſty confident of his court friends, and committed the regency of his kingdom into his hands, delivering up to him at the ſame time, the crown, the royal robes and ſignet, with orders to preſerve them for his ſon Antiochus, who was then in minority, paſſionately adjuring him to take care of his education, and to ſecure the crown to him, till he ſhould come to be capable of the adminiſtration. Antiochus died in the year one hundred and forty nine. The death of this prince was no ſooner made known to the people, but Lyſias declared Antiochus king, under the name of Eupator, having at that time the tuition of the young prince.

Lyſias proclaims Antiochus king, Ver. 17.

The Jews annoy'd from the citadel in their paſſage to the temple, Ver. 18.

The Macedonians, in the mean while, who were then gariſon'd in the citadel of Jeruſalem, together with ſome Jewiſh revolters, made ſeveral vexatious ſallies upon the Jews, as they went to worſhip at their temple; which was no hard matter to do, in regard that the caſtle was above, and commanded it; ſo that Judas found it of abſolute neceſſity to reduce that fort for the common ſecurity of the nation. It was now juſt a hundred and fifty years that this government had been in the family of Seleucus. Judas, in ſhort, was ſo bent upon his deſign, that they fell preſently to the framing of machines and engines for battery, and the caſting up of works. While this was in agitation, ſeveral deſerters ſlipt away by night, and joining with others as bad as themſelves, went to Antiochus, ſetting forth the miſerable condition they were reduced to by men of their own tribe, for their obedience to the king's command, in oppoſition to their own law, and that they are now in imminent danger of falling into the hands of Judas, without immediate relief. The young prince, in a rage, gave orders preſently to his friends and commanders to make a levy of what auxiliaries were to be had for money, over and above the uttermoſt force of choice men that they could raiſe out of his own ſubjects. They plied their buſineſs ſo hard, that in a ſhort time they muſter'd a hundred thouſand foot, twenty thouſand horſe, and two and thirty elephants. With this formidable army under the command of Lyſias as general, the king march'd out of Antioch, and ſo advanced to Idumea, and from thence to Bethſura, a place well fortified, beſide the ſtrength of the ſituation. This fort he aſſaulted, and loſt a great deal of time before it; for betwixt ſallies and ſtratagems, they found a way to burn or diſappoint all engines of battery and danger that were brought againſt it. Judas being inform'd of the approach of Antiochus, rais'd the ſiege from before the citadel, and march'd the ready way to meet the enemy, pitching his tents upon the very entrance into the ſtreights of Bethzachariah, about * ſeventy furlongs from the adverſary. Antiochus, upon this, quitted the Bethſurites, and encamped within diſtance of engaging Judas, appointing his army by break of day to put themſelves upon their march in order of battle; but the place being too narrow for the elephants to march in front, they were forced into a defilee, with a thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, upon the guard of every elephant, and ſo to advance one after another with a kind of tower or caſtle upon their backs, charged with archers, while the reſt of the troops mounted the hills on both ſides, under the command of ſuch officers and friends as the king could beſt confide in. From this aſcent they gave the attack, and with ſo horrid a ſhout and clamour, that the vallies all rang with the echo; ſo that what with the hideous outcry, and the dazzling flaſhes of their gold and brazen bucklers, nothing could be more ſurprizing. But all this was to Judas no more than ſo much empty pomp and noiſe; for he received them ſo bravely, and without any ſort of daunt or apprehenſion, that he kill'd a matter of ſix hundred of them upon the firſt encounter. While they were thus engaged, Eleazar, otherwiſe call'd Auranes, the brother of Judas, taking notice of one elephant that was capariſon'd with richer trappings than the reſt, he made his way with a generous reſolution through all the guards, to that beaſt, taking for granted that the king himſelf was upon her. When he had cut part of his oppoſers to pieces on each hand, and forced the reſt to clear his paſſage, he crept under the belly of the elephant, and wounded him to death, himſelf alſo periſhing under the weight of the beaſt upon his fall. He had the honour and the comfort however to die in the proſpect and attempt of a glorious action, and encompaſſed with the dead bodies of his enemies round about him.

The government had been now one hundred and fifty years in Seleucus's family.

Judas ſits down before the caſtle, Ver. 19, 20.

The gariſon ſends ſecretly to Antiochus for relief, Ver. 21--27.

Antiochus with a mighty army lays ſiege to Bethſura, Ver. 28--31.

Judas upon this draws off from the citadel to fight him, Ver. 32.

Antiochus draws off from Bethſura to engage Judas.

The order and manner of the battle, Ver. 33--38.

Eleazar kills an elephant, and is cruſh'd to death under the fall of him, V. 43-46.

Judas finding himſelf ſo mightily exceeded in numbers, drew off to the ſiege of the fortreſs at Jeruſalem again, when Antiochus ſent one part of his army to ſit down before Bethſura,

Judas returns to the ſiege of Jeruſalem, Ver. 47.

Antiochus divides his army.

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* Seventy Jewiſh furlongs amounted to near nine Engliſh miles.

Bethſura renders upon terms, 1 Mac. vi. 49, 50.

The king breaks his articles.

The temple makes a very brave defence, Ver. 51--54.

ſura, and with the remainder of it went to Jeruſalem. The Bethſurites were ſo diſcouraged upon the appearance of the king's troops, and ſo much more diſhearten'd by their want of proviſions, that they found themſelves under a neceſſity of delivering up the place, which they did upon conditions, with ſolemn articles that there ſhould be no violence or moleſtation offer'd them whatſoever. But the king kept his faith no farther than to the bare ſaving of their lives; for the inhabitants were all turn'd naked out of the town, and a gariſon of his own ſettled in their ſtead. But the ſiege of the temple held them work yet a long time after, by a moſt obſtinate defence; for all their machines and approaches were ſtill eluded with counter-workings and deſigns. Their only diſtreſs was want of bread; for having already ſpent their laſt year's ſtore, and this happening to fall out upon the ſeventh year, when by the Jewiſh law they could neither plow nor ſow, great numbers of the Jews deſerted the town merely for want of proviſion, inſomuch that there were hardly hands enough left to defend the place.

Word brought that Philip had poſſeſs'd the government, and was marching with an army toward them, Ver. 55, 56.

Lyſias's diſcourſe with the officers and ſoldiers, according to the king's order, V. 57--59.

THERE came at this time intelligence to the king, and his general Lyſias, that Philip had uſurp'd the government, and was marching toward them at the head of an army out of Perſia; ſo that they came to a ſecret reſolution betwixt themſelves, to quit the ſiege, ſeek him out, and give him battle; but to carry the deſign ſo private, that neither officer nor ſoldier ſhould ſo much as gueſs at the meaning of it; wherefore the king order'd Lyſias, without mentioning the name of Philip, to enter into a diſcourſe with the commanders and ſoldiers about this ſiege, the ſtrength of the place, and that it would be a work of time to take it; beſide, that being brought to a ſtrait now for want of corn, and the king's buſineſs alſo requiring his preſence elſewhere, they could not do better than to come to ſome ſort of agreement with them, though upon the condition of allowing them the free exerciſe of their particular religion, laws, and cuſtoms; and this being granted, which had been the only ground of all their rebellions, the king might go back again when he pleaſed, without any further trouble. This was it that Lyſias had in charge to communicate to the army, and the ſoldiers were all highly pleas'd with the propoſal.

CHAP. XV.

Antiochus takes the temple upon terms, but breaks his covenants. Onias put to death at Berrhea. Alcimus, or Jacimus, though not of the ſacerdotal race, promoted in his ſtead. Antiochus gives Philip battle, and overcomes him. Onias flies to Egypt, and gets leave to build a temple in Heliopolis, anſwerable to that at Jeruſalem.

Antiochus offers the Jews peace.

They deliver up the temple upon conditions, Ver. 60, 61.

Antiochus demoliſhes the walls contrary to articles, Ver. 62

Onias the high-prieſt, alias Menelaus, is put to death at Berrhea.

Alcimus, or Jacimus, ſubſtituted in his ſtead.

MATTERS being thus concerted, Antiochus diſpatch'd a herald away to Judas and the beſieged, with an offer of peace, and a free enjoyment and exerciſe of their laws and conſciences, which they very readily agreed to, and upon the ſecurity of oath and honour for the performance of articles, they deliver'd up the temple; but upon Antiochus's taking poſſeſſion of it, he found the place ſo very ſtrong, that without any regard to his oath and promiſe, he order'd his ſoldiers to demoliſh the walls, and lay them level with the ground, which was executed accordingly, and ſo he returned to Antioch, carrying the high-prieſt Onias, otherwiſe called Menelaus, along with him. This was upon the advice of Lyſias, who told him that if ever he liv'd to ſee the Jews quiet, or himſelf at eaſe, that man muſt be taken off; for it was at his inſtigation that his father forced the Jews to a religion againſt their laws and judgments; and that Onias was conſequently the author and promoter of all the evils that had befallen him. The king, upon this, ſent away Menelaus to Berrhea in Syria, where he cauſed him to be put to death, after ten years enjoyment of the pontificate; a very wicked man, who to ſecure the dignity to himſelf, cauſed a general defection among the Jews, from the laws and worſhip of their country. His next ſucceſſor's name was Alcimus, who was alſo called Jacimus.

Philip overthrown by Antiochus, V. 63.

Onias withdraws into Egypt for protection.

He builds a temple in Heliopolis.

WHEN Antiochus found that Philip had now uſurped upon the government, he fought with him, and overcame him; took him priſoner, and order'd him to be put to death. But the ſon of the high-prieſt Onias being left an infant (as we have ſaid) by the death of Menelaus, finding that thereupon the king had given away the dignity to Alcimus, who had no relation at all to the ſacerdotal family, and was only over-rul'd by Lyſias in the transfering of it; he fled into Egygt, where he was ſo graciouſly receiv'd, and eſteem'd both by Ptolemy himſelf, and his queen Cleopatra, that at his requeſt they beſtow'd a place of truſt upon him in Heliopolis, where he erected a temple after the model of that at Jeruſalem, which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of more ſeaſonably in another place.

CHAP. XVI.

Demetrius ſeizes Tripolis; takes the government upon him; and puts Antiochus and Lyſias to death. Alcimus complains of Judas to Demetrius. Demetrius ſends an army to deſtroy him, and ſettles Alcimus in the pontificate. His barbarous cruelties. But he flies at laſt to Demetrius for ſuccour.

Demetrius the ſon of Seleucus ſeizes upon Tripolis, 1 Mac. vii. 1.

Antiochus and Lyſias put to death. V. 2--4.

A formal complaint of Alcimus and and certain apoſtate Jews againſt Judas and his followers. V. 5--7.

DEMETRIUS the ſon of Seleucus, being fled away from Rome, poſſeſs'd himſelf about this time of Tripolis in Syria; took the crown upon him, and with as many mercenaries as he could get together, invaded the country, where the people did not only come over to him in great numbers, with open arms to receive him; but as a farther inſtance of an affection to his intereſt, ſeized upon the perſons of Antiochus and Lyſias, and brought them in cuſtody, priſoners to him. Whereupon they were immediately both put to death by the commend of Demetrius; Antiochus having now reigned two years, as we have ſaid elſewhere. He had in his party a great number of profligate Jews, that had been baniſh'd for notorius crimes, together with Alcimus the high-prieſt at the head of them, who all joined in one common accuſation and complaint againſt the whole people of the Jews, but eſpecially Judas Maccabæus and his brethren, They demand Juſtice of Demetrius upon him. 1 Mac. vii. 5–7.

whom they charged, not only with the deſtruction of as many of the king's friends as fell into their hands, but with the very ejection of themſelves out of the land too. Whereſore they made it their requeſt to Demetrius, only to ſend ſome particular perſon that he could confide in to examine matters in Judea, and to ſee what havock Judas had made there.

Bacchides marches with an army toward Judas and his brethren. V. 8–10.

Bacchides pretends friendſhip; but Judas ſtands upon his guard. Ver. 11.

Some credudulous people went over, V. 12--15.

Bacchides and Alcimus put ſixty of them to the ſword V. 16.

Bacchides puts all ſuſpected perſons to death. V. 19.

He returns to Demetrius V. 20.

Demetrius preſently, in a heat, ſent away Bacchides upon this errand, a friend formerly to Antiochus Epiphanes; a reſolute man, and at that time governor of Meſopotamia: putting Alcimus likewiſe into the ſame commiſſion, whom he diſpatch'd away with an army, and orders to fall upon Judas and his followers. With theſe troops Bacchides left Antioch, and marched directly into Judea, where he gave Judas and his brethren a ſpecious and a ſolemn invitation to come to a better underſtanding with him. Now the deſign was only under the colour of a peaceable and friendly diſpoſition, to draw them into a toil, and ſo to ſurprize them. But upon his coming attended with ſuch an army, and in the poſture of an enemy rather than a friend, Judas kept himſelf upon his guard, without giving any credit to his pretenſions; but ſome credulous people there were yet that went over to them, in confidence that their countrymen and their tribeſman Alcimus would do them no wrong; eſpecially under the caution of a ſolemn oath from both, that no violence ſhould be offer'd, either to themſelves, or any of their party: but this confidence deceiv'd them, it ſeems; for Bacchides, without any regard to the conſcience of an oath, cauſed ſixty of them to be cut to pieces upon the place: which barbarous perfidy ſerv'd for a warning to the reſt not come near him. Bacchides, after this, removed his army from Jeruſalem, and went to Bethzeth, where he found ſeveral deſerters, and other diſaffected people thereabouts, which he put all to the ſword. This being done, he commanded all the Jews in his abſence to obey Alcimus; and leaving part of his army with him for the ſecurity of the province, he himſelf returned with the reſt to king Demetrius at Antioch.

Alcimus doubles the number of his followers. V. 22.

He puts the friends of Judas to death. ibid.

Judas takes the ſame courſe with the party of Alcimus. V. 23, 24.

Alcimus complains of Judas to Demetrius. V. 25.

Alcimus had in his head all this while, the ſettling himſelf in the dignity of the pontificate; and reflecting upon it, that it was an honour hardly to be compaſs'd but by the favour and good-will of the people, he preſently betook himſelf to the popular arts of courteſy and affable addreſs, to ingratiate himſelf with the multitude: ſo that by the flatteries of obliging ſpeech and behaviour, he quickly doubled the number of the forces that were left him; but it was with a band of impious fugitives that liſted themſelves in his ſervice: and with theſe he ravaged the country up and down, putting all the Jews to death whereever he came, that were friends to Maccabeus. Judas, upon this, laying it to heart to ſee what a rabble of an army Alcimus had gotten together, and the havock they made of all the men of honour and conſcience that came in their way; he himſelf took up a reſolution alſo of going the ſame way to work with the faction of Alcimus; who finding that he was not ſtrong enough to hold it out, betook himſelf to Demetrius at Antioch, for ſupport and ſuccour, where he did all that was poſſible, to irritate that prince againſt Judas, with tales and ſtories of the indignities he had put upon him already, and of the danger of greater yet to come, unleſs he ſent a powerful army in time to call that bold and wicked man to an account for his miſdemeanours.

CHAP. XVII.

Demetrius grows jealous of Judas. Alcimus adviſes him to ſend Nicanor with an army againſt him. A treacherous practice to ſurprize him. Judas fights Nicanor; kills him, and deſtroys his army. Alcimus cut off by a judicial vengeance. Judas ſucceeds him in the pontificate, and enters into an alliance with the Romans.

Demetrius grows jealous of Judas. V. 26.

He gives Nicanor an army to make war upon Judas, V. 27.

Nicanor endeavours by treachery to inveigle Judas V. 28, 29.

Judas ventures himſelf upon Nicanor's Oath and honour, ibid.

and very narrowly eſcapes the ſnare. V. 30.

JUDAS was now become ſo formidable, that Demetrius was very uneaſy himſelf to think what the conſequence of things might be, if he ſuffer'd him to go on increaſing at this rate in ſtrength and credit; ſo that he call'd Nicanor to him, formerly his companion in his departure from Rome, and his particular confident and friend over and above; aſſigned him the command of ſuch a body of an army as he reckon'd ſufficient for the reducing of Judas, with poſitive orders to make war upon the whole nation, and give no quarter. Upon his ſetting out for Jeruſalem, he propounded to himſelf to diſſemble his intenſions, and to try if he could inveigle Judas under a countenance of peaceable purpoſes and inclinations, into a credulity that would certainly be his ruin. So Nicanor ſuggeſted the matter to him by way of expoſtulation. "Why "ſhould we, (ſays he) expoſe the ſum of our "well-being and happineſs to the uncertain "chance of war, and not rather adjuſt the "points in controverſy by an amicable treaty? "or if you apprehend any danger in it, I am "ready to give you the moſt ſacred oath for "ſecurity, that one man can give to another; "for peace, and nothing elſe, is my buſineſs: "as you may judge by the friends I have "brought along with me, only to poſſeſs you "with the knowledge of my maſter's mind "and pleaſure, and of his hearty love and "good-will to the whole nation of the Jews." This declaration wrought ſo far upon the brothers, that without any further thought, or jealouſy of treaſon, or treachery, they interchangeably paſs'd their oaths, and with great frankneſs received Nicanor with his whole army. After the firſt greeting betwixt Judas and Nicanor, the latter gave a ſignal to his people to lay hold of Judas; but the plot being diſcovered in time, he made his eſcape immediately to his own people: and after the detecting of this treachery, both parties prepared to decide the quarrel by open force, without any more talk of a treaty. The armies drew out, and it came to a battle near Capharſalama, where Judas was worſted, and forced into the caſtle of Jeruſalem.

Nicanor threatens the prieſts and the elders to deſtroy their temple, if they do not deliver up Judas. V. 35.

It happen'd one day, as Nicanor was paſſing by the temple, that ſeveral of the prieſts and elders met him upon the way, and ſhew'd him the ſacrifices that they were about to offer to God, for the proſperity and welfare of Demetrius. But Nicanor threaten'd them, and not without blaſphemous revilings even againſt God himſelf, that if the people did not deliver up

Nicanor encamps at Bethoron with a mighty army. Judas at Adaſi, with only 1000 men, 1 Maccab. vii. 39, 40. Judas encourages his men, brings it to a battle, Ver. 43.

Kills Nicanor, ibid. Routs his army, Ver. 44.

and cut them all off to a man, V. 45, 46.

Judas to him, he would return to their ſorrow and coſt; deſtroy the temple itſelf, and leave it in rubbiſh. And with theſe menaces he went his way; but the prieſts were ſo dejected at this declaration, that they forthwith addreſſed themſelves to God with prayers and tears, to protect his own houſe, and his miniſters that belong'd to it, againſt the outrages of the enemy. Nicanor departed from Jeruſalem, and pitch'd his tents in Bethoron, where he was join'd with a great enforcement out of Syria. Judas at the ſame time encamped at Adaſi, within * thirty furlongs of the enemy, and with a body only of a † thouſand men. He told them that the enemy indeed was numerous, but that the cauſe was God's, whoſe power was above that of a multitude, exhorting them not to trouble themſelves how many they were to encounter, but to conſider the bravery of thoſe that were to encounter them, with the honours or rewards that would moſt certainly attend them: "Wherefore fall on, (ſays he,) like men of courage and reſolution, and commit the iſſue to God." It came, in fine, to a battle; and the firſt encounter was vigorous and ſharp; but upon the fall of great numbers of the enemy, and of Nicanor himſelf too, who did all that could be done by a great commander and a brave man, the whole army ſcatter'd immediately; and upon the loſs of their general, caſt away their arms to make them lighter for their flight: Judas, in the mean time, purſuing the fugitives without mercy or quarter; making proclamation by ſound of trumpet through all the towns and cities where he paſs'd, of the victory he had obtain'd. Upon this ſignal, the country-people gathered together every where, and fell ſo unmercifully upon the ſoldiers in their flight, that of nine thouſand men, which was the preciſe number of their army, there was not a man that eſcap'd. This was upon the thirteenth of the month, which the Jews call Adar, the Macedonians Dyſtrus; and in memory of this mercy we celebrate an anniverſary thankſgiving upon it to this very day. The Jews after this victory had a little breathing while, from the reſtleſs importunities of their former war and troubles, and ſome hopeful glimmerings of a comfortable peace too, but it laſted not long neither.

An exemplary judgment upon Alcimus the high-prieſt, 1 Mac. ix. 54, 55.

The people unanimouſly chuſe Judas for his ſucceſſor.

Judas ſends Eupolemus and Jaſon to Rome, to treat upon an alliance with them, 1 Mac. viii. 17.

And to deſire that Demetrius might be eaſy to the Jews, Ver. 18. The reſolution of the ſenate, in favour of the Jews, Ver. 21, &c.

Alcimus the high-prieſt had a mind to have the old wall of the ſanctuary pull'd down, and the works of the antient prophets demoliſhed; but in the very inſtant of his ordering it to be done, God ſtruck him with ſo judicial a diſtemper, that he fell down upon the ground ſpeechleſs, where he lay languiſhing a while in miſerable torments, and then died, after being four years in the office of the pontificate; the people, upon his deceaſe, chuſing Judas with one voice, for his ſucceſſor. This new high-prieſt had heard ſo much of the fame and power of the Romans, and of the overthrows they had given the Gauls, Spaniards, Carthaginians, nay to Greece itſelf, and king Perſeus, Philip, and Antiochus, that he had a mighty deſire to enter into a league with them; ſo that he ſent Eupolemus, the ſon of John, and Jaſon the ſon of Eleazar, two ſingular friends of his, to Rome upon that embaſſy, ſoliciting to be receiv'd into the number of their allies, and that they would write to Demetrius, to forbear making war upon the Jews for the future. The ſenate was ſo well pleaſed with the propoſals and the terms, that they conſented to the league, and paſs'd an order ſoon after in favour of it, which was written in tables of braſs; the copy of it ſent to Jeruſalem, and the original depoſited in the capitol. The articles were in ſubſtance to this effect: "That no people whatſoever, under the juriſdiction of the Romans, ſhould preſume to make war upon the Jews, or to be comforting or aſſiſting to any of their enemies with corn, ſhipping, money, or the like; and the ſame obligation to lie reciprocally upon the Jews, in caſe of any war made upon the Romans. If there ſhould be any thing after this, which the Jews would have to be added or taken away, that it be firſt ratified by the common conſent of the people." This reſolution of the ſenate was written by Eupolemus the ſon of John, and Jaſon the ſon of Eleazar, Judas the high-prieſt, and his brother Simon, general of the army. This was the firſt alliance that ever was made betwixt the Jews and the Romans.

The firſt alliance of the Jews and Romans.

CHAP. XVIII.

Bacchides makes an inroad into Judea, with twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. Judas reſolves to encounter him with only eight hundred men. The generous bravery of Judas and his companions.

After Nicanor's death and defeat, Demetrius ſends Bacchides into Judea with an army, 1 Mac. ix. 1. Judas at Berzeth with 800 men only, and the enemy 20000 foot, and 2000 horſe, V. 4--6.

The glorious reſolution of Judas, Ver. 8--10.

UPON the tidings of Nicanor's death, and the defeat of the army, Demetrius ſent Bacchides a ſecond time into Judea, who advanced with freſh troops to Arbela, a town in Galilee, and there encamp'd, forcing a great many Jews out of the caves there, where they hid themſelves. From thence he haſten'd away to Jeruſalem; and upon intelligence that Judas and his people were at Berzeth, he poſted away immediately with twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, to encounter him, who had at that time but a bare || thouſand of men about him, and but eight hundred of thoſe to ſtand by him neither; for two hundred of them deſerted him, for fear of being overpower'd. In this ſtrait for want of men, and neither time nor place for recruiting, Judas kept up his heart ſtill to a reſolution, in deſpite of all difficulties, of putting it to the fate of a battle, only deſiring his men to ſtand by him, and follow his example. They told him how vain and raſh a thing it would be to contend with ſuch inſuperable odds, adviſing him rather to attempt an honourable retreat, by which means poſſibly he might re-inforce himſelf. "No, no, ſays he, it ſhall never be ſaid, that the ſun ever ſaw Judas turn his back upon an enemy. If it ſhould be our lot now to die, God's will be done, provided that we do not blaſt the reputation of a glorious life, with an ignominious death." With theſe words he raiſed the courage of his

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* Thirty furlongs were almoſt four Engliſh miles.

† 1 Maccab. vii. 40. Judas's army is ſaid to be three thouſand men.

|| 1 Maccab. ix. 5, 6. his army is ſaid to have conſiſted of three thouſand, who all deſerted him but eight hundred.

ſoldiers up to his own pitch, and fortified them for the combat.

CHAP. XIX.

Judas encounters Bacchides, and gets the better of him at firſt; but being oppreſs'd afterward by numbers, was ſlain, having behaved himſelf to his immortal honour.

Bacchides's order of battle, 1 Mac. ix. 11, 12.

Judas receives the charge in the ſame form, V. 13–16.

BACCHIDES having rang'd his army, the horſe upon the two wings, whereof he himſelf commanded the right, his light-arm'd men and archers in the front, ſupported by a Macedonian * Phalanx in the body: In this order of battle, he advanced up to the enemy, ſounded a charge; and with a military ſhout, according to cuſtom, gave the onſet: Judas encountring him on the other hand after the ſame manner. It was hard fought on both ſides from morning till toward ſun-ſet; when Judas taking notice of the danger his men were in to be over-power'd by the enemy's right wing, where Bacchides, with the flower of the army fiercely aſſail'd them, came in with a band of valiant and courageous youths to their relief; and breaking their line, pierc'd into the very body of them; routed, and gave them chace as far as mount Aza. The enemy's left wing, upon this, follow'd Judas ſo cloſely, that he was now beſet on all hands, and out of all poſſibility of eſcaping; ſo that he and his people ſtood their ground, and fought it out, to ſell their lives as dear as they could; till in the concluſion, after a great ſlaughter of their enemies, Judas and his companions were ſo ſpent and weary'd out, that they ſeem'd at laſt to be rather tir'd than overcome: Nor did they fall unrevenged. And thus did this glorious hero finiſh the character of a great man, by making his life and death all of a piece. It could not be expected that the ſoldiers, after the loſs of ſo brave a general, could diſpute the point any farther without a leader: So that they preſently diſpers'd and fled, while the two brothers, Simon and Jonathan, treated with the enemy for the body of their brother, which they carry'd away, and laid it at Modin in the ſepulchre of his fathers, with all funeral magnificence, and with the ſolemnity of a publick mourning for ſeveral days, in honour of his memory, according to the cuſtom of the place upon ſo extraordinary an occaſion. This was the end of Judas Maccabeus, a generous and a valiant man; the true ſon of the virtue, as well as of the blood of Matthias; for he never forgot the precepts of his dying father; who enjoyn'd him upon his bleſſing never to decline any labour or hazard for the liberty and welfare of his countrymen. In purſuance of this charge, he got himſelf everlaſting honour, by the reſcue of his friends out of the hands of the Macedonians, and by his three years adminiſtration in the office of high-prieſt.

A bloody fight, V. 17.

The bravery and death of Judas and his companions, V. 18.

Simon and Jonathan treat for their brother's body, V. 19.

Judas, the true ſon of the valiant Matthias.

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* The Macedonian Phalanx, was much the ſame as the Roman Legion; it was a four ſquare body, conſiſting of eight thouſand footmen ſet in cloſe array.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK XIII.

From the Year of the World 3808 *to* 3898.

CHAP. I.

The ſpite of the revolted Jews. Jonathan ſucceeds Judas. He and Simon withdraw into the wilderneſs, and Bacchides follows them. John and his company cut off by the ſons of Amaræus. Bacchides aſſaults Jonathan on the ſabbath-day, and loſes two thouſand of his men. Jonathan's retreat. Bacchides fortifies at Jeruſalem, and elſewhere. The death of John reveng'd upon the ſons of Amaræus. Bacchides puts fifty of the Jewiſh deſerters to death. The brothers fortify themſelves in Bethalagá. Bacchides lays ſiege to it, and is beaten off.

WE have ſufficiently ſet forth in the former book, how the Jews came to be deliver'd from their ſlavery under the Macedonians; and how Judas, their great captain and protector, after ſeveral bloody battles fought in that righteous cauſe, loſt his life at laſt in a magnanimous action and conteſt for their vindication and defence. This illuſtrious perſon was no ſooner taken away, but the whole party of the profligate Jews, that contrary to conſcience, faith, and honour, had abandon'd the religion, laws, and cuſtoms of the nation, reſumed their former animoſities, and perſecuted their honeſt countrymen afreſh, more ſpitefully than ever. There happened alſo at the ſame time a general famine over the land; which, in conjunction, doubled the other calamity; for betwixt want of bread for their livelihood, on the one ſide, and want of power to defend themſelves againſt their enemies on the other, the miſery lay ſo heavy upon them, that a great many of the Jews found themſelves under ſome ſort of neceſſity to comply with the faction of the Macedonians. Upon this juncture Bacchides convened all the apoſtate Jews that were gone over to ſtrange gods, and committed the care of the government principally into their hands, who made it their buſineſs in the firſt place to ſeize all the friends and late partizans of Judas, and ſo to deliver them up to Bacchides, to torture them at pleaſure, and in the end to put every man of them to death. The condition of the Jews was never ſo deplorable ſince their captivity in Babylon, as it was at this time; inſomuch, that all thoſe who had wiſh'd well to Judas, join'd in a requeſt to Jonathan, not only to follow his brother's example, who had ſo frankly ſacrificed his blood for the liberties of his country, but to take upon himſelf his command alſo, the whole nation lying under ſuch deſperate circumſtances, that they muſt be all inevitably loſt without a leader. Jonathan's anſwer was, that he was ready to do or to ſuffer any thing for the publick good; whereupon, with the unanimous conſent of the people, he was declared their general.

The renegado Jews more ſpiteful againſt their countrymen than ever, 1 Mac ix. 23. The Jews miſerable betwixt famine and perſecution, Ver. 24

Bacchides commits the government to the apoſtates, who expoſe their countrymen to torments and death, Ver. 25--27.

The loyal part of the Jews mind Jonathan of his brother's example, Ver. 28--30.

and with one voice chuſe him their general, ibid.

WHEN Bacchides came to be inform'd of this election, and to reflect upon it, that Jonathan was a man as likely to give as much

Jonathan and Simon retire into the wilderneſs for fear of treachery, Mac. ix. 33.

Bacchides marches after them, V. 34.

John and all his companions kill'd by a ſally out of Medaba, Ver. 36.

trouble and diſturbance to the king and Macedonians, as ever his brother Judas was before him, he fell to bethinking himſelf of ſome way to take him off by treachery: But he himſelf and his brother Simon were both ſo well aware of ſuch a deſign in hand, that they provided for themſelves betimes, by withdrawing immediately into the neighbouring deſart, with what ſtrength they were able to get together upon that warning, and pitched their tents by the pool of Aſphar. Bacchides look'd upon this retreat of theirs into the wilderneſs, to be the effect of fear, and no other than a direct flight from the face of an enemy; marched away preſently towards them with all his troops; and encamping beyond Jordan, made choice of that place for his rendezvous. When Jonathan came to hear of this motion, he ſent his brother John (otherwiſe Gaddis) to the Arabian Mabathites, being in friendſhip with them, for leave only to depoſite their baggage in their cuſtody, till the battle with Bacchides ſhould be over. But as John was upon the way, the ſons of Amaræus made a ſally out of Medaba upon the convoy; took all their carriages, and whatever elſe they had about them; kill'd John himſelf upon the place, and all his people: But the brothers had their revenge upon them not long after, as will be ſhew'd in its due place.

Bacchides attacks Jonathan upon the ſabbath-day, and loſes near 2000 of his men, Ver. 43, 49.

Jonathan and his people ſecure themſelves by croſſing the river Jordan. ibid.

Bacchides fortifies the citadel at Jeruſalem, Ver. 50.

Bacchides having intelligence how Jonathan lay encamped in the fenny grounds near the river Jordan, pitch'd upon the ſabbath-day for the attack, in confidence of the ſuperſtitious reverence they had for that feſtival: but Jonathan laying before his ſoldiers the abſolute neceſſity of fighting; for the enemy being before them, and the river behind them, there was no ſaving their lives without it: They conſidering the exigence of the caſe, call'd upon God for victory, and in the ſame inſtant made a reſolute charge upon the enemy; killing great numbers of them upon the place. In the heat of the action, Bacchides preſs'd furiouſly upon the perſon of Jonathan, who at the ſame time made a blow at him; but the other evading it, Jonathan and his company took the river, and the enemy not daring to follow them, they got ſafe to the other ſide. Bacchides, after this withdrew into the citadel of Jeruſalem, with the loſs of near * two thouſand of his men, where he fortified ſeveral ſtrong cities and places that had been demoliſhed before; as Jericho, Emmaus, Bethoron and Bethel, Thamnatha, Pharathon, Techoa and Gazara: And theſe places he ſtrengthen'd with walls and towers, and with ſtrong gariſons, to be ready for excurſions to fall upon the Jews: But care was taken above all the reſt, to make the citadel of Jeruſalem impregnable. In which place the chief men's ſons of the country were ſecured for hoſtages.

Word is brought the brothers of a famous wedding; and which way the bride was to paſs, V. 37.

The brothers way-lay the wedding people, V. 38.

and put 400 perſons to the ſword; bride, bridegroom and all, in revenge of their brother John, Ver. 39--42.

There was brought intelligence about this time, to the two brothers Jonathan and Simon, that there was a ſplendid wedding in hand betwixt one of the ſons of Amaræus, and the daughter of an illuſtrious Arabian; the ſons of Amaræus to be at the wedding, and the bride to be conducted in great pomp from the city of Gabatha. The brothers laid hold of this opportunity to revenge themſelves for the death of their brother, and ſo haſten'd away towards Medaba to way-lay the people who were to aſſiſt at this wedding, by an ambuſh that they had planted in the mountains. Upon the coming up of the bridegroom with his bride, and a long train of their friends, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, the party ſally'd out upon them, and cut them all off, without ſaving ſo much as one perſon, together with their wives, children, and friends, to the number of four hundred; carry'd off the booty entire, and did juſtice at the ſame time to the memory of their brother: After which exploit they returned to their quarters at Jordan.

The apoſtate Jews preſs Demetrius to the reducing of Jonathan; pretending by the help of Bacchides, to make but one night's work of it, Ver. 58.

The king ſends Bacchides accordingly, V. 60.

Several plots failing, Bacchides fancies himſelf betray'd by the apoſtates, and puts fifty of their leading men to death upon that jealouſy, Ver. 61.

The brothers retire to Bethalaga, and fortify it, Ver. 62.

Bacchides lays ſiege to it, Ver. 63, 64.

Jonathan ſteals out by night, and beats up Bacchides's quarters, V. 65, 66.

Simon at the ſame time makes a ſally, and deſtroys the enemies machines, &c. V. 67, 68.

When Bacchides had ſettled gariſons in Judea, he went back to his maſter; and ſo for a matter of two years, the Jews were in ſome tolerable ſtate of quiet: But the apoſtates, and the dregs of the people were gall'd at the very ſouls of them, to ſee Jonathan, and his people ſo much at eaſe in Judea, by reaſon of the tranquility of the times. So that they fell to plying and ſoliciting Demetrius by their proxies, that Bacchides might be order'd to reduce Jonathan abſolutely into his power; which was a thing ſo eaſy to be effected, they ſaid, that it required no more than one night's work to rid themſelves both of him and all his ſoldiers by ſurprize. The king yielded immediately to the propoſition, and diſpatch'd Bacchides away into Judea upon the commiſſion, where he ſent his letters up and down to all the king's friends and officers in the country, to give their aſſiſtance towards the ſeizing of Jonathan. So they laid their heads together how to entrap him; and finding upon ſeveral trials one after another, that all proved ineffectual; (for Jonathan was cautious and forewarned) the Macedonian, in a tranſport of rage, imputed the whole miſcarriage to the treachery of the apoſtate Jews; who, he ſaid, did but make ſport with the king's orders, and thereupon put fifty of their chief men to death. Jonathan and his brother finding themſelves too weak for Bacchides, withdrew into the wilderneſs, to a village called Bethalaga, and fortify'd it with works and walls, to ſerve them in caſe of need for a retreat. Upon this intelligence, Bacchides marched away againſt them with all the power he was able to make, upon the conjunction of his own troops, with the auxiliary faction of the Jews. He open'd his trenches immediately againſt the place, and for ſome days carried on his approaches: Jonathan, on the other ſide, making a very ſtout reſiſtance. While matters were in this poſture, he left the defence of the place to his brother Simon; and with ſuch a body of men as he was able to draw together out of the neighbourhood, he himſelf ſtole away by night, and fell upon Bacchides in his quarters; kill'd a great many of his men; and by the havock and confuſion that enſu'd upon it, Simon came quickly to underſtand that it was his brother's doing: Upon which diſcovery, he made a ſally, burnt their machines, cut off a great many of their people, and ſo return'd. Bacchides was ſo amaz'd at this aſſault upon him front and rear, and the miſcarriage of an attempt he thought himſelf ſo ſure of, that it put him quite beſide his reaſon; but all the miſchiefs of this miſcarriage were imputed to the Jewiſh impoſtors, who had prevailed with the king,

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* 1 Maccab. ix. 49. recounts but a thouſand.

Bacchides quits the ſiege with a ſaving to the King's honour and his own, 1 Maccab. ix. 69, &c.

he ſaid, for this expedition. It remained now only to conſider how the ſiege might be rais'd without loſs of honour, both to the king and to himſelf; and how the army might be drawn off without ignominy.

CHAP. II.

An alliance betwixt Jonathan and Bacchides. Bacchides leaves Judea in peace. Jonathan takes up his reſidence at Machmas.

Jonathan propoſes to Bacchides an everlaſting peace upon honourable terms, ibid.

They ſtrike a league, exchange oaths and articles, and Bacchides goes back to his maſter with reputation, ibid.

Judea re-eſtabliſhed in peace, ibid.

Jonathan clears the country of falſe worſhip and falſe brethren, ibid.

WHILE Bacchides had this difficulty under deliberation, Jonathan took the opportunity of falling in with him upon that neceſſary point, having gotten ſome intelligence of what he had in his thought at that time. So he ſent him an honourable meſſage, with propoſals of a mutual league and friendſhip, upon condition of releaſing all priſoners on both ſides. This was a motion ſo reaſonable for Bacchides to agree to, and ſo fair an occaſion given him to quit the ſiege without loſs of reputation, that he immediately ſtruck up an alliance with Jonathan; with a mutual exchange of oaths to deliver up, and reſtore all priſoners on both ſides, and not to do any act of hoſtility one to the other. This being ratified, Bacchides returned to the King at Antioch, without ever coming back again with his army to Judea. Jonathan being now ſettled in a condition of peace and ſafety, took up his abode in Machmas, where he gave himſelf up to the buſineſs of the government, in the adminiſtration of law and juſtice. He was a bitter enemy to all deſerters, a zealous aſſerter of the laws, and he purged the land from all foreign abominations.

CHAP. III.

Ptolemais deliver'd up to Alexander (call'd Ballez) out of an averſion to Demetrius; who upon the news of this ſeizure, draws his troops together to give him battle.

Alexander the ſon of Antiochus ſeizes Ptolemais in Syria, 1 Mac. x. 1.

IN the year one hundred and ſixty, Alexander, the ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes, took poſſeſſion of Ptolemais in Syria, by the confederacy of the ſoldiers that were there in gariſon, out of an averſion they had to Demetrius, as a man over proud and haughty; for he had the humour of mewing himſelf up in a certain fortify'd caſtle that he had, not far from Antioch, where no body was admitted to come at him; but there he doz'd away his time, and left the government to ſhift for itſelf; which ſtirr'd up a great many male-contents againſt him, as we have ſaid elſewhere. But now upon the news of Alexander's poſſeſſing himſelf of Ptolemais, he preſently drew his troops together, and march'd with an army againſt him.

Upon Alexander's taking Ptolemais, Demetrius marches againſt him with an army, Ver. 2.

CHAP. IV.

An alliance betwixt Demetrius and Jonathan. The articles of the treaty. Jonathan puts Jeruſalem into a ſtate of defence. The Macedonians remove to Antioch; but the revolted Jews in Bethſura, and the tower of Jeruſalem, keep to their ſtrong holds.

Demetrius writes to Jonathan, and propounds an alliance with him, V. 3—5.

DEMETRIUS, upon this occaſion, ſent an embaſſy to Jonathan, with propoſals of a league and alliance betwixt them; and this he did, to prevent Alexander in the propoſal, for fear he might otherwiſe pre-engage him, tho' but in revenge for injuries and indignities formerly receiv'd. The purport of the meſſage was, in ſhort, an authority to levy men, to provide arms, and to ſet hoſtages at liberty, that Bacchides had committed priſoners to the caſtle. Upon the receipt of this letter from Demetrius, Jonathan went away preſently to Jeruſalem, where he read it publickly, in the hearing both of the gariſon, and of the people. The profligates and fugitives in the citadel were very much ſtartled to ſee Jonathan all on a ſudden ſo much in favour. But he went on however with his levies, ſet the hoſtages at liberty, and remanded them ſafe back again to their own parents. He made Jeruſalem for the preſent the place of his reſidence; where he fortify'd, alter'd and repaired at pleaſure; rebuilding and ſtrengthening the walls with ſquare ſtones of a mighty bigneſs for the better defence of the place. Now the Macedonians that were diſperſed up and down in ſeveral gariſons, quitted their ſtations upon this change at Jeruſalem, and went away to Antioch; but for thoſe that were in Bethſura and the tower at Jeruſalem, the greater part of them being Jewiſh deſerters, it was not ſafe for them to ſtir out of their holds.

The conditions of the treaty, V. 6.

Jonathan reads the letter publickly at Jeruſalem to both ſoldiers and people, V. 7.

He takes up his reſidence in Jeruſalem; where he fortifies, repairs and rebuilds at pleaſure, Ver. 11.

The Jewiſh deſerters keep themſelves in their gariſons.

CHAP. V.

Alexander Ballez endeavours to make Jonathan his friend; creates him high-prieſt and ſucceſſor to his brother Judas; preſents, and adopts him into his family, obliges the Jews. A bloody battle betwixt Alexander and Demetrius. The death of Demetrius by the fall of his horſe.

ALEXANDER was no ſtranger to the character of Jonathan, or to the hiſtory of his courage and exploits; particularly againſt the Macedonians; nor to the indignities that had been put upon him, both by Demetrius and Bacchides; ſo that being told of the fair promiſes and pretenſions of Demetrius, he diſcourſed the matter with his friends, and brought it to this point, that he could not at that time do better than to enter into an aſſociation and alliance with Jonathan; a perſon of eminent valour, and a mortal enemy to Demetrius, and lying under the higheſt provocations of old grudges and wrongs imaginable. Wherefore, ſaid he, this ſeems to me the critical minute of an opportunity for the making of this man my friend; but pray let me have your opinion along with me. His council were all of the ſame mind, and a letter was immediately diſpatch'd away upon the ſame ſubject in the terms following:

King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, ſendeth greeting.

Alexander's letter to Jonathan, Ver. 18—20.

Jonathan advanced to the high-prieſthood; adopted and preſented, Ver. 21.

“ WHEREAS we have been long ſince
“ given to underſtand that thou art a
“ man of honour, faith and courage, and in
“ all reſpects worthy of our friendſhip, we
“ have now ſent our ambaſſadors to make thee a
“ tender of our amity and alliance, and to treat
“ in our name about it; and we do by theſe
“ preſents, and by our royal authority ordain
“ and pronounce thee to be the high-prieſt of
“ the Jews, and adopt thee into the roll of

“the king's friends; ſending thee for a preſent likewiſe, a purple robe, and a crown of gold, not doubting but that our affection and eſteem will be anſwered on thy part with a ſuitable return.”

Jonathan enters upon the pontificate, after a vacancy of four years.

JONATHAN, immediately upon the coming of this meſſage to his hand, put on his ſacerdotal robe upon the day of the feaſt of tabernacles. This was four years after the death of his brother Judas, the pontifical ſeat having been ſo long vacant; and from thence forward he applied himſelf to the advancing of troops, and making a large proviſion of arms. Demetrius was by this time ſenſible of the error of his delay, in ſlipping the opportunity of being beforehand with his competitor for an alliance with Jonathan. But this anticipation of Alexander's did not yet hinder him from carrying it as far as it would go, in this following letter:

King Demetrius to Jonathan, and to the people of the Jews, greeting.

A moſt magnificent grant to Jonathan and the people, 1 Mac. x. 25--45.

An abatement of taxes, ibid.

The citadel to be gariſon'd by the Jews, ibid.

Priſoners to be ſet at liberty, and their ſabbaths and feſtivals to be obſerv'd, ibid.

Thirty thouſand of them taken into pay, ibid.

“WHEREAS we have hitherto ever found you true and faithful to your duty, and to our ſervice, in deſpite of all the arts and practices of our enemies to ſeduce you from your allegiance, we cannot but give you ſome inſtance of the eſteem we have for your unſhaken fidelity in times paſt, and likewiſe of our princely diſpoſition to give you all encouragement to a perſeverance in the ſame conſtancy for the time to come. It is our pleaſure therefore, to remit upon you the greateſt part of your tributes; and by theſe preſents to eaſe you of all the taxes that you formerly paid to my predeceſſors, or to myſelf, over and above the cuſtom of ſalt, and crown-taxes; the thirds of your corn, and of your fruits, which duties I do diſcharge you of for ever, together with the poll-tax upon the inhabitants of Judea, and the three governments of Samaria, Galilee, and Peræa. I will have the city of Jeruſalem to be accounted holy, and to have the privileges of a ſanctuary, or a city of refuge, with an exemption both to itſelf, and its dependencies, from all tenths and tributes. The citadel ſhall be deliver'd up to the high-prieſt Jonathan, with liberty to put into it, for a gariſon, ſuch of his friends and confidents as he ſhall make choice of. It is our further pleaſure likewiſe, that all the Jews that were carried away priſoners into any part of our dominions, be forthwith ſet at liberty, without impoſing any hardſhips, after this decree, ſo much as upon their cattle, either by preſs-maſters, or otherwiſe; that all their ſabbaths and ſolemn feſtivals, and three days before them, ſhall be days of immunity and freedom to all the Jews in our dominions; and that they may live quietly, without any ſort of moleſtation; and for ſo many of the Jews within the compaſs of thirty thouſand men, as ſhall deſire to bear arms in our ſervice, they ſhall be entertained at the ſame rate of pay with our own guards, and inſtructed alſo in our gariſons, and about our perſon, and the better ſort of them ſhall be received as the domeſticks of our royal family. They ſhall moreover have the free exerciſe of their own laws, both in Jeruſalem, and in the three dependent provinces; committing it to the high-prieſt's care, to ſee that no Jew be ſuffer'd to worſhip in any other temple but that of Jeruſalem. We do hereby grant them likewiſe the yearly allowance of fifteen * thouſand ſhekels of ſilver toward the charge of their ſacrifices out of our own coffers, and diſcharging the prieſts and officers attending the ſervice of the temple, of the † ten thouſand drachma's that were formerly paid to our predeceſſors, as in reaſon and conſcience we ought to do. It is our further will alſo, that whoever ſhall fly to the temple of Jeruſalem, or to the liberties thereof, for any debt whatſoever, whether to the king, or otherwiſe, he ſhall be protected, both in his perſon and goods, from any trouble or moleſtation. We do likewiſe give leave, and require, that the temple be repair'd, ſtrong walls and turrets erected, and gariſons to be put into ſuch places of ſtrength as the Jews ſhall think fit to raiſe and fortify; and all this to be done at our own proper charge.” Theſe were the gracious promiſes of Demetrius, who wrote to the Jews accordingly.

Others admitted into the royal family, ibid.

A free exerciſe of laws and religion, ibid.

Allowances towards the charge of ſacrifices, ibid.

The temple made a place of refuge, ib.

The temple and walls to be repair'd and fortified at Demetrius's charge, ibid.

A battle betwixt Alexander and Demetrius, Ver. 48, 49.

The unfortunate death of Demetrius, Ver. 50.

UPON this juncture of time king Alexander drew out a mighty army, partly of his own mercenaries, and partly of thoſe that went over to him from Demetrius in Syria, and marched with them againſt the enemy. They came to a battle, and the left wing of Demetrius being too hard for the right wing of Alexander, they purſued their advantage ſo far, that they got the pillage of the camp, but the right wing, at the ſame time, where the king himſelf fought in perſon, was forc'd to give way, and fell preſently into a direct rout. Demetrius behaving himſelf to a miracle all this while; killing ſome, purſuing others, and defending himſelf, till at laſt his horſe plunging into an impaſſable bog, he was over-power'd by the multitudes that preſs'd in upon him, and conſequently loſt, beyond all hope or poſſibility of relief. He fought it out, however, on foot, to the laſt extremity, till his body was cover'd all over with arrows and darts. Demetrius had now reigned eleven years; and this was his end, as we have ſet it forth elſewhere.

CHAP. VI.

Onias propoſes a temple in Egypt like that of Jeruſalem. This ſtarts a queſtion betwixt the Jews and Samaritans, which is the true temple, Garizin or Jeruſalem. The matter is refer'd to the king, and the party that ſhall be caſt to ſuffer death. The king gives it for Jeruſalem.

ONIAS, the ſon of Onias the high-prieſt, liv'd in a kind of exile from his own country, with Ptolemy Philometor, at Alexandria, as we have ſaid heretofore. This ſame Onias finding Judea ſo terribly ravag'd by the Macedonians and their kings; and out of an ambition to get himſelf immortal fame, reſolv'd to try if he could obtain leave from king Ptolemy, and his queen Cleopatra, to build another temple in Egypt, after the project and model of that of Jeruſalem, and ſo to ſupply it with prieſts and Levites of his own family. The thing that put this thought in his head, was a prediction of the prophet Iſaiah, of at leaſt ſix hundred years before; preſaging that in time to come there ſhould be a temple erected in Egypt, to the honour of the great God, and that it ſhould be the work of a Jew. Onias was ſo poſſeſſed with the impulſe of this revelation, that he wrote a letter to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, to this following effect: "At the time when I had the honour to ſerve your majeſties in the field, I paſſed through ſeveral countries, and obſerved, that in the provinces of Cele-Syria, Phenicia, and Leontopolis, in the land of Heliopolis, and in ſeveral other places, the Jews had no uniformity in their temples, and therefore could not agree among themſelves about it; and it is the ſame thing with the Egyptians too, by reaſon of the multitude and variety of temples, and the diverſity of religions. Now for ſo much as I have found out a certain place near the caſtle of Bubaſtes upon the plain, where there are great ſtore of materials for building near at hand, and plenty of beaſts appointed for ſacrifice, it is my humble requeſt, that you will give me leave to purge and demoliſh a ruinous temple there, that was never conſecrated to any deity, and in the place of it to erect another, after the model of that of Jeruſalem, with a dedication of it to the moſt high God, upon condition, that prayers be there offer'd up for the ſafety and proſperity of your royal perſons and family; to the end that all the Jews in your dominions may by this means be more united among themſelves, and better enabled to do your majeſties ſervice. This is no more than what the prophet Iſaiah had foretold, that God would have a holy place in Egypt, and ſeveral other things upon that ſubject."

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* Fifteen thouſand ſhekels of ſilver, according to Calmet's tables, amounted to ſeventeen hundred and ten pounds, eighteen ſhillings, and nine pence.

† Ten thouſand drachma's amounted to about two hundred and eighty pounds of our money.

The petition of Onias to Ptolemy and Cleopatra.

Onias begs leave to build a temple in Egypt, after the model of that of Jeruſalem.

Grounding his petition upon the prophecy of Iſaiah.

It was very remarkable, the piety that the king, and his queen Cleopatra (his wife and ſiſter both in one) expreſſed upon the receipt of this letter, as will appear by their anſwer thereunto, wherein they diſcharged themſelves of having any hand in the impious violation of the law, and caſt the whole blame of it upon Onias in theſe terms:

King Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra to Onias, joy and health.

"We have read and conſider'd of your letters of requeſt, wherein you deſire to cleanſe and purify an old ruinous temple at Leontopolis near Bubaſtes upon the plain, within the juriſdiction of Heliopolis, and can hardly conceive how a temple in a place ſo unclean, and haunted with ſuch varieties of deteſtable animals, ſhould be in any meaſure acceptable to God. But yet for ſo much as you refer yourſelf for your juſtification to the predictions of the prophet Iſaiah, we do hereby grant unto you full licence and permiſſion, ſo far as in us lies ſo to do, provided it be done without giving offence to God in the breach of his laws."

The king and queen grants his requeſt.

Onias had no ſooner obtained this conceſſion of the place, but he fell preſently to work upon the raiſing of the temple and the altar, according to the draught of that at Jeruſalem, though much ſhort of it both for bulk and ſtate. As to the dimenſions of the fabrick, and the holy veſſels thereunto belonging, having ſpoken ſufficiently of it in my ſeventh book of the hiſtory and captivity of the Jews, a repetition of it in this place would be needleſs. This being done, Onias did not want prieſts and Levites of his own fancy and perſuaſion to aſſiſt him in the offices of divine worſhip, and in the ſervices of the temple; to ſay no more of it in this place.

Onias falls to work immediately upon the temple,

and employs prieſts and Levites in it of his own fancy.

There happen'd at Alexandria ſo fierce and ſo ſeditious a diſpute, betwixt the Jews and the Samaritans that erected the temple at Garizin, in the days of Alexander the Great, about the temple itſelf, and the manner of worſhipping, that the king was forced upon an appeal to take the matter into his own cognizance, and ſo to paſs judgment upon the merits of the cauſe. The point was this: The Jews inſiſted upon it that the temple at Jeruſalem was the only temple extant that was warranted and authoriz'd by the laws of Moſes. The Samaritans ſtood up for the temple of Garizin, and both parties by conſent remitted themſelves to the judgment and arbitration of the king, with his miniſters and friends, deſiring only that council might be heard on both ſides, and that ſentence of death might paſs upon the party that ſhould be found guilty. Sabbeus and Theodoſius were for the Samaritans, and Andronicus the ſon of Meſſalan, for the Jews; binding themſelves in an oath on both ſides, in the preſence of God and the king, to offer nothing in proof, but what was according to the law, and deſiring that the breach of that oath might be made death to the violator of it. The king call'd his friends and counſellors about him to try the cauſe. The Jews of Alexandria were mightily troubled, for fear of their advocate, and were extremely concern'd to find the ſacred authority of the temple at Jeruſalem, the moſt antient and noble frame and inſtitution in the whole world, brought into queſtion. Upon a debate who ſhould ſpeak firſt, Sabbeus and Theodoſius gave the precedence to Andronicus, who opened the cauſe, and made a deduction of the ſanctity, practice, and venerable antiquity of the temple of Jeruſalem, even from the very original, according to the law; ſetting forth the uninterrupted ſucceſſion of the prieſthood through all ages, with the honour and majeſty of the place, as it was celebrated from time to time, with the magnificence and bounty of all the kings of Aſia; whereas the temple of Garizin, then in queſtion, was ſo obſcure in all reſpects, that little more notice was taken of it than if there had been no ſuch thing. With theſe and the like reaſonings the king was prevail'd upon to give ſentence in favour of Jeruſalem, and to adjudge Sabbeus and Theodoſius to death, according

A quarrel at Alexandria betwixt the Jews and Samaritans, about their temple and worſhip.

The Jews ſtand up for Jeruſalem, the other for Garizin.

They refer the judgment to the king, and council to be heard on both ſides.

Sabbeus and Theodoſius for the Samaritans, and Andronicus for the Jews, and the guilty to ſuffer death.

The king gives it for Jeruſalem, and Sabbeus and Theodoſius condemn'd to abide the penalty.

cording to the conditions of the propoſal. This was the ſtate of affairs with the Alexandrian Jews in the days of Ptolemy Philometor.

CHAP. VII.

After the death of Demetrius, Alexander marries Cleopatra the king of Egypt's daughter, and does all things highly to the honour of Jonathan.

1 Macc. x.

AFTER the death of Demetrius, (as we have ſaid already) Alexander took upon himſelf the government of Syria; and by a letter to Ptolemy Philometor, ſent him a propoſal of a match with his daughter, ſuggeſting by-the-bye, that it would be no diſhonourable or unreaſonable thing, after the overthrow of Demetrius, and, through God's favour, the recovery of a kingdom that belong'd to him in the right of his father, to receive him into his alliance. Ptolemy was ſo well pleas'd with this overture, that he immediately wrote him a letter back again to congratulate him for all his victories and ſucceſſes, and likewiſe to promiſe him his daughter in marriage, appointing Ptolemais for the place of meeting; where he would wait upon him with his daughter Cleopatra, and there conſummate the wedding. Ptolemy ſtaid not long after his own letter, but went directly to the place with his daughter, where he found Alexander, and diſpatch'd the marriage, with ſuch a treaſure of gold and ſilver for her portion as might become the magnificence of ſo great a prince. Jonathan the high-prieſt was invited by Alexander to the wedding, where both the kings bad him welcome, with great honour and preſents on both ſides; Alexander appointing him to change his habit, and put on a purple robe, and to take his place next to himſelf upon the throne, commanding alſo the chief of the officers to attend him into the heart of the city, and to make publick proclamation that no man ſhould preſume, upon his uttermoſt peril, either to calumniate or accuſe him, or otherwiſe to give him any the leaſt moleſtation. Upon this gracious demonſtration of eſteem the king had for him, his malicious enemies that were come thither on purpoſe to do him ill offices by defaming him, ſneak'd out of the way for fear the miſchief they meant him ſhould fall upon their own heads. So particular, in fine, was the kindneſs and reſpect that Alexander had for Jonathan, that he reckon'd him among the choiceſt of his friends.

Alexander marries Cleopatra the daughter of Ptolemy, at Ptolemais. V. 58.

Great honour done to Jonathan the high-prieſt; and a proclamation publiſh'd in his favour. V. 63.

CHAP. VIII.

Demetrius Nicanor carries an army into Cilicia. Alexander makes Apollonius his general. Jonathan the high-prieſt gives him an overthrow, takes Azotus, and ſets fire to the temple of Dagon. Alexander pretends to blame Apollonius for it, and compliments Jonathan. Ptolemy marches to Alexander's relief. A plot upon the life of Ptolemy; who thereupon takes his daughter from Alexander, and gives her to Demetrius, who is received by the Antiochians for their king. Ptolemy and Demetrius give Alexander an overthrow. Ptolemy dangerouſly wounded. Alexander's head ſent him for a preſent. He dies quickly after that ſatisfactory ſight. Jonathan lays ſiege to the tower of Jeruſalem. He preſents Demetrius, and obtains large privileges of him for the Jews. Demetrius diſcharges his army without pay, and they fall off from him.

IN the year one hundred and ſixty five, Demetrius, the ſon of Demetrius, embark'd himſelf with a body of mercenaries that Laſthenes had brought him, and paſs'd with them out of Crete into Cilicia. Alexander was not a little ſtartled at the tidings of this expedition; ſo that he preſently haſten'd away from Phenicia to Antioch, to put his affairs in a poſture of ſecurity before Demetrius could get thither; committing the government of Cœle-Syria, in the mean time, to the care of Apollonius, who march'd with an army to Jamnia, and thence ſent Jonathan the high-prieſt a ſchooling and expoſtulatory meſſage, to know "what privilege he had to live at eaſe and liberty, and to withdraw himſelf from the ſervice of the publick: and the ſcandal (ſays he) is laid at my door for ſuffering this affront without reducing you to your duty. If you are ſo brave as you would be thought to be, come down for ſhame out of your hiding-holes in the mountains, and meet me like a man in the plain field, with your ſword in your hand, and caſt the iſſue of the cauſe upon that trial. This let me tell you, by the way, that I am now at the head of a body of the choiceſt men in the empire, and men that in feats of arms have ever had the aſcendant of your anceſtors. Wherefore I dare you once again to give me a meeting in ſome indifferent place, where ſwords, not ſtones, ſhall decide the controverſy, and leave the vanquiſh'd party no poſſibility of ſaving themſelves by flight."

Demetrius, the ſon of Demetrius, with a powerful army, falls into Cilicia. V. 67.

Apollonius, the governor of Syria, ſends Jonathan a contemptuous challenge. V. 69-73.

JONATHAN was ſo nettled with the inſolence of this challenge, that he marched away out of Jeruſalem with a ſelect band of ten thouſand choſen men, and his brother Simon along with him; and coming up to Joppa, he encamped there: but Apollonius having a gariſon in the town, they ſhut their gates againſt him; ſo that Jonathan put himſelf in a poſture for an aſſault; whereupon the inhabitants, for fear of a ſtorm, deliver'd up the place. So ſoon as Apollonius underſtood that Jonathan was poſſeſs'd of Joppa, he betook himſelf with three thouſand horſe and eight thouſand foot to Azotus, and thence by eaſy marches to Joppa; where he drew off a little to engage Jonathan in the open plain, depending upon his odds of horſe to over-power him. Jonathan, upon this, advanc'd and follow'd Apollonius towards Azotus; who, when he found the enemy in a plain field, turn'd back upon him, and gave him battle. Apollonius had planted a thouſand horſe in an ambuſh near a brook there, to fall upon the enemy's rear; which Jonathan was well aware of, and without any difficulty provided againſt it: for caſting his men into a ſquare figure that fronted every way, they were ready on all hands to receive the charge, front, flank, and rear. They fought it out till toward evening, when Jonathan order'd his brother Simon, with part of his army, to take his time, and charge in upon the enemy's body; having given orders to his own men only to receive

Jonathan and his brother Simon with 10000 choice men advance to Joppa. V. 74.

The inhabitants deliver it up. V. 76.

Jonathan gives Apollonius battle, Ver. 78-83.

receive the darts and arrows of the horſe upon their bucklers, without any other reſiſtance. They kept themſelves upon their guard, till the enemy had ſpent all their offenſive arms, without doing any execution; for they ſtood ſo thick and cloſe, that their darts fell all upon their bucklers, and there was no piercing them through. The enemy was ſo ſpent and tir'd out with this way of fighting, to no purpoſe, from morning till the afternoon, that Simon took that opportunity of attacking their main body; and was ſo bravely ſeconded by his ſoldiers, that he broke and put them to flight. The horſe, upon this rout, betwixt the fatigue of the day, and the hopeleſs condition of the army now the foot was broken, fled and diſperſed themſelves in the greateſt confuſion imaginable: Jonathan cloſely purſuing them as far as Azotus, killing great numbers of them upon the chace, and forcing the reſt into the temple of Dagon there, for ſanctuary. But he took the city in the ſame heat, ſet fire to it, and to ſeveral neighbouring villages; and burnt them all to the ground, together with the temple of Dagon itſelf, and all the people that fled to it for protection, without any regard to the religion of the idol or of the place. The number of thoſe that were either burnt, or fell by the ſword, was computed to be a matter of eight thouſand men. After the defeat of this army, Jonathan advanced with his troops to Aſkalon, and pitch'd his tents before the city, the inhabitants coming out to him, and treating him with preſents and other tokens of hoſpitality and reſpect; which was all taken very kindly, and as an inſtance of their good-will and affection to him. After this he return'd to Jeruſalem, laden with booty, and victorious. Upon this defeat of Apollonius, Alexander pretended to be wonderfully pleas'd at the miſcarriage, as a thing done entirely againſt his approbation, and without his privity, and a moſt barbarous practice upon a friend and ally: ſo that as a mark of the honour and eſteem he had for him, he ſent him a golden claſp or buckle for a preſent, an honour peculiar only to the royal family; and he gave him alſo the government of Accaron.

Jonathan routs and purſues Apollonius to Azotus, putting fire to the city and the temple of Dagon, and other places thereabout. 1 Mac. x. 84.

Alexander pretends a deteſtation of Apollonius for what he had done; joys Jonathan of his victory, and treats him with preſents, Ver. 88-89.

It happen'd at the ſame time, that Ptolemy Philometor, with both land and ſea-forces, came into Syria, to the aſſiſtance of his ſon-in-law Alexander, where he was received in all places with great honour and reſpect according to the king's order, ſave only in Azotus; and there he was entertain'd with nothing but lamentable ſtories and complaints of the burning of Dagon's temple, every body exclaiming againſt Jonathan as the author of that outrage, beſide the havock he had made in the country by fire and ſword, and the deſtruction of a great many of their people. Ptolemy gave only the hearing to theſe complaints, and that was all. Jonathan met him at Joppa, and was received with all magnificence and honour; and after conducting the king to the river Eleutherus, he returned to Jeruſalem.

Ptolemy paſſes into Syria to join Alexander, 1 Mac. xi 1-2

Jonathan meets him at Joppa, and is honourably receiv'd. V. 6.

Upon Ptolemy's coming to the city of Ptolemais, he was within a very little of being deſtroy'd by the treachery of Alexander, which was manag'd by his friend Ammonius. This practice being diſcover'd, he wrote to Alexander to demand juſtice upon him, according to his deſert; but Alexander's refuſing to deliver him up, gave him to underſtand that he himſelf had a hand in it. Upon which preſumption he contracted a mortal hatred againſt him; and he had forfeited the good-will of the people of Antioch before, upon the account of the ſame Ammonius, who had done them many indignities: but at laſt he came to an infamous end; for he loſt his life in the habit of a woman, as he was ſneaking away to ſhift for himſelf under that diſguiſe, as we have ſhew'd in another place.

Alexander and Ammonius contrive the death of Ptolemy. Ver. 10.

The infamous end of Ammonius.

Ptolemy was by this time ſo ſick of the relation he had to Alexander, and to think of the aſſiſtance he had brought him againſt Demetrius, that he preſently took away his daughter from her husband, and ſtruck up a league with Demetrius againſt Alexander, upon condition of giving him Cleopatra in marriage, and putting him in poſſeſſion of his father's kingdom; who, on the other hand, was well enough pleas'd with the terms, both of the alliance and of the woman. But the people of Antioch had ſuch an averſion to Demetrius upon his father's account, that Ptolemy had a hard taſk of it to perſuade them to receive that man for their king, whom they look'd upon as their enemy. Yet ſuch was their hatred however to Alexander upon the ſcore of Ammonius, and to Ammonius himſelf alſo for his own ſake, that they were eaſily prevail'd upon to diſcharge the city of Ammonius; who thereupon eſcap'd into Cilicia from Antioch. Ptolemy, upon this, made his entrance into the place; where he was ſaluted, proclaim'd, and crown'd king in two capacities, both by the burghers and the ſoldiery: that is to ſay, in the right of Aſia, and of Egypt. But being a perſon naturally juſt, temperate, and diſcreet, he manag'd his buſineſs to the entire ſatisfaction of his own people; and likewiſe without giving any cauſe of jealouſy or envy to the Romans: ſo that he forthwith call'd a general council of the Antiochians, entertaining them with a diſcourſe upon the ſubject of receiving Demetrius for their king; with large aſſurances on that prince's part, that the ſenſe of the preſent obligation would utterly extinguiſh the memory of all unkindneſs and miſunderſtandings gone and paſt: beſide that I myſelf, ſays he, will take care that in the adminiſtration of the government he ſhall not ſo much as offer at any thing unworthy of his royal dignity and truſt. As for my own part, the kingdom of Egypt ſhall content me abundantly. Upon this mediation, the whole body of the people was prevail'd upon to take Demetrius for their king.

Ptolemy calls away his daughter from Alexander, and marries her to Demetrius, Ver. 12.

Ptolemy proclaim'd king of Aſia, and Egypt, V. 13.

He relinquiſhes Aſia; and Antioch receives Demetrius for their king.

Alexander was at this time ravaging Syria, and the country about Antioch, putting all things to the extremities of fire and ſword, with a numerous and powerful army that he brought out of Cilicia; when Ptolemy, with his ſon-in-law Demetrius (the nuptials being now over) encounter'd and routed him, forcing him to fly to Arabia. It happen'd in that battle that Ptolemy's horſe, upon a fright taken at the braying of an elephant, caſt his rider, and gave his enemies the advantage of giving him many grievous wounds upon the head while he was down; which misfortune would certainly have coſt him his life upon the place, if he had not been luckily reſcu'd by a party of his guards: but ſuch was his condition, however, that he lay ſpeechleſs for four days, without ſpeaking one word himſelf, or underſtanding

Alexander ravages Syria with a vaſt army.

Ptolemy and Demetrius fall upon him, and defeat him, V. 15.

Ptolemy in danger of his life by a fall from his horſe.

Alexander's head cut off, and preſented to Ptolemy, 1 Mac. xi. 17.

The death of Ptolemy, Ver. 18.

The ingratitude of Demetrius the ſucceſſor of Alexander.

ſtanding what was ſaid to him. Upon the fifth day, when he was coming a little to himſelf, one Zabelus, an Arabian prince, having cut off Alexander's head, ſent it to Ptolemy, who was wonderfully pleaſed both with the report of the action, and with the ſpectacle itſelf. But when he had entertain'd his paſſion a while with the ſight and thought of a dead enemy, he quickly put an end to that ſatiſfaction by dying himſelf. This Alexander was otherwiſe call'd * Balles. He reigned about five years, as was noted elſewhere. Demetrius, who was known alſo by the name of Nicanor, ſucceeded Alexander; a man of a rough rugged temper, as appear'd by his barbarous uſage of Ptolemy's ſoldiers, without any regard to the obligations and ſervices he had receiv'd from them, upon the credit of an affinity with Cleopatra. The ſoldiers had ſuch an indignation for this ungrateful way of proceeding, that they quitted him themſelves, and went away to Alexandria, leaving only the elephants behind them.

Jonathan lays ſiege to the citadel of Jeruſalem. Ver. 20.

Demetrius marches toward Jonathan, and ſends for him upon the way to Ptolemais; where Jonathan pacifies him with civilities and preſents, Ver. 22-28.

JONATHAN, the high-prieſt, having at this time drawn together all the force he was able to raiſe out of Judea, ſet himſelf down before the citadel of Jeruſalem, with a reſolution to diſlodge the Macedonian gariſon, and the fugitive Jews that had taken ſanctuary there. They were ſo bold and confident in the ſtrength of the place, that they bid Jonathan, at firſt, a moſt contemptuous defiance; but after a while they were glad to ſend ſome of their wicked inſtruments by ſtealth out of the town to Demetrius for ſuccour. This intelligence put him into ſuch a chaſe, that he immediately march'd out with his army from Antioch toward Jonathan; and upon his arrival at Ptolemais, he ſent for him by a letter to come to him. Jonathan, upon this invitation, took with him ſeveral rich gratifications in gold, ſilver, glorious garments, and other precious curioſities, and, attended with the prieſts and elders, made a compliment of them to Demetrius; the ſiege going forward all this while nevertheleſs. The king's heart was ſo ſoften'd by this generous way of reſpect, that he receiv'd both the preſents and preſenters with great honour, confirm'd and continued Jonathan in the pontificate conferr'd upon him by his predeceſſors; and was, upon the main, ſo far from giving any credit to the calumny and ſuggeſtions of the rabble of the fugitive Jews againſt their countrymen, that upon Jonathan's ſingle requeſt for an abatement of the tribute of Judea, together with the dependencies of Samaria, Joppa, and Galilee, to the rate of only three † hundred talents upon the whole, he cauſed this following declaration to be diſpatch'd away upon the firſt word, in their favour.

King Demetrius to his brother Jonathan, and to the whole Jewiſh nation, joy and greeting.

“ THIS is to let you underſtand that we have here ſent you the copy of a letter lately written to Laſthenes, our truſty and well-beloved couſin.

King Demetrius to his father Laſthenes, greeting.

Demetrius to Laſthenes in favour of Jonathan and the Jews, V. 32-37.

“ WE are ſo ſenſible of the dutiful and affectionate return we have from time to time received from our friends the Jews, in acknowledgment of the good-will we bear them, that it is our good pleaſure to give them ſome ſignal mark of the eſteem we have for them: Wherefore we do by theſe preſents aſſign the three governments of Apherima, Lydda, and Ramatha, that were taken from the Samaritans, together with all the land thereunto belonging, to the uſe and advantage of Judea; diſcharging likewiſe the prieſts at Jeruſalem of all the duties by them formerly allow'd to our forefathers, as well upon corn and fruits, as upon ſalt-pits and crown-taxes, with an expreſs caution and prohibition that nothing of all this be exacted from them for the future. Be ſure to ſend the copy of this letter to Jonathan, and to have it hung up in the moſt conſpicuous place of the holy temple.” This was the ſum of the declaration.

Demetrius loſes the hearts of his army for want of pay. Ver. 38.

MATTERS were now brought into ſo quiet and peaceable a ſtate, that Demetrius, flattering himſelf into an opinion that there was no longer any danger, diſcharg'd his army without their full pay, retaining only a body of mercenaries that he had gotten together in Crete, and other of the neighbouring iſlands: ſo that diſmiſſing his father's old troops, without any ſtipend, contrary to the practice of his anceſtors, who paid them as well in peace as in war, and ſo kept them in readineſs to ſerve upon any occaſion, he quite loſt the hearts of his own people.

CHAP. IX.

Tryphon pretends to ſet Antiochus upon his father's throne. Jonathan plies the ſiege of the citadel, and ſends an enforcement to Demetrius upon the defection of his army. Demetrius coop'd up in his palace; but reliev'd and ſupported by Jonathan. The ingratitude of Demetrius. Tryphon ſets up Antiochus. Demetrius defeated, and beaten back into Cilicia. Jonathan, Antiochus, and Tryphon, obtain a great victory againſt Demetrius. Gaza renders upon articles. Demetrius draws his army to Cedaſa. Jonathan ſurpriz'd, and his men leaving him; but Mattathias and Judas ſtood the ſhock, and recover'd the day. Jonathan renews a league with the Romans and Lacedemonians. The three ſects of the Phariſees, Sadducees, and Eſſeans. Simon fortifies Askalon and Joppa. The two brothers undertake for the fortifying of Jeruſalem. Demetrius routed by Arſaces; his army deſtroy'd, and himſelf taken priſoner.

THIS defection of the army from Demetrius was ſo notorious, that Diodotus

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* Iſ. Voſſius ſays, it ſhould be read Balas, according to the beſt copies of Joſephus; and not Balles or Veles, as others have it.

† Three hundred Syrian talents weighed four thouſand two hundred and ſeventy ſeven pounds, four ounces, two pennyweights, twelve grains; and were in value worth twelve thouſand eight hundred and thirty two pounds, ſeven pence half-penny of our money; but if the talents here meant are to be underſtood of Hebrew talents, three hundred weighed thirty four thouſand two hundred and eighteen pounds, nine ounces; and in value amounted to one hundred and two thouſand ſix hundred and fifty ſix pounds, five ſhillings, of Engliſh money.

Tryphon treats with Malchus for the advancing Antiochus the ſon of Alexander to the throne, 1 Mac. x. 39, 40.

otherwiſe called Tryphon, a native of Apamia, and formerly an officer under Alexander, taking notice of that mutinous diſpoſition, applied himſelf to Malchus an Arabian, who was at that time governor of young Antiochus, the ſon of Alexander, telling him how deſperately the ſoldiers were bent againſt Demetrius, and propoſing, that if Malchus would put Antiochus into his hands, he made no doubt of getting him reſtor'd to his father's throne. Malchus was at firſt a little diffident and ſcrupulous; but by the force of prayers and preſſing inſtances, he was in a ſhort time drawn over to a compliance.

Jonathan proſecutes the ſiege of the citadel, Ver. 41.

Jonathan the high-prieſt laid cloſe ſiege all this while to the citadel at Jeruſalem, with a reſolution to clear, not only that caſtle, but other ſtrong holds alſo in the country, where the fugitive Jews ſhelter'd themſelves in gariſon; ſo that he ſent an embaſſy to Demetrius with more preſents upon this occaſion, deſiring him to withdraw all his men that were in any of the fortreſſes of Judea; whoſe anſwer was, that he was ready to gratify him, not only in that, but in a greater matter, ſo ſoon as ever he could diſpatch the preſent war, which found him ſo much work at that time, that he was not at liberty to do any thing elſe; but adjuring Jonathan by all that was ſacred in friendſhip, to ſend him a ſupply of men; for his own troops, he ſaid, were gone over to the enemy. Jonathan ſoon after this ſent the king a ſuccour of three thouſand choice men.

Jonathan ſends Demetrius three thouſand choice men upon the revolt of his army, Ver. 44.

The people of Antioch were ſo enrag'd againſt Demetrius, both for his father's ſake and his own, that they deſir'd nothing more than an opportunity for a revenge; wherefore upon the news of this relief from Jonathan, and conſidering the hazard of his growing ſtill ſtronger and ſtronger, if they were not beforehand with him, they betook themſelves to their arms in a hurry, and immediately begirt the palace with ſuch a countenance and poſture, as if they were juſt ready to give the aſſault. But their chief buſineſs was rather to ſecure the avenues, and ſeize him as he was coming out. Demetrius finding himſelf thus beſet, drew up his foreign mercenaries, together with Jonathan's auxiliaries, and made a charge upon the enemy, but met with a ſmart repulſe from the numerous enemy, and was obliged to retreat. The Jews, upon this repulſe, retir'd into the palace, where they mounted the battlements; and from thence with darts and arrows ſo gall'd the enemy, that they forced them from one houſe to another, without much danger to themſelves. The next thing they did, was to fire the city; which, being for the greater part of wooden buildings, and the houſes ſtanding cloſe, was preſently all in a flame. The inhabitants, finding that the fire was not to be maſter'd, ſhifted for themſelves as well as they could, the Jews ſtill purſuing them from houſe to houſe, and doing wonderful execution upon them. This rout put an end to their fighting; and all they had now to do, was to ſave their wives and children; but the Jews all this while made advantage of their confuſion; and falling upon them at every turn according to the king's order, they killed great numbers of them upon the purſuit, and forced the reſt to throw down their arms, and deliver themſelves up at mercy. This victory put an end to the war; the rebellion being pardon'd, and the booty given to the Jews, whom Demetrius ſent back again to Jonathan, with a moſt honourable teſtimony of their valour, acknowledging that it was to their courage he ſtood indebted for that ſucceſs; but this ſpirit of gratitude did not poſſeſs him long; for he did afterward not only break his promiſe, but threaten Jonathan with a war, if he ſhould not for the future make good thoſe tributes to himſelf, which the Jews had formerly paid to his predeceſſors; and he had done as he ſaid too, if Tryphon had not diverted him, by forcing him to make uſe of that army againſt himſelf, which he had deſign'd againſt Jonathan, who being now return'd out of Arabia into Syria, with young Antiochus, ſet the crown upon his head, and by the help of the ſoldiers before ſpoken of, who had been defrauded of their pay, he made open war upon Demetrius, worſted him in a pitch'd battle, made himſelf maſter of his elephants, and of the city of Antioch, and forc'd him back into Cilicia.

The people beſet Demetrius in his palace, Ver. 45, 46.
He charges the enemy, and is beaten back.

The Jews fight a while from the battlements, and after that ſet fire to the city.

The citizens fly, and the Jews purſue them, Ver. 47, 48.

Demetrius aſcribes his victory to Jonathan's ſuccours, Ver. 51.
The ingratitude of Demetrius, Ver. 53.

Tryphon makes war upon Demetrius, in favour of young Antiochus, Ver. 54.

Demetrius worſted, and driven back into Cilicia, Ver. 55.

The generous kindneſs of Antiochus to Jonathan, Ver. 57--59.

Antiochus upon this reſolution ſent an embaſſy to Jonathan, acknowledging him for his friend and ally, eſtabliſh'd him in the pontificate, put him in poſſeſſion of the four governments that were aſſign'd to Judea, and gave his brother Simon the command of all his forces, from Tyre to the borders of Sidon; preſenting Jonathan over and above, with ſeveral drinking cups of gold, purple garments with a golden buckle, and the privilege of uſing and wearing theſe enſigns of ſtate, adopting him alſo into the roll of his choiceſt friends. Jonathan was ſo ſenſible of theſe multiplied bounties, and marks of honour he had received from Antiochus, that he forthwith diſpatch'd away an expreſs to Antiochus and Tryphon, both in one; with a moſt affectionate tender of his friendſhip and ſervice, with all readineſs to join againſt Demetrius as a common enemy; reflecting upon him alſo at the ſame time as the moſt ungrateful of men, in returning ſo much evil for ſo much good.

Jonathan offers his ſervice to Antiochus and Tryphon againſt Demetrius, Ver. 60.

Jonathan raiſes men, ibid.

No ſooner had Jonathan his commiſſion for the raiſing of men, but he preſently fell to raiſing of levies in Syria and Phenicia, and from thence to all the neighbouring towns and cities, where he was received with great honour in appearance, but got no ſoldiers among them. Upon his coming afterward to Askalon, the people entertain'd him with formalities and preſents, where he took occaſion to lay before them, (as he did at other places in Cele-Syria,) how much it was their intereſt and their duty to take up arms againſt Demetrius for Antiochus, having ſo fair an opportunity to be revenged of him for the injuries he had done them. He wrought upon them ſo far by his advice and reaſoning, that they promiſed ſupplies; but advancing afterward to Gaza upon the deſign of the ſame good office to Antiochus, he found, to his great admiration, the gates ſhut againſt him, and the people obſtinately reſolved to abide by Demetrius. Jonathan took this affront ſo heinouſly, that he forthwith divided his army upon it, aſſaulting the town with one part, while the other went up and down to burn and lay waſte the country. The inhabitants of Gaza, after a ſhort time, ſeeing nothing but inevitable deſtruction before their eyes, no appearance of

and makes an intereſt for Antiochus, ib.

Gaza ſhuts the gates againſt Jonathan, Ver. 61.

Upon ſecond thoughts they court and embrace his friendſhip, 1 Mac. xi 62.

any relief from Demetrius; nor, in truth, ſo much as the hopes of any at ſo remote a diſtance, they came at laſt, laying things together, to conſult their neceſſities, and upon ſecond thoughts judg'd it moſt adviſable to make a ſeaſonable and a ſubmiſſive application to Jonathan by their deputies, who were as frankly received on the other hand into his intereſt and friendſhip. It were better if men would govern themſelves by a proſpect of the reaſons and conſequences of things beforehand, and to do what they ought to do willingly, before they came to be forc'd to it; but ſome people are altogether for the after wit, that comes by woful experience. Jonathan, in fine, accepted of their propoſals and hoſtages, and ſo ſent them away to Jeruſalem, paſſing himſelf through the country to Damaſcus.

Demetrius in the mean while encamps before Cedaſa, V. 63

Jonathan advances toward him, and leaves Simon to take care of Judea, Ver. 64.

Simon attacks Bethſura, 65, 66.

and takes it upon conditions, ibid.

Demetrius in the mean while had a ſtrong army encamped before * Cedaſa upon the borders of Tyre and Galilee, with a deſign to draw Jonathan out of Syria by way of diverſion, to the aſſiſtance of Galilee, upon a preſumption that he would look to his own country in the firſt place; but this did not hinder Jonathan from advancing with all the ſpeed he could to encounter him, leaving his brother Simon behind him in his abſence to take care of Judea. Simon at the ſame time, with what men he could get together out of that country, marched up to Bethſura, and aſſaulted it, though accounted the ſtrongeſt and moſt defenſible place in all Judea, and in the hands, as we have ſaid before, of the faction of Demetrius. So ſoon as the gariſon found themſelves ſo preſs'd with works and engines, that the place ſeem'd to be in ſome danger, they ſent a meſſenger to Simon, only for leave to quit the place, and, without any moleſtation or violence, free liberty to march away to Demetrius. They were brought to theſe terms, by the apprehenſion of being all put to the ſword, if the place were taken by force. Simon granted them their own conditions, and put another gariſon in the place of what was there before.

Jonathan falls into an ambuſh, and his troops forſake him, Ver. 69.

Mattathias and Judas, with fifty choice men, give a ſtand to the whole army, V. 70.

Jonathan at this time moving from the place in Galilee, near the lake of Genezer, where he had firſt encamped, advanced into the plain of Aſor, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting any enemy upon that quarter; but a party of Demetrius's having gotten intelligence of his deſign the day before, plac'd an ambuſh under a mountain, and marched toward him with their body in the plain field. So ſoon as Jonathan ſaw them in order of battle, and ready to make a charge, he gave his men the beſt orders he could in ſo ſhort a time, how to govern themſelves in the action; but when the Jews came to diſcover the ambuſh, they turn'd their backs immediately, for fear of being coop'd up betwixt the two bodies, and all cut off. The terror was ſo general, that Jonathan had hardly a man to ſtand by him, ſaving only two captains of his guards, Mattathias the ſon of Apſalom, and Judas the ſon of Chapſeus, who, with a band of fifty brave fellows, ſtood their ground, and made ſo deſperate a charge upon the enemy's front, that they fought rather like mad men than ſoldiers.

The deſerters rally upon it, and carry the day, Ver. 73, 74.

Jonathan's deſerters finding the ſoldiers of Demetrius in confuſion, and almoſt ready to run away, made haſte and rallied; and falling in upon them afreſh, kill'd a matter of two thouſand upon the place, put to flight the reſt, and purſued them to Cedaſa, up to their very tents.

Jonathan's embaſſy to Rome and Lacedemon, on the ſubject of an alliance, 1 Mac. xii. 1, 2.

Jonathan, after this glorious victory, returned to Jeruſalem; and in this height of his ſucceſſes ſent his ambaſſadors to Rome, with a commiſſion to renew an alliance with them, and with orders to go to Lacedemon in their return, upon the ſame account. Jonathan's propoſals were entertain'd, and his ambaſſadors honourably treated, and diſpatch'd away with letters recommendatory to the kings of Europe and Aſia for their ſafe paſſage. They called likewiſe upon the Lacedemonians, in their way back again, and preſented them with letters, as follows:

Jonathan the high-prieſt, and the elders of the nation, the prieſts, and other people of the Jews, unto the † ephori, the ſenate, and the people of the Lacedemonians, their brethren, ſend greeting.

Jonathan's letter to the Lacedemonians, Ver. 6--18.

“If you are well, both in your perſons, and in all your affairs, publick and private, we are ſo too; for we rejoice in your well-being.

“Whereas we find in a letter of a date (long ſince paſt) from Arius your king, to Onias our high-prieſt, and preſented to him by Demoteles, (a copy whereof we ſend you here encloſed,) importing a near affinity of blood betwixt us; and whereas it appeareth alſo by the teſtimony we then render'd to Arius himſelf, by the hand of the ſaid Demoteles, with what joy we received the intimation of ſuch an alliance in that letter; (not as a new thing to us neither, for we find mention made of it in the holy ſcripture:) this is to let you underſtand, that we ſhould have put in our claim to the honour of your friendſhip before this, but that we were not willing to prevent you in the glory of leading the example. You may be pleaſed to take notice, however, that from the firſt ratification of an amity betwixt us to this day, we have never forgotten you in our prayers to God for your proſperity, health, and victory over all your enemies; and we have been as tender likewiſe in all our ſufferings and diſtreſſes, under the vexatious perſecution of our covetous and ambitious neighbours, not to involve, either yourſelves, or any other of our friendly allies, in our troubles; but our circumſtances being now eaſier, and our wars, by God's providence, over, we have ſent Numenius, the ſon of Antimachus, and Antipater, the ſon of Jaſon, being ſenators and men of honour, to the Romans, and with letters alſo to yourſelves for the ſtrengthening and renewing of a friendly underſtanding betwixt us. You may be pleaſed to return us what anſwer you ſhall think meet, and to let us underſtand wherein we may be uſeful to you; in a full truſt and confidence, that you

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* Apoc. Cades.

† The Ephori, of whom there were commonly five in number, were magiſtrates of the Lacedemonians, who were ſo great a curb to their kings by their power of interceding, or negative voice, that at laſt they became as formidable to them, as the Roman tribunes did to the nobility. See Nep. Pauſan.

“ ſhall find us ever ready to ſerve you in all “ offices of affection and reſpect.”

The Lacedemonians not only gave the Jewiſh ambaſſadors a courteous and honourable reception, but a memorial likewiſe, made and confirm'd by publick authority, teſtifying and acknowledging the friendſhip and alliance betwixt the two ſtates.

Of the three ſects among the Jews, Phariſees, Sadduces, and Eſſenes.

The Jews were at this time divided into three ſects or factions, upon the ſubject of fate and free-will. The three parties were Phariſees, Sadduces, and Eſſenes. The Phariſees held that men were cocnluded under a fatality in ſome caſes, and left at liberty in others, either to do, or not to do, as they pleaſed. The Sadduces did not allow of any fatality at all, in what caſe ſoever; but that every man has it in his own power to make his condition better or worſe, according as he takes right or wrong meaſures; whereas the Eſſenes, on the other hand, acknowledg'd no other power than that of an over-ruling deſtiny, working according to the predeterminations of an irreſiſtible fate: but we have ſpoken more particularly to this point in our hiſtory of the Jewiſh wars, B. ii.

See the hiſtory of the Jewiſh wars, B. ii. chap. 7.

Demetrius's troops march toward Jonathan, and Jonathan advances to oppoſe them, 1 Mac. xii. 24, 25.

Demetrius's commanders were now advancing toward Jonathan, at the head of a better army than they had before, in hopes of retrieving the reputation they had loſt by their late overthrow; but Jonathan having intelligence that they were approaching, made all the haſte he could to meet them at Amathis, with a reſolution to oppoſe their paſſage into Judea, encamping himſelf within * fifty furlongs of the enemy, and ſending ſcouts abroad for diſcovery how they were poſted, and which way they bent their deſign. Upon the return of the ſpies with the beſt information they could get, and ſome priſoners they had taken that night, Jonathan found that the deſign was to ſurprize him in his quarters; ſo that he put every thing immediately into a poſture of defence, planted his watches and out-guards to the beſt advantage, and kept his men in arms and in heart all that night; telling them the whole matter beforehand, to the end that if they ſhould be attack'd, they might not be ſurpriz'd. When the officers of Demetrius came to underſtand that the plot was diſcover'd, it put them to their wits end what to do next; for their ſtratagem being diſappointed, they were not in a condition to encounter him by open force. Upon this pinch they could find no better ſhift than to ſlip away by night, and under the countenance of ſeveral fires, to cover their retreat. The next morning by dawn of day Jonathan march'd up with a reſolution to force the camp; when finding it abandon'd, he poſted away after the fugitives as faſt as he could, but to no purpoſe; for they had gotten over the river Eleutherus, into a place of ſafety, before he could reach them. He took his courſe next into Arabia, ravaged the country of the Nabatheans; took a great many cattle and priſoners, and ſold them at Damaſcus.

Jonathan hath intelligence of a deſign to beat up his quarters, V. 26, 27.

But the enemy gave him the ſlip by night, Ver. 28, 29.

Jonathan poſts after them, but cannot overtake them, Ver. 30.

He ravages Arabia, V. 31.

Simon marches to Aſkalon, and ſo to Joppa, ſecuring all as he goes, Ver. 33.

Simon at the ſame time took a progreſs through Judea and Paleſtine, as far as Aſkalon, where he gariſon'd all places of defence; and after fortifying and ſecuring the country, marched to Joppa, took poſſeſſion of the place, and clapt a ſtrong guard upon it, to keep the inhabitants in awe, that would otherwiſe have betray'd the town to Demetrius.

Jonathan and Simon fortify the city and temple, Ver. 35--38.

Matters being in this diſpoſition, Jonathan and Simon returned to Jeruſalem, where the high-prieſt ſummoning the people together into the temple, put them upon repairing the ruinous walls, both of the city, and thoſe about the holy place; fortifying them, upon the main, with high and ſubſtantial towers; adviſing them alſo to erect another wall to cut off all communication betwixt the caſtle and the city; recommending it to them, over and above, to put good gariſons into other convenient places up and down, and keep the country in a defenſible condition. The people were highly pleaſed with the reaſons of all he ſaid; ſo that he made it his own province to take care of the city, and committed the reſt to his brother.

Demetrius, being gotten over the river, advanced into Meſopotamia, with a deſign of making himſelf maſter, not only of the country, but of Babylon itſelf; propoſing alſo, upon the reducing of the upper provinces, to make that quarter the ſeat of the war; for the Greeks and Macedonians thereabouts had ſent him ſeveral embaſſies and invitations to come over to them, with aſſurances, that upon his appearing, they would range themſelves under his obedience, and aſſiſt him with their arms againſt Arſaces the king of Parthia. Encouraged by theſe hopes Demetrius moved immediately toward them, concluding it would be an eaſy matter to beat Tryphon out of Syria, after one home blow given to the Parthians. In the ſtrength of this confidence Demetrius poſted away immediately towards him, and was received upon his arrival by the people of that country, with all the cheerfulneſs imaginable, where he put himſelf at the head of a brave army, and made war upon Arſaces; by whom he was utterly routed, his whole army deſtroy'd, and himſelf taken priſoner, as we have ſaid formerly in another place.

Demetrius makes war upon Arſaces, loſes his army, and is taken priſoner, 1 Mac. xiv. 1--3.

CHAP. X.

Demetrius being made priſoner, Tryphon aſpires to the crown, by removing Jonathan and Antiochus. He works upon Jonathan's credulity, and moſt villanouſly betrays him; makes him a priſoner in Ptolemais, and cuts off a thouſand of his people.

The fall of Demetrius encourages Tryphon to ſet up for himſelf, 1 Mac. xii. 39.

THIS miſcarriage of Demetrius put an end to Tryphon's pretended faith and allegiance to Antiochus: his buſineſs being now only to conſider how he might remove his maſter out of the way, and ſet up for himſelf. This could not be effected, he thought, ſo long as Jonathan (a true friend to Antiochus) was in a condition to oppoſe it: ſo that the firſt thing to be done, was to contrive how to take off Jonathan. To which end he went from Antioch to Bethſan, (in Greek, Scythopolis) where he found Jonathan with forty thouſand choice men, ready at hand to ſerve him in caſe of need. Tryphon, finding him in this ſtrength and poſture, made uſe of preſents and fair words to inveigle and impoſe upon him, when he ſaw

His plot upon the life of Jonathan to the deſtruction of Antiochus, Ver. 42--45.

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* Fifty furlongs were about ſix Engliſh miles and a quarter.

there

Tryphon betrays Jonathan under a mask of friendſhip, 1 Mac. xii. 46-48.

there was no good to be done by downright force. He gave it in charge to his officers, to pay the ſame reſpect and obedience to Jonathan that they did to himſelf: propounding, by theſe ways of inſinuation, to cover the treachery of his falſe heart, and to create in him ſuch a truſt and confidence as might probably expoſe him, for want of caution, to a mortal credulity and ſurprize. Paſſing from one thing to another; till at laſt, in regard all things were now at peace, he ſaid, and the war at an end, he put it into Jonathan's head to diſcharge his army, as a burden there was no occaſion for; but ſtill adviſing him to retain a competent guard about his perſon, and that they might go together to Ptolemais, for he was reſolved to put him in poſſeſſion of that city, and all the fortreſſes thereabouts; "for (ſays he) I am now come hither on purpoſe to deliver thoſe places into your hands." Jonathan was too innocent to ſuſpect ſo baſe a villany; inſomuch that caſting himſelf wholly upon the ſincerity and good faith of Tryphon, he diſmiſs'd his army, all but three thouſand men, whereof he left two in Galilee, and carry'd the third along with him in company with Tryphon to Ptolemais. He was no ſooner enter'd the town with his people, but the inhabitants, according to their inſtructions, ſhut their gates upon him, took Jonathan alive, and cut off all his ſoldiers, every man of them. Part of the army was afterwards ſent to Galilee, with an intent to maſſacre the other two thouſand there, as they had done their fellows; but they having timely notice of their treachery to Jonathan, betook themſelves to their arms immediately upon the report, and ſo made their eſcape. Tryphon's ſoldiers were ſo well ſatiſfy'd in the reſolution of theſe men as to the contempt of death and danger, that they let them go off without any interruption; and ſo return'd back again as they came.

Jonathan made a priſoner by treachery, in Ptolemais; and a thouſand of his men cut to pieces, ib.

CHAP. XI.

Tryphon keeps Jonathan a priſoner, and Simon ſupplies his command. He turns the inhabitants of Joppa out of the town. Tryphon enters Judea, and offers to ſet Jonathan at liberty for a ſum of money and hoſtages. Simon delivers the money and the hoſtages; but Tryphon breaks faith with him, and orders Jonathan to be put to death. The people chuſe Simon unanimouſly to ſucceed him. He demoliſhes Gaza, Joppa, Jamnia, and the citadel of Jeruſalem; laying the very mountain it ſtood upon under the command of the temple.

Jeruſalem in ſorrow and conſternation for Jonathan's impriſonment and diſaſter, V. 52.

THE news of Jonathan's impriſonment, and the maſſacre of the people that attended him; the loſs, in fine, of ſo great a man, and a perſon ſo neceſſary to the Jews, both for his valour and conduct, ſtruck the inhabitants of Jeruſalem, not only with an inconſolable affliction, out of the love they bore him, but with a terrible apprehenſion over and above, of the miſeries they lay expos'd to in the conſequence of his death: even to the hazard of the whole nation, by letting looſe thoſe enemies upon them, on this occaſion, that ſtood in awe of them before. This was the thing they fear'd; and they were not much out in their conjecture: for ſo ſoon as they came afterward to hear that Jonathan was put to death, their neighbours all aſſociated againſt them, as men without a head, and utterly deſtitute; the general being loſt, and no other commander qualify'd to exerciſe his charge. Nay, Tryphon himſelf got an army together to make an inroad with it upon Judea. But Simon obſerving what a conſternation the people were in, for fear of new broils, and out of an affectionate zeal to keep up their hearts againſt the practices of Tryphon, he call'd the people together, and addreſs'd himſelf to them in the following manner:

Tryphon prepares for an incurſion into Judea, 1 Mac. xiii. 1-2.

Simon animates the people to ſtand up for their liberties, and offers himſelf for their general. Ver. 3-6.

"I NEED not tell you, (ſays he) my friends and countrymen, how vigorouſly and frankly I myſelf, my father, and my brethren, have expoſed ourſelves to the uttermoſt difficulties and hazards for our common liberty; ſo that it is no new thing in our family, to lay down our lives in the defence of our laws and our religion; neither am I ſo inſenſible of the authority of theſe domeſtick examples, as to be wrought upon by any terror to the ſacrificing of my honour and my duty, for the ſaving of my life. Wherefore, without looking any farther for a leader, you have a man here before you, that is ready to do or to ſuffer all things that are great and glorious, for your preſervation and welfare; do but you only follow where I ſhall lead you. I do not reckon myſelf to be better than my brethren, neither do I value my life at a higher rate than they have done theirs before me; nor am I ſo degenerate, as to think of ſaving that life by cowardice, when my country and my religion are at ſtake; which our family has ever accounted as the moſt heroical of their adventures, to part with upon the ſame occaſion. No, no, my friends and brethren, it ſhall never be ſaid that I have derogated from the dignity of our family. I make no doubt at all yet, but that God in his good time will, even by my hand, avenge you upon the heads of your enemies; deliver you, with your wives and children, from your oppreſſors, and vindicate the holy temple againſt all the abominations and violences of your malicious perſecutors. And what is it, in fine, that encourages this preſent confederacy againſt you, but that they look upon you as ſheep without a ſhepherd; that is to ſay, an army without a leader?"

THE multitude were ſo inflam'd at this ſpeech and declaration of Simon, that they preſently took courage and confidence upon it; ſuſpended their fears, and reviv'd their ſpirits with the hope of better things: ſo that they all cried out with one voice, "None ſo fit as Simon to ſucceed to the command of his brave brothers, Judas and Jonathan; and therefore let Simon be our general, and whatever he commands ſhall be obey'd." The new general got as many of his people together as were fit to bear arms, and ſo fell to work upon the walling of the city, and the fortifying of it with ſtrong and ſtately towers; and that being over, he ſent Jonathan the ſon of Abſalom, a particular friend of his, to Joppa, with order to turn the inhabitants out of the town, for fear they ſhould deliver it up to Tryphon: while he himſelf continued at Jeruſalem to look to the city.

Simon commands in Jonathan's place Ver. 8.

The inhabitants of Joppa turn'd out of town, for fear of betraying it to Tryphon, Ver. 11.

Tryphon marches into Judea, and takes Jonathan along with him in bonds, 1 Mac. xiii. 12.

Tryphon offers Jonathan his liberty for an hundred talents of ſilver, and two of his ſons in hoſtage, Ver. 14-16.

Simon ſuſpects treachery, Ver. 17.

Tryphon takes the money and the hoſtages, and keeps Jonathan ſtill a priſoner, Ver. 19.

Tryphon was now upon his march with a great army from Ptolemais; and coming into Judea, he brought Jonathan with him in bonds. Simon met him with his troops near the city of Addida, upon a mountain that overlooks the plain. When Tryphon came to underſtand that the Jews had choſen Simon for their general, he ſent meſſengers to him to try if he could circumvent him alſo by a trick. And ſo he ſent him word, that if he had a mind to have his brother Jonathan diſcharg'd, let him ſend him a * hundred talents of ſilver, and two ſons of Jonathan along with it for hoſtages, that when he ſhould be ſet at liberty, he ſhould not ſeduce Judea from their allegiance to the king; Tryphon ſuggeſting that he was now to be kept in cuſtody, only till the king's money ſhould be paid. Simon knew well enough there was a cheat in it: but conſidering, on the one hand, though he run the danger of loſing the money without obtaining his brother's releaſe, beſide the delivery of his ſons to the mercy of an enemy, yet there occurred difficulties on the other hand no leſs perplexing; for he was afraid that upon his denial of the money for a ranſom, or the ſons for hoſtages, he ſhould be branded with the calumny of his brother's death. Upon this deliberation, he call'd a council, told them Tryphon's demands; giving his opinion alſo beforehand, that there was treachery in the bottom: but intimating however, that it would be better to ſend both the money and the ſons, at a venture, than to incur a ſuſpicion, upon not hearkening to Tryphon's conditions, of being leſs zealous than he ought to be for the ſafety of his brother. So the reſolution was taken to ſend both: tho' Tryphon, after he had receiv'd them, broke his faith, and refuſed to releaſe Jonathan; ranging up and down with his army, and ravaging the country, till he came at laſt to Dora, a city of Idumea, with an intention to make that his way to Jeruſalem; Simon keeping up with him ſtill wherever he went, camp againſt camp.

The citadel of Jeruſalem is hard preſſed, V. 21.

Tryphon deſigns to relieve it; but is hinder'd by a prodigious fall of ſnow, Ver. 22.

Tryphon puts Jonathan to death, Ver. 23.

Simon orders a ſolemn mourning for him, and a glorious monument, and ſeven pyramids, Ver. 24-30.

While Tryphon was upon the way, word was brought him from Jeruſalem, that the gariſon was ſore diſtreſs'd for want of proviſions, and that they deſir'd he would immediately haſten to their relief. Upon this intelligence, he order'd his horſe to be in readineſs, for he would march without any delay to their ſuccour; but there fell ſo great a ſnow that night, that the ways were all cover'd and impaſſable, eſpecially for horſe. Upon this diſappointment he decamp'd, and went back to Cele-Syria; and paſſing through the country of Galaad, cauſed Jonathan, near the city of Baſca, to be ſlain, and buried there: and from thence he return'd to Antioch. Simon took care however to remove Jonathan's bones to his father's ſepulchre at Modin, with the ſolemnity of a publick mourning, where he erected a glorious monument of white poliſh'd marble to the honour of his family. It was raiſed upon an eminence that overlooks the whole country thereabouts, and encompaſſed with arched walks, reſting upon admirable pillars, each of one entire ſtone. He raiſed alſo ſeven pyramids for his father, mother, four brothers, and himſelf, one for each: a work ſo wonderful, both for the ſtate and beauty of it, that it is yet to be ſeen, and hath the reputation of a celebrated piece even to this day.

Jonathan govern'd the people as prince and high-prieſt for four years, Simon ſucceeding him.

Simon the benefactor and patron of the nation, Ver. 42.

He lays Gazara, Joppa, Jamnia, and the tower of Jeruſalem all in rubbiſh, Ver. 43, &c.

He demoliſhes the mountain itſelf that the caſtle ſtood upon, for the ſecurity of the temple, ibid.

This may ſuffice to ſhew the care and zeal of Simon in doing right to the honour of his family, by ſo magnificent a monument; and moſt particularly to the memory of Jonathan †, who had now governed the people in the quality both of prince and of high-prieſt for the ſpace of four years, his brother Simon, by the univerſal ſuffrage and conſent of the people, ſucceeding him. In the firſt year of his promotion, he deliver'd them from the tributes he formerly paid to the Macedonians; and this was in the year 170, from the coming of Seleucus Nicanor to the kingdom of Syria. Now Simon had gain'd ſo great an eſteem and authority among the people, that they dated their writings, as well private as publick, in ſuch or ſuch a year of Simon the governor of the Jews, with this addition, And the moſt deſerving patron of the nation. For under his adminiſtration all things ſucceeded well, both in war and peace, by the advantages be brought to his friends, and by the victory he obtain'd over the common enemy; deſtroying the cities of Gazara, Joppa, and Jamnia; laying the citadel of Jeruſalem level with the ground; and taking it moreover into his care, how to prevent the ſame inconveniences again for the time to come: that is to ſay, by putting it out of condition of either annoying the town, or of ſerving for a place of protection to fugitives and rebels. In order to this end, he gave his advice for the digging up and plaining of the mountain itſelf that the caſtle ſtood upon, ſo as to leave the temple upon the advantage of the higher ground. Upon this conſideration, he call'd a congregation, and laid before them what damage they had already ſuffer'd from this caſtle, and what Inconveniences they might reaſonably expect from it over again for the time to come, if ever it ſhould fall into the hands of an enemy prince. This plain and ſhort way of reaſoning wrought ſo effectually upon the multitude, that they were preſently, one and all, for demoliſhing the mountain. They fell immediately to work upon it, and ply'd it ſo hard night and day for three years ſucceſſively, without intermiſſion (doing duty by turns) that in the end, by the force of indefatigable labour, they brought it under the command of the temple.

CHAP. XII.

Tryphon murders Antiochus, and is choſen king. His ſoldiers go over to Cleopatra, who marries Antiochus Soter; and he makes war upon Tryphon, and overthrows him in a pitch'd battle, chaſes him out of Syria, and beſieges him in Dora. He makes a league with Simon the high-prieſt, who aſſiſts him in the ſiege. Tryphon gets away to Apamia, where he is taken and ſlain.

Tryphon puts his pupil privately to death.

Soon after the taking Demetrius Nicanor priſoner, Tryphon ſecretly murder'd his

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* An hundred Jewiſh talents weighed eleven thouſand four hundred and ſix pounds, three ounces; and in value amounted to thirty four thouſand two hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen ſhillings, of our money.

† Scaliger, in his notes upon Euſebius, ſuſpects this place to be corrupted in the original; and corrects it ſo as to make Jonathan die in the fourteenth year of his pontificate, and when he had governed the nation eighteen years.

Tryphon makes an intereſt for himſelf,

and is choſen king.

Tryphon anſwers his name in his manners, i. e. a diſſolute wretch

The ſoldiers go over to Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius.

Cleopatra marries Antiochus Soter, the brother of Demetrius.

Antiochus drives Tryphon out of Syria, 1 Mac. xv. 25.

A league of alliance betwixt Demetrius and Simon.

Tryphon taken and ſlain.

pupil Antiochus, the ſon of Alexander, (whom they treated with divine honours) in the fourth year of his guardianſhip, giving it out that it was only an unlucky accident in his exerciſes, that brought him to his end. While this rumour was freſh, Tryphon made an intereſt among the ſoldiery, by the force of friends and money, to diſpoſe them toward the choice of himſelf for their next governor. Demetrius, they ſaid, was a priſoner to the Parthians, and Antiochus would never forget the deſerters of his brother. By this artifice of inſinuation, Tryphon prepar'd his way to the crown; and there needed not much argument in the caſe, when all people judg'd it would be the making of every man's fortune, that ſhould give his voice for the making of this man king; ſo that they advanc'd him to the throne without any more ceremony. This elevation made a diſcovery of that ill-nature in him, now he was a king, which he had concealed all this while in the capacity of a private man, the better to compaſs his ends by diſſembling with the people. So ſoon as ever he had gain'd his point, the maſk was taken off, and he ſhew'd himſelf to be a true Tryphon (or a diſſolute wretch) in his manners, as well as in his name; and his adverſaries laid hold of it very much to his diſadvantage; for the ſoldiers grew quickly weary of his humour, and went over to Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius who had then ſhut up herſelf in Seleucia with her children, while Antiochus, (otherwiſe called Soter, and the brother of Demetrius,) went ſkulking up and down from place to place, and ſcarce any body daring to receive him, for fear of Tryphon. Now Cleopatra, what with the encouragement of the military men that deſerted him, the inſtance and perſuaſion of friends, and the apprehenſion ſhe herſelf had of the Seleucians giving up the town to Tryphon, ſhe ſent a meſſenger to Antiochus, with a propoſal of marriage, and a tender of her kingdom to him, as well as of her perſon. Antiochus forthwith embraced the propoſition; and upon cloſing with Cleopatra on thoſe terms, the people came in to him in ſuch numbers, that in a ſhort time he was maſter of a marching army, and made war upon Tryphon, overcame him in a battle; and beating him out of Syria, purſued him to Phenicia, begirting him at laſt in Dora, a very ſtrong and a well-fortified hold. He ſent ambaſſadors alſo to Simon the high-prieſt of the Jews, upon a treaty of amity and alliance, who frankly accepted of his terms, and ſoon after ſent him a ſupply of proviſions and monies for the carrying on of the ſiege, which was a ſervice at that time ſo acceptable to Antiochus, that he look'd upon him as the beſt friend he had in the world; but Tryphon, in the end, made an eſcape out of Dora, and fled to Apamia, where the town was taken, and himſelf ſlain, after he had held the government three years.

CHAP. XIII.

The treachery of Antiochus againſt Simon, who ſtill gets the better of him; contracts a new alliance with the Romans, and ſettles the government in peace.

Cendebeus marches with an army againſt Simon, Ver. 38, 39.

Simon baffles him upon ſeveral encounters, 1 Mac. xvi. 8—10. He renews a league with the Romans, and after that lives at peace, 1 Mac. xiv. 16—19.

ANTIOCHUS being naturally covetous, and conſequently ungrateful, was now ſo far from acknowledging the good offices Simon had done him, that he ſent an army under the command of Cendebeus, to lay Judea waſte, and to ſeize upon his perſon. The ſenſe of this perfidious indignity put the good old man ſo far out of patience, that forgetting the infirmities of his age, he marched immediately at the head of an army with the reſolution of a hero in the prime of his youth and vigour, to engage the enemy; ſending his ſon before him with ſome of his choiceſt troops, and himſelf following by ſeveral ways with the reſt, planting his ambuſhes every where up and down in the avenues, and all things ſucceeding to his heart's content; for he had ſtill the better of it upon every encounter; renew'd his league with the Romans, and liv'd at peace afterward all the days of his life.

CHAP. XIV.

Ptolemy treacherouſly murders his father-in-law Simon. He ſeizes his wife and two children; John (call'd Hyrcanus) the third, eſcapes to Jeruſalem, where he is receiv'd and protected, and Ptolemy denied entrance.

Simon treacherouſly murder'd by his ſon-in-law Ptolemy, 1 Mac. xvi. 11—17. His wife and two children made priſoners, and the third eſcapes to Jeruſalem, Ver. 22.

WHEN Simon had been eight years governor of Judea, he was treacherouſly murder'd, in the end, by his ſon-in-law Ptolemy *, upon an invitation to a treat. He had got his wife and his two ſons priſoners already, and had his ruffians abroad alſo to take his third ſon John, otherwiſe called Hyrcanus, and kill him; but the young man having ſeaſonable notice of the danger, took ſanctuary in Jeruſalem, where the people were doubly kind to him, partly for the love and veneration they had for the memory of his father, and in part for the utter averſion they had to Ptolemy, whom they bravely repulſed upon an attempt to enter at one gate, becauſe they had already received Hyrcanus at another †.

CHAP. XV.

Hyrcanus ſucceeds to the pontificate. Ptolemy beſieg'd in the caſtle of Dagon. The mother and brethren of Hyrcanus expoſ'd upon the battlements, and threaten'd to be caſt down, unleſs Hyrcanus withdrew. The glorious reſolution of the mother, who is put to death by Ptolemy, with her two ſons, while he flies for protection to Zeno, (otherwiſe Cotyla.)

Ptolemy retires to the caſtle of Dagon.

UPON this affront Ptolemy withdrew himſelf to a certain caſtle not far from

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* This fact is recorded ſomewhat differently in 1 Mac. xvi. where 'tis ſaid, "Simon and his two ſons Mattathias "and Judas were all three ſlain by Ptolemy at a banquet, without making any mention of his wife."

† With this chapter endeth the hiſtory of the Bible. The remaining part of the Antiquities therefore are to be read with more caution, ſince the authors and records our author has followed are of later date, and much leſs authentic.

Jericho,

Hyrcanus ſucceeded his father in the pontificate.

Jericho, called Dagon. Hyrcanus at the ſame time enter'd upon the pontificate, and officiated in it as ſucceſſor to his father. The firſt thing he did, was to offer up prayers and ſacrifices in due manner and form; and that duty being over, he marched away to the aſſault of the fort; where the only difficulty he met withal, was to contend with the natural piety and tenderneſs he had for his mother and his brethren, whom Ptolemy expoſed from the top of the wall, whipping and tormenting them in the ſight of all the people, with menaces to caſt them headlong from the battlements, unleſs Hyrcanus preſently quitted the ſiege. Now the other computing with himſelf, that the eaſier he was to the town, the eaſier Ptolemy would be to his relations, this thought put him to a little ſtand upon the firſt impreſſion, which way to incline; but his mother ſeeing him look and act as if he were deliberating and relenting, called out to him aloud, and encourag'd him both with her hand and voice, to make a right uſe of that barbarous ſpectacle, and without any regard to her's and her children's ſufferings, to do himſelf and his family right, in a juſt vengeance upon the head of that execrable monſter; for ſhe herſelf deſired nothing more than to expire in her torments, upon condition that that unnatural tyrant might be plagued and puniſhed according to his deſert. The generous and provoking bravery of this woman raiſed the ſpirits of Hyrcanus to the higheſt degree of reſolution to puſh forward the aſſault. But finding that the more they preſs'd upon the fort, the fiercer Ptolemy was upon his mother, all other reſentments of rage and revenge gave way to the over-ruling ſoftneſs of a dutiful ſon; ſo that by theſe pauſes and intervals, irreſolution and diſtraction, the ſiege was drawn out at length till the ſabbatical year came on, the ſeventh year being a year of reſt to the Jews, as well as the ſeventh of days; ſo that Ptolemy was now deliver'd from the war and the ſiege; and thereupon putting to death the mother and the brother of Hyrcanus, he withdrew to Zeno, ſirnamed Cotyla, a tyrant who had at that time uſurped to himſelf the government of Philadelphia.

The ſabbatical year, or the year of reſt.

Ptolemy puts to death the mother and the two ſons.

CHAP. XVI.

Antiochus beſieges Hyrcanus in the fort at Jeruſalem. He grants the Jews a ſeven days truce. Hyrcanus moves him in favour of the Jews, who comes to terms with him, and raiſes the ſiege. Hyrcanus makes an alliance with Antiochus; and, according to Nicolaus of Damaſcus, does him great ſervice in the Parthian war. Antiochus is defeated and ſlain, and the kingdom of Syria deſcends to his brother Demetrius.

Antiochus breaks into Judea, forces Hyrcanus into Jeruſalem, and beſieges him in it.

ANTIOCHUS had not as yet either forgotten or forgiven the repulſes and diſgraces he had formerly receiv'd from Simon the father of Hyrcanus; ſo that he made an inroad into Judea in the fourth year of his reign, the firſt of Hyrcanus*, and the hundred and ſixty ſecond Olympiad, where he firſt ravaged the country, and then drove Hyrcanus into the city itſelf, dividing his army into ſeven bodies round about it. They advanced little or nothing at the beginning, the walls being very ſtrong, and the defendants valiant. The camp was for ſome ſhort time diſtreſs'd for want of water; but that defect was plentifully ſupplied by a great fall of rain. Upon a thorough conſideration of the matter, they found the town moſt acceſſible upon the north ſide of it, and therefore bent their force principally upon that quarter, raiſing a hundred turrets of three ſtories high againſt them, which were well lin'd with ſoldiers to carry on the attack. They had likewiſe drawn a double circumvallation of a great length and depth, to cut off the means of communication and relief. But this did not hinder the defendants yet from making frequent ſallies, and doing execution too, when at any time they ſaw the beſiegers looſe or careleſs upon their guard; or, however, if they found them in a poſture to receive them, they could make their retreat good at pleaſure. There were a great many unprofitable mouths in the town, that only waſted their proviſions, without doing any manner of ſervice; ſo that Hyrcanus taking this into conſideration, ſeparated thoſe that were fit to bear arms from the reſt, and turn'd all the uſeleſs people out of the city; where, betwixt Antiochus on the one hand, that ſtopt them from going any further, and Hyrcanus on the other, that would not let them come in again, the poor wretches ſaunter'd away their time under the wall, till many of them periſhed for want of bread.

The enemy's approaches and attacks.

All unprofitable people turn'd out of town.

IT ſo fell out, that it was now the time of feaſt of tabernacles; and upon the occaſion of this feſtival, theſe miſerable creatures were admitted into the town again; whereupon the inhabitants addreſs'd themſelves to Antiochus, only to grant a truce for ſeven days, in honour of the ſolemnity; which out of a conſcience of religion, he allow'd them at firſt word; and he did not only gratify them in their requeſt, but ſent them magnificent preſents of beaſts over and above for ſacrifices; as bulls with gilded horns, cups of gold and ſilver, repleniſh'd with all ſorts of precious ſpices and perfumes; and, in fine, treated them with an entertainment much different from that of Antiochus Epiphanes; who, in affront to their religion, upon the taking of the temple, ſacrific'd hogs upon the altar, and prophan'd the holy place with porridge made of ſwines fleſh, in a flat defiance and contempt of their laws and ceremonies, which prov'd the ground of an animoſity betwixt them never to be reconcil'd; whereas the preſent Antiochus had the character and ſirname of the Pious given him by all ſorts of people, in honour of the reverence he had for religion.

Antiochus ſirnamed the Pious.

Hyrcanus ſolicites Antiochus for liberty for the Jews.

HYRCANUS took encouragement upon this inſtance of the king's juſtice and goodneſs, to move him by an embaſſy on the Jews behalf, for the liberty only of living one with another, according to the laws and cuſtoms of their own country. The court faction, on the contrary, were for having them wholly cut off and rooted out, as an inſociable ſort of people, that would be thought holier and wiſer than their neighbours, and valued themſelves upon a ſingularity from the reſt of the world, in

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* And the ſecond of the hundred and ſixty firſt Olympiad, according to the reading of Petitus in his Eclog. Chronolog. lib. ii. c. 6. See Scaliger's notes upon Euſeb. p. 135. Ed. Commelin.

their

The king comes to an agreement with him.

their lives and manners. But the king had too great a reſpect for their piety and behaviour, to put them to extremities; ſo that he ſent word back to Hyrcanus, that upon condition the beſieged ſhould deliver up their arms, undertake for the taxes of Joppa, and the reſt of the cities about Judea, and receive a gariſon into the town, of his appointment, he was ready to put an end to the war upon their own terms. The Jews agreed to all, but the receiving of the gariſon, in regard of the ſcruple they made of intermixing with ſtrangers; but for a compoſition to be eaſed of that article, they propoſed rather to give the king hoſtages for the performance of covenants, and five * hundred talents over and above, which the king accepted of; three hundred of them being paid down upon the nail in part; and the brother of Hyrcanus one of the pledges. Upon the finiſhing of this treaty, the works and the battlements were thrown down, the city diſmantled, and the ſiege rais'd.

The city diſmantled, and the ſiege withdrawn.

Hyrcanus takes three thouſand talents out of David's tomb.

Hyrcanus after this cauſed the monument of David to be open'd, (the richeſt prince that ever was upon the face of the earth,) where he made a ſeizure of † three thouſand talents to his own uſe, and furniſh'd himſelf with foreign mercenaries, being the firſt of the nation that ever entertain'd an army of ſtrangers. In the next place he enter'd into a league with Antiochus, invited himſelf and his army into the city, where he gave them a ſplendid and a moſt magnificent reception, and follow'd him afterward with his auxiliaries into the Parthian war, as we have it upon the authority of Nicolaus Damaſcenus in terms to this purpoſe: "Antiochus, upon the routing of Indates the "Parthian general, erected a triumphal arch "upon the bank of the river Lycus, where "he reſted two days at the requeſt of Hyrcanus a Jew, being juſt at the time of one "of their feſtivals, upon which day they "made a conſcience of travelling." The hiſtorian was in the right as to this particular; for the feaſt of pentecoſt fell out at that time, to be juſt the next day after the ſabbath, and it is not lawful for us to take a journey upon either of thoſe two days.

He ſtrikes a league with Antiochus, and follows him into the Parthian war.

Antiochus loſes his life and his army in a battle with Arſaces. His brother Demetrius ſucceeds him.

Antiochus, in fine, came to a battle with Arſaces, the king of the Parthians, in which action he left both his life and his army. His brother Demetrius, after him, ſucceeded to the kingdom of Syria, being now ſet at liberty by Arſaces, upon this invaſion of Antiochus, of which we have ſpoken heretofore.

CHAP. XVII.

Hyrcanus makes himſelf maſter of Idumea, and brings over the people to the Jewiſh laws and diſcipline, and contracts a new alliance with the Romans. Demetrius is beaten out of the field, and flies to Ptolemais for protection; and thence to Tyre, where he is made a priſoner, and put to death. A league betwixt Alexander and Hyrcanus. Alexander routed and kill'd in a battle with Antiochus Gryphus. Antiochus Gryphus and Antiochus Cyzicenus (two brothers) perpetually in war one with another.

Upon the death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus marches immediately into Syria.

HYRCANUS, after the death of Antiochus, march'd away immediately with his army into Syria, preſuming within himſelf, as afterward it prov'd, that he ſhould find the country in ſome meaſure deſerted and unmann'd. In ſix months time, though with ſome difficulty, he took in Medaba; and after that, Samega, and other places thereabouts; and then Sichem and Garizin, with the land of the Chuthites, where the temple ſtood, that with Alexander's leave, was built after the model of that at Jeruſalem by Sanballat, one of his governours, to gratify his ſon-in-law Manaſſes, the brother of the high prieſt Jaddus, as we have ſaid before; which temple was deſtroy'd about two hundred years after. Hyrcanus took alſo ſeveral ſtrong places in Idumea, as Adora and Mariſſa; and at laſt, when he had ſubdued the whole province, made proclamation for all people to depart the land that would not ſubmit to be circumcis'd: So that rather than quit their country, they not only comply'd in the point of circumciſion, but in a conformity alſo to all the other rites and ceremonies of the Jews: And that was the firſt time they were reckoned among the Jews.

He ſubdues the whole province of Idumea.

Hyrcanus the high prieſt, being now about to renew a league with the Romans, ſent his ambaſſadors to the ſenate, with letters upon that ſubject. Theſe letters being read and debated, an amity was concluded in manner, and upon the conditions following: "Fanius "the ſon of Marcus Prætor, called a ſenate "in the field of Mars, on the eighth of the "ides of February; preſent Lucius Manlius "the ſon of Lucius Mentina, and Caius Sempronius the ſon of Caius Falerna, upon the "buſineſs of the embaſſy of Simon the ſon of "Doſitheus; Apollonius the ſon of Alexander, and Diodorus, the ſon of Jaſon, perſons "of honour and probity, and deputed by the "nation of the Jews to treat about an alliance, "and other publick matters with the ſenate of "Rome: Whereupon it was agreed that Joppa, and the ports Gazara with the fountains, and other places that had been taken "away by Antiochus contrary to a decree of "the ſenate, ſhould be all reſtored, and the "king's ſoldiers not to paſs thorough either "that, or any other part of the Roman territory without leave: That whatever had been "done by Antiochus in the late war, ſhould "be declared void, and commiſſioners apointed to take an eſtimate of what the people "had ſuffer'd in their lands and goods by his "depredations; and to ſee ſatisfaction made "for all loſſes." Upon theſe conditions, the ſenate was pleaſed to accept of the propoſals, that were preſented them by theſe honourable perſons, in the name of their good friends and allies,

Articles of alliance betwixt Hyrcanus and the ſenate of Rome.

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* Five hundred Hebrew talents weighed fifty ſeven thouſand, thirty one pounds, three ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to an hundred ſeventy one thouſand ninety three pounds, fifteen ſhillings, Engliſh money. Three hundred talents weighed thirty four thouſand two hundred and eighteen pounds, nine ounces; and in value amounted to one hundred two thouſand ſix hundred and fifty ſix pounds, five ſhillings.

† Three thouſand talents weighed three hundred forty thouſand one hundred ſixty ſeven pounds, ſix ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to one million, twenty ſix thouſand, five hundred ſixty two pounds, ten ſhillings, of our money. A ſtory ſo very improbable to be true, that Joſephus has incurr'd the cenſure of ſeveral learned men for taking notice of it.

allies, the people of the Jews. As to the matter of returning an anſwer in form, it ſhould be done, they ſaid, at their firſt leiſure, and care taken that no wrong ſhould be offer'd them for the future. Fanius had orders likewiſe to furniſh the embaſſadors with money for their charges back again, out of the publick ſtock; which he did accordingly, with recommendatory letters over and above, to all governours and officers in their way, for the convenience and ſecurity of their paſſage.

Ptolemy ſends Alexander Zebina to make war upon Demetrius.

WHILE matters ſtood thus with Hyrcanus the high-prieſt, there was no want of good-will in Demetrius to pick a quarrel with him, if he had but had ſeconds to ſtand by him in it; but for the Syrians, and his own ſoldiers, they hated him to that degree for his lewdneſs, that they join'd in a confederacy againſt him, making it their requeſt to Ptolemy, otherwiſe called Phyſcon the king of Egypt, only to ſend them ſome branch or other of Seleucus's family, and they would make him king. Upon this application, Ptolemy ſent them one Alexander, ſirnamed Zebina, with a conſiderable body of men. It came to a battle, and Demetrius being routed, he fled to his wife Cleopatra, who was then at Ptolemais, for protection; but the gates being ſhut againſt him, he fled to Tyre, where he fell into the hands of his enemies, who kept him a while in the anguiſh of a miſerable life, and then put him to death.

A league betwixt Alexander and Hyrcanus.

ALEXANDER ZEBINA being now poſſeſſed of the kingdom of Syria, enter'd into a league with Hyrcanus the high-prieſt, who was engaged ſome ſhort time after, in a war with Antiochus Gryphus, the ſon of Demetrius. They brought it to a battle, and it was Alexander's hap to be ſlain in the engagement. Antiochus, by this providence, came to be king of Syria; but durſt not as yet make any attempt upon the Jews; for he heard that Antiochus Cyzicenus (a brother he had of his own name) was at that very time drawing an army together againſt him at the town of Cyzycus. Wherefore without attempting any thing againſt the Jews, he thought it moſt adviſable to keep himſelf upon his guard againſt his brother, who was called Cyzicenus, from the name of the place where he had his education. The father of this man was Antiochus Soter, who loſt his life in an expedition againſt the Parthians. Now Cleopatra, as we have ſaid already, had been wife to the two brothers. Upon the coming of Antiochus Cyzicenus into Syria, the brethren were perpetually at war the one with the other, and Hyrcanus conſequently in the poſſeſſion of a profound peace; for after the ſlaughter of Antiochus he fell off from the Macedonians, and had no more to do with them, either as an ally, or as a ſubject. But in the days of Alexander Zebina, affairs proſpered with Hyrcanus according to his own heart's content, and more yet in the reign of the two brothers: For while they were haraſſing one another, Hyrcanus enjoy'd the revenues of Judea to himſelf, whereby he hoarded up an ineſtimable maſs of treaſure; beſide that while Cyzicenus lay ravaging the country, on the one hand; and his brother had no relief all this while out of Egypt on the other, he fairly left them to themſelves to confound one another; which was the very thing he aimed at, and ſo deſpis'd them both.

Alexander ſlain in a battle with Antiochus Gryphus.

Antiochus Gryphus and Antiochus Cyzicenus.

CHAP. XVIII.

Hyrcanus beſieges Samaria. A miſerable famine there. Antiochus Cyzicenus preſſes to relieve it. Ariſtobulus puts him to the rout, and then goes back to Samaria to continue the ſiege. Ptolemy ſends Antiochus ſix thouſand Egyptians, that ravage the country of Hyrcanus. Antiochus commits the war to Callimander and Epicrates. The former is routed and ſlain, and Scythopolis betray'd by the other. Samaria taken and laid waſte. Chelcias and Ananias are Cleopatra's confidents and captains. Hyrcanus treats the Phariſees. Eleazar affronts him. Jonathan inflames Hyrcanus againſt him; whereupon he goes over to the Sadducees. The death of Hyrcanus.

HYRCANUS, under theſe circumſtances, marched with an army up to the ſtrong city of Samaria, call'd Sebaſte, after its being rebuilt by Herod, of which we ſhall ſay more in convenient time and place. Hyrcanus was ſo irritated againſt the Samaritans by the indignities they had put upon the people of Mariſſa, who were inhabitants and allies of Judea, though ſubject to the king of Syria, that he reſolved to attack the place with all the vigour imaginable. Upon ſitting down before it, he begirt the town with a large ditch, and a double wall of eighty * furlongs compaſs, and gave the conduct of the ſiege to his ſons Antigonus and Ariſtobulus, who plied it ſo hard, and kept them in ſo cloſe, that they were forced by extremity of famine to keep life and ſoul together with carrion and dogs meat; ſo that in the end they implor'd the aſſiſtance of Antiochus Cyzicenus, who came in all haſte upon their requeſt; but being routed by Ariſtobulus, and purſued by him and his brother as far as Scythopolis, he made a very narrow eſcape. The brethren, after this action, returned to Samaria, and forcing the people into the town again, renew'd the ſiege, which put them upon an application to the ſame Antiochus once again for ſuccour, who prevailed with Ptolemy, ſirnamed Lathurus, for a matter of ſix thouſand men; but ſo much againſt his mother's will and approbation, that he was within a very little of loſing his kingdom for it. With this band of Egyptians, Antiochus went at firſt ranging and ravaging up and down the country of Hyrcanus, not being at that time in a condition to look him in the face. Now the thing he aim'd at, was by this diverſion to draw him from the ſiege; but what with ſurprizes, deſertions, and other caſualties, he found his party in a ſhort time ſo ſhrunk and weaken'd, that he committed the charge of the Jewiſh war to Callimander and Epicrates, and went off from thence himſelf to Tripoli. Callimander, after this, with more bravery than diſcretion, ventur'd upon a raſh encounter, where his people were wholly cut off, and himſelf ſlain: Epicrates at the ſame time treacherouſly betraying Scythopolis and ſeveral other neighbouring towns there, for money, to the Jews; ſo that, in fine, there

Hyrcanus lays ſiege to Samaria.

A terrible famine in the town.

Antiochus Cyzicenus marches toward their relief.

Ariſtobulus gives him a defeat.

Antiochus with ſix thouſand Egyptians ravages Hyrcanus's country.

Antiochus leaves the manage of the war to Callimander and Epicrates.

Callimander's people cut off upon an encounter, and himſelf ſlain.

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* Eighty furlongs were ten Engliſh miles, and an hundred and twenty paces.

Samaria taken after a year's ſiege.

No memorial left that ever there was ſuch a place.

A voice from heaven tells Hyrcanus of his ſons victory.

was no poſſibility of relieving the place. Hyrcanus had been a full year before Samaria when he took it, and it was not enough, he thought, to be maſter of the city, without razing the very memory of it from off the earth; for he not only made it a heap of rubbiſh, but drew ſeveral trenches of water through it, which ſo disfigur'd the face of every thing, that there was not the leaſt mark left of any building that had ever been there. There goes a wonderful, if not an incredible ſtory of this ſame Hyrcanus the high-prieſt; which ſays, that upon the day of the battle which his ſons had with Cyzicenus, it was revealed to him by a voice from heaven, as he was alone in the temple, and offering incenſe, that his ſons had gotten a freſh victory over Antiochus. He went out immediately, and told the people what he had heard, which was confirm'd a while after beyond all diſpute. This was computed to be juſt upon the preciſe inſtant of the ſucceſs; and let this ſuffice for the ſtate of things at that time with Hyrcanus.

The Jews proſper every where.

Chelcias and Ananias, two of Cleopatra's captains and counſellors.

See Strabo the Cappadocian.

The Jews found this a favourable ſeaſon for them, not only at Jeruſalem, but at Alexandria alſo, and the reſt of Egypt, Cyprus, &c. For the queen Cleopatra, upon a difference with her ſon Ptolemy Lathur, committed the command of her troops to Chelcias and Ananias, the ſons of that Onias who erected a temple in the territory of Heliopolis, after the platform of that at Jeruſalem, of which we have ſpoken before. Theſe two perſons were the queen's adviſers and directors in all ſhe did, as we have it upon the credit of Strabo the Cappadocian, in words to this effect: "A great many of thoſe, ſays he, that either came formerly with us to Cyprus, or were ſent thither afterward by Cleopatra, immediately quitted the queen's intereſt, and went over to Ptolemy; only the Jews that were of Onias's party, ſtood firm, out of a reverence they paid the queen for the reſpect ſhe ſhew'd to Chelcias and Ananias, their friends and countrymen." Thus far Strabo.

Hyrcanus envied by the Jews and Phariſees.

The wonderful credit of the Phariſees with the common people.

Hyrcanus treats the Phariſees.

Now the credit and good fortune of Hyrcanus drew upon him, in a high meaſure, the envy of the Jews, the Phariſees eſpecially, who had no great kindneſs for him before; but this is a point that I have formerly touch'd upon. The authority of that faction, in fine, is ſo ſacred among the common people, that let them treat their king, or their high-prieſt, at never ſo coarſe a rate, the multitude would be ſure to approve their proceedings. Hyrcanus, however, having been train'd up in that ſchool, and being look'd upon as a perſon much in their favour, took a fair occaſion to invite them to an entertainment, where he treated them with all poſſible humanity and reſpect. So ſoon as good company and good cheer had put them into the humour of a free and open converſation, he took the opportunity to make them a ſhort diſcourſe ſomewhat to this following effect: "I need not tell you, ſays he, my worthy friends, that a man of your own principles, deſires nothing more than to approve himſelf acceptable to God, and juſt to his neighbour, which is but according to the reſult of your own doctrine; but if you ſhall find, however, that I have in any thing departed from my duty, as it is your part to admoniſh and inſtruct me, I ſhall account it mine to amend and reform." This generous candor was received with ſuch applauſe, that Hyrcanus did not a little value himſelf upon the reputation of ſo honourable a teſtimony.

After ſome ſhort pauſe, Eleazar, one of the gueſts, an ill-natur'd malicious man, ſtood up and broke ſilence. "Since you are pleaſed, ſays he to Hyrcanus, to profeſs yourſelf ſo great a lover of truth and plain dealing, be but ſo juſt alſo as to lay down your pontificate, and content yourſelf with the character of your civil adminiſtration." "And I beſeech you, ſays Hyrcanus, why this propoſal?" Becauſe, ſays the other, we "have been told by our elders, that in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, your mother was a ſlave." Now the report was falſe, and ſo much the more offenſive, as well to the Phariſees, as to Hyrcanus himſelf. There happened to be in the company, one Jonathan, Hyrcanus's particular friend, but a Sadducee, and conſequently a mortal enemy to the Phariſees. This Jonathan would needs have it that the calumny of Eleazar was a thing concerted, and that the Phariſees were all privy to it. Now this you will find to be true, ſays he, if you do but put it to them what puniſhment they think a man may deſerve for ſo ſcandalous a defamation. Hyrcanus put the queſtion, to feel how they ſtood affected, and whether or not they were privy and conſenting to the affront. Their anſwer was, being men generally inclin'd to mercy in ſuch caſes, that they did not find defamation to be a capital crime, and ſo they thought whipping and impriſonment might ſerve for ſatisfaction. This way of qualifying the matter put Hyrcanus into a violent paſſion, and gave him to underſtand, that they had every one of them their part in this infamous reflection upon his family. Jonathan plied Hyrcanus in this heat, and embitter'd him againſt the Phariſees to ſuch a degree, that he abſolutely renounc'd the ſect, and went over to the Sadducees; abrogating all their ordinances and conſtitutions, with a penalty upon thoſe that ſhould preſume to obſerve them. This was it that put both himſelf and his ſons quite out of credit with the common people, as will be ſeen in its proper place. We are here to take notice, that the Phariſees had many traditions handed down from father to ſon, which are not to be found among the laws of Moſes. Now theſe traditions are rejected by the Sadducees, upon a perſuaſion, that only the written laws are authoritative and binding. We are now come to the very root of the main controverſy betwixt the two parties, the Sadducees being ſupported by men of quality and ſubſtance; the Phariſees only by the favour of the multitude. But of theſe ſects, and of the Eſſenes, a full account may be ſeen in our hiſtory of the Jewiſh wars, B. II.

Eleazar paſſes a bitter reflection upon Hyrcanus.

Jonathan, a Sadducee, irritates Hyrcanus againſt the Phariſees, who renounces them, and turns Sadducee.

The great men ſide with the Sadducees, and the multitude with the Phariſees.

The remainder of Hyrcanus's life, after the compoſing of this ſedition, was happy and quiet to the very day of his death, which happened in the year of his government thirty one. He left behind him five ſons, and God was pleaſed to honour him with three eminent dignities; the civil government of the Jews, the high-prieſthood, and the ſpirit of prophecy; foretelling by a divine revelation, that his two eldeſt ſons ſhould not long enjoy the government

Hyrcanus govern'd one and thirty years, and left five ſons; foretelling that the two eldeſt ſhould not be long liv'd.

ment after the death of their father. It ſucceeded in the event according to his prediction; but it will be worth the while, for the credit of his preſage, to ſhew how they came to their end.

CHAP. XIX.

Ariſtobulus the eldeſt ſon of Hyrcanus, makes himſelf to be crown'd king. Antigonus, the ſecond brother, is his favourite. He keeps the other three brothers in priſon, and ſtarves his mother. Antigonus is put to death, and his death foretold by one Judas a prophet, both for time and place. Ariſtobulus ſeiz'd with a horror of conſcience, and a vomiting of blood, which he confeſſes to be a juſt judgment upon him.

Ariſtobulus changes the Ariſtocracy into a monarchy.

He takes Antigonus into the government with him.

His barbarous cruelties.

He puts Antigonus to death upon the inſtigation of his enemies.

A malicious calumny.

A plot of the queen and the conſpirators upon his life.

Antigonus murder'd in Straton's tower.

A ſtrange prediction of one Judas, concerning his death, with the very time and place.

HYRCANUS being now dead, his eldeſt ſon Ariſtobulus form'd a reſolution of new modelling the government, and turning the principality into an abſolute monarchy; ſetting the crown accordingly upon his own head. This happen'd four hundred and eighty one years and three months after the return of the Jews from the captivity of Babylon. He had ſo great a tenderneſs for Antigonus, his next brother, that he made him a kind of a partner with him in the government. The other three he kept all this while in bonds; caſting his mother into priſon alſo, whom he look'd upon as a rival upon a pretence of claim, Hyrcanus having left her at his death, the miſtreſs of all he could confer upon her. His cruelty, in ſhort, was ſo horrid and unnatural, that he ſtarv'd his mother to death in her confinement, and afterward put his dearly beloved brother and favourite Antigonus himſelf to death, only upon the malicious ſuggeſtions of evil tongues. It was a good while before he would give any heed to thoſe invidious ſtories, in regard both of the affection he had for Antigonus, and that in his conſcience he look'd upon them all to be only the inventions of malevolence and envy; but Antigonus happening once to return from the army in great pomp and glory, juſt upon the ſolemnity of the feaſt of tabernacles, Ariſtobulus at the ſame time lying ſick in his bed, his brother Antigonus went up to the temple, with his guards about him, in mighty ſplendor and ſtate; only upon the account of religious worſhip, and in the firſt place to offer up his prayers and vows for the health of his brother. The fame and reputation of Antigonus, and the magnificence of his parade upon this occaſion, furniſhed as fit matter for a faction of ſycophants and court-paraſites to work upon, as they could wiſh; ſo that they went immediately to the king, with all the virulent pretences and aggravations they could think of. "This was not a behaviour, they ſaid, that became the condition of a private man, but rather a moſt notorious evidence of a deſign upon the crown; and that the guards he had then about him, would in a ſhort time advance from this invaſion upon his royalty, to a violence upon his perſon; and he was not ſo impolitick neither as to ſtop at a part of the government, when he might have it whole to himſelf." Ariſtobulus was ſo divided betwixt the fear of being either too ſecure, or too credulous, that though he could not believe every thing they told him, he could not yet but ſuſpect there might be ſomething in it upon the main, and ſo took a middle courſe of providing for his ſafety, without ſeeming to be jealous of any danger. He had his apartment in a tower that hath been ſince known by the name of Antonia, where he poſted a guard in a dark place under ground, with particular orders, that they ſhould watch his brother in his paſſage, and that if he came without arms, no body ſhould meddle with him; but if he came armed, they ſhould kill him. So Ariſtobulus ſent for his brother to come to him, charging the meſſenger to bid him come without arms; but the queen, and the reſt of the conſpirators tamper'd with the meſſenger, and bad him tell Antigonus on the contrary, that his brother had heard of a very brave ſuit of armour he had gotten, and that he had a great mind to ſee how they became him. Antigonus depending wholly upon the good faith of his brother, and ſuſpecting no treachery, went immediately armed, juſt as the meſſenger found him, to ſhew himſelf. Upon his coming to the tower of Straton, the ſoldiers fell upon him in a dark paſſage, and ſlew him. This diſaſter may ſuffice to ſhew the force of envy and ſlander, and how the very beſt of natures may be corrupted by thoſe temptations. But the moſt wonderful circumſtance of all was the prediction of one Judas, a famous prophet of thoſe times, whoſe preſages never fail'd. This Judas, upon the ſight of Antigonus, coming to the temple, broke out into exclamations among his diſciples, that he was now weary of his life; for Antigonus, whoſe death he had preſag'd upon that very day at Straton's tower, was yet alive; the place ſix * hundred furlongs off, and the day more than half ſpent; ſo that he had utterly loſt the credit of a prophet for ever. While he was in this perplexity for the reputation of his oracle, came the news of Antigonus's being ſlain in a ſubterranean paſſage under the tower. Now this was call'd Straton's tower, it ſeems, as well as that upon the coaſt, which was afterwards known by the name of Ceſarea; and this ſalvo ſet the prophet right again.

Ariſtobulus ſtruck with a remorſe of conſcience.

Ariſtobulus vomits blood.

His laſt agony, and confeſſion of his wickedneſs.

THE thought of this execrable murder wrought upon Ariſtobulus immediately a conſcientious deteſtation of the fact, and enflamed his diſtemper, inſomuch that his agonies increaſing upon him, he fell at laſt into a vomiting of blood; and as one of his ſervants was carrying part of it away in a baſon, by a ſtrange providence he made a ſtumble upon the way, and ſpilt it upon the very blood of his maſter's brother. There was ſuch an outcry upon this accident, (as if the ſervant had done it on purpoſe,) that Ariſtobulus himſelf over-hearing it, could not be eaſy till they told him the meaning of it; and the more unwilling they were of owning the truth, the more eager was he to know it, as men are naturally more curious in ſuch caſes. But in the concluſion, betwixt importunity and menace, he extorted it from them, and in the horror of an afflicted conſcience, enter'd with groans and tears into an anxious expoſtulation upon it to this purpoſe: "No, no, ſays he, the all-ſeeing eye of God hath found me out in my wickedneſs, and my brother's blood hath already brought down a vengeance upon me. How long ſhall this ſhameleſs carcaſs

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*Six hundred furlongs amounted to near ſeventy ſix Engliſh miles.

“caſe of mine entertain a life ſo juſtly forfeited to the aſhes and memory of my dear mother and brother! Why do I not rather die once for all, than bleed to death thus drop by drop, as if my ſufferings could be an atonement for the foulneſs of a parricide!” He had no ſooner uttered theſe words than he gave up the ghoſt, having govern'd only one year, under the ſirname of Philellen; that is to ſay, A lover of the Greeks. He brought many advantages to his country; made war upon Iturea, and laid a conſiderable part of it to the territory of Judea, forcing the people, upon pain of baniſhment, to ſubmit to circumciſion, and to live in a conformity to the other rites and practices of the Jews. He was accounted to be otherwiſe a perſon of modeſty and juſtice, as Strabo vouches for him out of Timagenes, in theſe words: “He was a righteous man, and in many reſpects a friend to the Jews; for he enlarged their juriſdiction by annexing to it Iturea, uniting the people alſo into one common bond of circumciſion.”

A good man upon the main, and a friend to the Jews.

CHAP. XX.

Salome, the widow of Ariſtobulus, ſets the three brothers at liberty, and places Janneus Alexander upon the throne. Alexander puts one of his brothers to death, and provides for the other. He beſieges Ptolemais: Ptolemy Lathur advances to relieve them; but they ſhut their gates upon him. Alexander quits the ſiege, and plays a politick game betwixt the intereſt of Cleopatra and Ptolemy. Ptolemy ſets down before Ptolemais, and takes the city Azochis by aſſault.

Salome ſets the three brothers at liberty, and advances the eldeſt to the throne.

Hyrcanus contracts a mortal averſion for Alexander, upon a dream.

AFTER the death of Ariſtobulus, his wiſe Salome, (by the Greeks called Alexandria) ſet the brothers at liberty, whom her huſband had made priſoners (of which already) and placed Janneus, otherwiſe called Alexander, upon the throne; the eldeſt, and the moſt temperate of the three. It was his ill hap to incur his father's averſion, almoſt as ſoon as he was born, to the degree of not being ſuffer'd to appear in his ſight. The reaſon, they ſay, was this: Hyrcanus had a dream one night of God's appearing to him, and that upon his enquiry who ſhould ſucceed him in the government, he was anſwered with the lively repreſentation of the perſon, and ſo the viſion diſappear'd. Ariſtobulus and Antigonus were his favourites; and Hyrcanus finding that neither of them was deſign'd by this figure, he apply'd it to Alexander, under the affliction of a double diſappointment, in regard both of the dignity and of the fortune, falling, as he accounted it, into a wrong hand. Upon this occaſion, Alexander was ſent away to be brought up in Galilee; but the event however anſwer'd the prediction; for Alexander, upon the death of Ariſtobulus, enter'd upon the adminiſtration; and taking off one of his brothers that would have ſupplanted him, treated the other with great honour in the contented ſtate of a private life.

Alexander cuts off one of his brothers, and provides for the other.

So ſoon as he had ſettled the ſtate to his mind, he marched with an army to Ptolemais, where he encounter'd a body of the enemy in the field; beat them into the town, and then coop'd them up in it. There was only this place and Gaza, of all the ſea-coaſt towns that ſtood out, beſide Dora, and the tower of Straton, in the hands of Zoilus. As for Antiochus Philometor, and his brother Antiochus Cyzicenus, they were ſo engaged and waſted in a war one with another, that there was no thought of any relief to the people of Ptolemais from them. But Zoilus, that play'd his own game all this while, and lay upon the catch to make advantage of theſe diviſions, ſent them ſome ſort of aſſiſtance, though not much to the purpoſe. It was at this time with the two enemy-kings as it is with a couple of ſword-men fighting a prize: they were ſo intent upon cutting one another down, that they never thought of any thing elſe; and let them be never ſo much batter'd and weary'd, there muſt be no yielding at laſt; but when they have fought as long as they can ſtand, their way is to lie down by conſent to take breath, and to it again. The beſieged, in fine, had no proſpect of any hope or poſſibility of relief, but from Egypt, and eſpecially from Ptolemy Lathur, that had been driven out of his kingdom by his mother Cleopatra, and was now withdrawn into Cyprus: ſo that they preſently ſent away embaſſadors to Ptolemy to deſire his aid againſt Alexander; making no doubt, they ſaid, but as ſoon as ever he ſhould ſet foot in Syria, the people of Gaza and Ptolemais would all declare in his favour; beſide that, Zoilus, the Sidonians, and other people thereabouts, would be ſure to join with him over and above. The king was ſo elevated with theſe aſſurances, that he ſent his people immediately upon the equipping of a fleet for the expedition: but while this was a doing, one Demenetus, a perſon of great credit with the citizens of Ptolemais, brought the people, upon ſecond thoughts, to a better underſtanding of the matter, by reaſoning with them about it after this manner. “The queſtion, ſays he, in ſhort, will be this; whether you had not better ſtand to the fate of the war you are engag'd in with the Jews, and venture the uncertain iſſue of it, than by calling in and delivering yourſelves up to the protection of a foreign power, to incur a certain ſlavery; and not only become involved in a preſent broil, but run the riſque of a more dangerous incumbrance that threatens you from Egypt; for you cannot think that Cleopatra will ever ſtand ſtill, to ſee Ptolemy form his troops into a body; but the queen will rather get beforehand with him, and have a potent army at his back, before he is ready for it; beſide the hazard he runs of being driven out of Cyprus too. Or to take it another way; ſuppoſe Ptolemy ſhould fail in his deſign, and be forced back again to Cyprus, there are you left to ſhift for yourſelves, expos'd to the greateſt dangers and difficulties that can be.”

He lays ſiege to Ptolemais; which with Gaza, Dora, and the tower of Straton, under Zoilus, did yet ſtand out.

An embaſſy to Ptolemy Lathur for relief.

Ptolemy upon this equips a great fleet. Demenetus puts off the people from treating with Ptolemy.

THIS diſcourſe brought them quite off from their opinion of the embaſſy, and Ptolemy was told as much at ſea upon his paſſage; but however, ſince he was now in motion, he continu'd his courſe to Sycamin, where he landed an army of about thirty thouſand horſe and foot, marching thence to Ptolemais, with an intent to ſend an embaſſy to the city; but when he found that they would have nothing to do with him, either by meſſage, or by word of mouth,

Ptolemy lands with 30000 horſe and foot; but citizens will have nothing to do with him.

Alexander quits the ſiege, and betakes himſelf to ſtratagems.

He tampers under hand with Cleopatra, and treats with Ptolemy to deliver up Zoilus.

Ptolemy lays ſiege to Ptolemais.

Ptolemy takes the city of Aſochis by aſſault.

it put him to his wits end what to do next. While he was in this perplexity, there came to him Zoilus, and ſome deputies from Gaza, to implore his help againſt the Jews and Alexander, that were making havock in their country. Alexander, upon this, was forc'd to raiſe the ſiege for fear of Ptolemy: and when he ſaw there was no good to be done by down-right force, he marched his army back again, and betaking himſelf to his politicks, play'd his game another way. He treated with Cleopatra under-hand againſt Ptolemy, and at the ſame time kept fair with Ptolemy, in appearance, under the countenance of a friend and an ally; propoſing to give him four [*] hundred talents of ſilver, upon condition of delivering up the uſurper Zoilus into his hands, and reſtoring to the Jews thoſe lands of theirs, which he had in poſſeſſion. Ptolemy, without any heſitation, embraced the friendſhip of Alexander, and ſiezed upon Zoilus; but coming to underſtand, that there was an intrigue carry'd on all this while betwixt Alexander and Cleopatra, he look'd upon the league as broken, and without more ado, laid ſiege to Ptolemais, where the gates were ſhut againſt him. Upon this, he divided his army, leaving one part of it before the town to make good the ſiege, and marching off with the remainder of it himſelf, to deſtroy the country of Judea. Now, Alexander, on the other hand, to encounter this deſign of Ptolemy, levy'd an army of his own people; ſome ſay of fifty, others of eighty thouſand men, and ſo advanced with it againſt the enemy. Ptolemy, in the mean time, taking the advantage of a ſabbath-day, fell upon Aſochis, a city of Galilee, at unawares, and took it by aſſault with about ten thouſand priſoners, and a vaſt booty.

CHAP. XXI.

Ptolemy Lathur gives Alexander an overthrow, and takes Ptolemais by aſſault. Cleopatra joins with the Jews againſt him, and makes Chelcias and Ananias her generals. Ptolemy is forc'd out of Egypt, and ſlain in the purſuit. Cleopatra reduces Ptolemais, and ſtrikes a new league with Alexander, who takes Gadara and Amathon. Gaza beſieg'd. Apollodotus makes a brave ſally, and is beaten back. Lyſimachus murders him, and betrays the town. A barbarous maſſacre. Alexander returns to Jeruſalem. Antiochus Gryphus ſlain. Seleucus routs Antiochus Cyzicenus; takes him priſoner, and puts him to death. Demetrius Eucerus made king of Damaſcus. The death of Antiochus by the Parthians. Philip and Demetrius ſucceed him. Alexander affronted by his own people; deſtroys ſix thouſand of them, and falls into an ambuſh. A rebellion that coſt the Jews ſix thouſand lives.

Ptolemy attacks Sepphoris, and is beaten off.

The Hecatontomachi.

Philoſtephanus engages them.

Alexander put to the rout, with the loſs of 30000 men.

AFTER the taking of Aſochis, Ptolemy went and attack'd Sepphoris, a place a little way off; where he was repulſed with a conſiderable loſs, and from thence marched directly away to try a battle with Alexander, whom he found about [*] Aſophus near the river Jordan, and encamped juſt over againſt the enemy. Alexander had in his van eight thouſand of thoſe they call Hecatontomachi, armed with brazen bucklers, and Ptolemy's men in the front had the ſame ſort of ſhields; but the generality of his people not being ſo well armed as their adverſaries, were not over-eager of engaging, till one Philoſtephanus, an excellent officer, who had the ordering of them, and underſtood ranging an army perfectly well, led them on and encourag'd them. The firſt word of command was to paſs the river that parted the two armies; which Alexander did not pretend to oppoſe, in confidence of getting the day, if he could but engage the enemy with river behind them to cut off their retreat. When it came to the ſhock, the fortune of the battle was a while doubtful, and it was fought with great loſs on both ſides; till (upon the ſhrinking of a diviſion of Ptolemy's) the victory ſeemed to incline to Alexander: But Philoſtephanus coming up to their relief with a ſeaſonable enforcement, that wing of the Jews was overlaid by numbers, and broken; and no ſuccour appearing, they were forced to ſhift for themſelves, and the whole field preſently followed their example; Ptolemy's men preſſing ſo hard upon the fugitives that their arms were tir'd, and their ſwords blunted with the execution. They ſpeak of thirty thouſand men ſlain in that battle. Timagenes in his hiſtory makes them to be fifty; the reſt either taken priſoners, or ſaving themſelves by flight.

A barbarous butchery of Ptolemy.

Ptolemais taken by force.

AFTER the purſuit of this bloody victory as far as mercileſs rage and day-light could carry it, Ptolemy, in the evening, went into ſome of the Jews villages and habitations; and finding them well ſtock'd and crowded with women and children, order'd his ſoldiers to cut their throats, one with another, promiſcuouſly, and then hack them into goblets and quarters, and ſo boil them in pots and kettles over the fire, for a terror to thoſe that eſcap'd from the battle, when they ſhould find themſelves fallen into the hands of an enemy that liv'd upon human fleſh. Strabo and Nicolaus make mention of this barbarous cruelty. The ſame people took Ptolemais alſo by aſſault, as we have ſaid elſewhere.

Cleopatra levies an army againſt Ptolemy, and makes Chelcias and Ananias her generals.

Ptolemy quits Syria and marches away into Egypt.

CLEOPATRA was ſo ſenſible of the overgrown greatneſs of her ſon, he having reduced Gaza, and laid waſte the land of Judea, that ſhe thought it now high time to put a ſtop to his ambition; eſpecially being come to the gates of Egypt itſelf, with a deſign upon the kingdom too. Upon this precaution, ſhe muſter'd without any delay, all the ſtrength ſhe was able to make, both at ſea and land; conſtituting Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, for generals. She ſent the greateſt part of her treaſure with her grandchildren, and her laſt will and teſtament into the iſle of Coas; and order'd her ſon Alexander with a powerful navy into Phenicia, to keep that province in obedience, while ſhe herſelf went to Ptolemais; and being refuſed admittance, ſhe order'd an aſſault upon the town. Ptolemy, upon this, quitted Syria, and haſten'd away into Egypt; flattering himſelf, that coming ſo unexpectedly, and in the queen's abſence too, he ſhould find the country unguarded; but he was much miſtaken in his ſurmiſe. Cleopatra had the fortune at this time to loſe Chelcias, one of her generals, as he was in the purſuit of Ptolemy in Cele-Syria.

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[*] Four hundred Hebrew talents weighed forty five thouſand ſix hundred twenty five pounds, and their value in ſilver amounted to one hundred thirty ſix thouſand eight hundred ſeventy five pounds of Engliſh money.

[†] It ſhould be Aſochis, according to Ortelius in his Theſaurus Geograph. v. Aſophus.

Chelcias ſlain.

Ptolemy forced quite away out of Egypt.

Cleopatra takes Ptolemais by aſſault, and treats Alexander with great reſpect.

Upon Ptolemy's miſcarriage in this attempt upon Egypt, the queen ſent a ſtrong detachment after him, that drove him quite out of his country, now a ſecond time, and forced him to take up his winter-quarters in Gaza: ſhe herſelf, in the mean time, taking the city and gariſon of Ptolemais by aſſault, where ſhe was highly preſented by Alexander, and the preſenter alſo received with a dignity becoming ſo great and generous a queen, to an unfortunate prince under the perſecution and oppreſſion of a common enemy, and that had no other ſanctuary to repair to. Some of the queen's friends were for perſuading her to follow different meaſures, ſuggeſting to her to make the beſt advantage of her opportunity, by ſeizing Alexander, urging how impolitick it would be to leave ſuch a number of Jews under the command of one ſingle man: but Ananias loudly declaim'd againſt the unreaſonableneſs of ſuch a proceeding, as highly injurious to all the ties and duties of hoſpitality and common faith; eſpecially to a friend and a kinſman, under ſo ſacred a truſt: beſide, that one ſuch act of injuſtice would turn againſt her the hearts of all the honeſt Jews upon the face of the earth. The queen was ſo mightily pleaſed with this plain-dealing ſimplicity of Ananias, that ſhe did not only forbear preſſing any thing that was hard upon Alexander, but renew'd a league of friendſhip with him, at Scythopolis, a city of Cele-Syria.

and renews a league of amity with him at Scythopolis.

Alexander takes Gadara and Amathus.

Theodorus cuts off 10000 Jews by ſurprize.

He beſieges Gaza. Apollododotus makes a ſtout ſally upon the Jews, and an obſtinate defence.

No ſooner did Alexander find himſelf out of the power and fear of Ptolemy, but he immediately undertook an expedition into Cele-Syria; where, after a ſiege of ten months, he took Gadara, and after that, Amathus, by much the ſtrongeſt fort upon the river Jordan, and the place where Theodorus the ſon of Zeno, in an outrage of revenge, fell upon the Jews by ſurprize, cut off ten thouſand of their men, and took Alexander's baggage: but this unexpected diſaſter did not yet divert the king from his deſign upon Raphia, a ſea-coaſt town, and Anthedon, which was afterwards by Herod called Agrippiades; both which he reduced by force. Ptolemy had by this time left Gaza, and betaken himſelf again to Cyprus, his mother Cleopatra alſo being gone back to Egypt: ſo that Alexander took this occaſion of revenging himſelf upon the people of Gaza for calling in Ptolemy to their ſuccour againſt him; laid ſiege to the town, and at the ſame time ravaged their country. While Alexander was before the place, Apollodotus their commander made a ſtout ſally one night with two thouſand mercenaries, and ten thouſand of the citizens well armed, upon the camp of the Jews; and ſo long as it was dark, the beſieged had the better of it, upon an apprehenſion of Ptolemy's being come up with relief: but ſo ſoon as ever they had day-light to ſhew them the truth of the matter, the Jews rally'd, and made ſo furious a charge upon the gariſon, that they deſtroy'd a thouſand of their men: but the courage of theſe people was proof ſtill againſt all the difficulties of number, force, nay, and famine itſelf; being reſolved among themſelves rather to abide all extremities, than to ſhrink, or yield to an enemy. And for a further encouragement to this obſtinacy, they were held in hand by Aretas an Arabian king, with the promiſe of a timely ſuccour. But all came to nothing; for before any ſupply could be brought, Apollodotus was kill'd, and the town taken. This Apollodotus was murder'd by the hand of Lyſimachus, his own brother, out of mere ſpite and envy, for the reputation he had gained among the people. After the fact committed, he got a party together, and ſo deliver'd up the city to Alexander. This prince, upon his firſt entrance, behaved himſelf as if he meant them nothing but moderation, good-will, and fair quarter. But this peaceable humour did not laſt long, for he turn'd his ſoldiers looſe among them immediately after, with a commiſſion at large to kill, burn, and deſtroy at pleaſure. This licence they extended to a direct maſſacre, though it coſt them dear enough too; for there died as many of the Jews, as of the townſmen. Some, in ſhort, ſet fire to their own houſes, that the enemy might not be the better for them; others laid violent hands upon their very wives and children, chuſing rather to have them die free, than live ſlaves. The magiſtracy of the town happen'd to be in council when theſe barbarous troops came into the city, and the ſenators, to the number of five hundred, fled immediately to the temple of Apollo for ſanctuary; but they were all ſlaughter'd to a man, the town ſack'd and levell'd; and Alexander, after a year ſpent before it, returned to Jeruſalem.

Aretas holds the Jews in hand with hopes of relief.

Lyſimachus murders his own brother Apollodotus, and delivers up the town.

A bloody maſſacre.

Alexander goes back to Jeruſalem. The death of Antiochus Gryphus.

Much about this time it was that Antiochus, otherwiſe called Gryphus, was kill'd by the treachery of Heracleon, in the year of his life forty five, and the nine and twentieth of his reign. His ſon Seleucus ſucceeded him, who waged war with his uncle Antiochus, call'd Cyzicenus, whom he worſted and took priſoner in a battle, and put him to death. Antiochus, the ſon of Cyzicenus, whoſe ſirname was Euſebes, came a while after to Arad, where he was crown'd; and makingwar after this, upon Seleucus, he beat him at one battle out of all Syria, whence he fled for ſafety to Celicia: And in requital for the protection he receiv'd among the Mopſeates, he laid heavy taxes and impoſitions upon them, which they took in ſuch indignation, that they put fire to his palace, and burnt maſter and ſervants all together alive.

Seleucus routs Antiochus Cyzicenus; takes him priſoner, and puts him to death.

While Antiochus Cyzicenus was in poſſeſſion of the government of Syria, there was another Antiochus, the brother of Seleucus, who made war upon him, wherein he loſt his life and his army; after which his brother Philip took the crown to himſelf, and govern'd part of Syria. Ptolemy Lathur upon this ſent for his fourth brother Demetrius Eucerus, to Gnidus, whom he conſtituted king of Damaſcus. Antiochus, for the time he liv'd, made a ſtout reſiſtance againſt his brothers; but being call'd upon ſoon after to the aſſiſtance of Laodice, the queen of the Galadenes, who was then in war with the Parthians, he was * ſlain in the field with his ſword in his hand, beha-

Ptolemy makes Demetrius Eucerus king of Damaſcus. Antiochus ſlain by the Parthians.

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* Vaillant in his Nummi Seleucidarum, p. 376. endeavours to ſhew that Joſephus is in a miſtake here.

Philip and Demetrius ſucceeded to the government of Syria.

ving himſelf like a man of honour and reſolution; and after his death the government of Syria deſcended to his two brothers, Philip and Demetrius, as has been ſaid heretofore.

Alexander affronted by his own people.

He puts ſix thouſand of them to death.

He demoliſhes Amathus, and makes war upon Obed.

A ſix year's rebellion that coſt the lives of fifty thouſand Jews.

They call in Demetrius to their aſſiſtance.

There was about this time a moſt ſeditious affront put upon Alexander by his own people. It was a cuſtomary thing among the Jews to march with boughs of citron or palmtrees in their hands upon the celebration of the feaſt of tabernacles, and as Alexander was upon his preparation to ſacrifice, and aſſiſt at the ſolemnity, the multitude fell to pelting him with citrons, and with ſuch provoking language of ſlave, and the like, that in a rage he cauſed a matter of ſix thouſand of them to be put to death, and was forced to ſet up a partition of wood about the temple and the altar, to the very place where only the prieſts were admitted, to keep off the crowd. He made uſe of Piſidians and Cilicians for his mercenaries; but for the Syrians, he did not love them, and durſt not truſt them. He got the better, in fine, of the Arabians; laid the Moabites and Galaadites under contribution, and deſtroy'd Amathus without the leaſt oppoſition from Theodorus. He made war alſo upon Obed the king of Arabia, but falling into an ambuſh near Gadara in Galilee, he was forced by a preſs of camels into the mouth of a narrow craggy paſſage; from whence, with infinite difficulty, he made a ſhift to clear himſelf, and ſo got ſafe to Jeruſalem. This diſaſter of Alexander's was follow'd with a ſix years rebellion, which coſt the Jews no leſs than fifty thouſand lives. The king was weary of the war, and would fain have been at quiet; but the more he ſought for a reconciliation, the further were they from it; inſomuch, that asking them at laſt what it was poſſible for him to do to content them, they bad him with one voice cut his own throat; and thereupon he invited Demetrius Eucerus to their aid.

CHAP. XXII.

Demetrius Eucerus marches againſt Alexander, and defeats him in a battle. His auxiliaries are all ſlain to a man. Six thouſand Jews repair to him in the mountains. Demetrius retires, and the Jews make head againſt Alexander, who ſhuts them up in Bethama, and carries them priſoners to Jeruſalem. Eight hundred Jews put to death for a ſpectacle. Alexander nick-nam'd Thracidas, for his butcherly cruelty. Philip beſieg'd in Berea by his brother Demetrius, who is himſelf aſſaulted in his camp by Zizus and Mithridates, and carried away priſoner to the king of the Parthians. Demetrius dies, and his brother Philip enters upon the government of Syria.

A battle fought betwixt Demetrius, and Alexander worſted.

He retires to the mountains, and ſix thouſand Jews repair to him.

Demetrius withdraws, and the Jews maintain the war againſt Alexander.

Alexander coops them up in Bethama, takes the town, and carries the people priſoners to Jeruſalem.

Eight hundred Jews crucified for a ſpectacle.

Alexander, for his barbarity, nick-nam'd Thracidas.

Demetrius Eucerus, in conjunction with thoſe who called him in, marched to their aſſiſtance with an army of three thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot, and encamped near Sichem, where Alexander, with about ſix thouſand and two hundred foreign mercenaries, and ſome twenty thouſand of his own faction, went out to meet him. The armies being now drawn up, it came to a trial of ſkill upon the point of ſtratagem and addreſs betwixt the two parties, whether Demetrius could bring over more of Alexander's foreigners to him, (being all Greeks,) or Alexander, on the other hand, gain over more of Demetrius's Jews to himſelf. They ſpent ſome time in making uſe of this ſort of policy, but finding that there was no good to be done on either hand that way, they brought it to a battle, and Demetrius got the day; Alexander's auxiliaries doing as much however as it was poſſible for brave men to do; for they died every ſoul of them upon the ſpot with ſword in hand; and the loſs on the other ſide was alſo very conſiderable. Alexander, upon this defeat, was forced to fly to the mountains for refuge; where, by a ſtrange turn of compaſſion for his misfortune, a matter of ſix thouſand Jews came up to him, and join'd him. Demetrius took ſuch an apprehenſion at this enforcement, and the inclinations of the people, that he preſently quitted, and retir'd. But the Jews, after all this, ſtood their ground ſtill, neverthelefs, and carried on the war againſt Alexander upon the ſtock of their own reſolution and credit; notwithſtanding that they were perpetually baffled and cut to pieces as often as they fought. They were forced in the concluſion, with the beſt of their men, to betake themſelves to Bethama for protection, where Alexander coop'd them up; and taking the town, carried the people priſoners to Jeruſalem, where he committed the moſt execrable barbarities that can be imagin'd. As he was feaſting himſelf, and his concubines, in a turret that had the advantage of a large proſpect, he made it part of his entertainment, to treat his company with the ſpectacle of the gibbeting of eight hundred Jews, with their wives and children, and the cutting of their throats in the ſight of one another yet living. It was a terrible provocation, 'tis true, for ſubjects not only to rebel, but to join alſo with ſtrangers againſt their lawful prince, to the extreme hazard of his life and dignity, as this was the caſe; and then to reduce him at laſt to the neceſſity of giving up again to the king of Arabia, what he had taken from the Moabites and Galaadites, as a compoſition not to aſſiſt his revolted ſubjects againſt him; to ſay nothing of other outrages innumerable of the ſame kind. Theſe were all very great provocations, but not ſufficient yet to warrant ſo unnatural an inhumanity. The rigour, in ſhort, was ſo deteſtable, that the Jews gave Alexander the name of * Thracidas for it. There were about eight thouſand of the army, however, that made a ſhift to get away by night, and ſpent their days afterward in a kind of baniſhment, ſo long as Alexander liv'd; but this tumult once over, he had a peaceable reign of it ever after.

Demetrius beſieges Berea, with his brother Philip in it, while he himſelf is attack'd, and taken priſoner in his trenches, and ſent to the king of Parthia.

Demetrius went from Judea to Berea, where his brother Philip was, and with an army of ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, laid ſiege to the town. Straton, the prince of the place, and a friend of Philip's, called in to his aſſiſtance Zizus an Arabian prince, and Mithridates Sinaces, the Parthian general, who with a powerful army attack'd Demetrius, and diſtreſs'd him ſo hard both with darts and arrows, and with drought for want of water, that Demetrius with his people were forced to ſurrender, himſelf being kept a priſoner, and afterwards ſent for a preſent to Mithridates, a Parthian king. What Antiochians were found in the tents, were left at liberty to go back to Antioch. The king of Parthia treated Demetrius with great honour and reſpect; but he ſoon after fell ſick, and died. Philip after this battle immediately repair'd to Antioch, and enter'd upon the government of the whole kingdom of Syria.

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* Becauſe the Thracians were remarkably cruel and bloody, as appears from Thucydides and other hiſtorians.

CHAP. XXIII.

Antiochus Dionyſius makes himſelf king of Damaſcus. His brother Philip, by the help of Mileſius, ſupplants him. The ingratitude of Mileſius, who afterward ſhuts the gates upon Philip, and keeps it for Antiochus. Alexander fortifies all the avenues from Caparſaba, or Antipatris, to Joppa. Antiochus breaks in upon Alexander; a bloody battle enſues; Antiochus is kill'd, and his army routed. Aretas choſen king of Cele-Syria. He falls into Judea, and gives Alexander an overthrow, and then comes to an agreement with him upon terms. Alexander takes in ſeveral places by aſſault; depoſes Demetrius, and returns to Jeruſalem. The large poſſeſſions of the Jews. Pella deſtroyed. Alexander falls ſick of a debauch at the ſiege of Ragaba. Alexander deplores her condition to her husband, who adviſes her to caſt herſelf wholly upon the Phariſees, and ſo he dies.

ANTIOCHUS, otherwiſe call'd Dionyſius, and the brother of Philip, took the opportunity of his brother's being then engaged with his army in an expedition againſt the Parthians; and having an eye upon Damaſcus, got poſſeſſion of the place, and himſelf declared king there. The tidings of this adventure brought his brother Philip immediately in all haſte to Damaſcus, where, by a ſecret intelligence with Mileſius, the governor of the fort, he was quietly received into the town; but to diſguiſe the matter, he gave the officer no reward, for fear he ſhould be thought to come in rather by treachery, than by the force of his authority and credit; but Mileſius was even with him for it afterward; for Philip being abroad once at the Circus for his exerciſe and diverſion, Mileſius ſhut the gates upon him, and reſerv'd the city for Antiochus; who, upon the firſt news of it, poſted inſtantly back again out of Arabia, and with an army of eight thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe, marched directly into Judea. Alexander, upon this incurſion, drew a large and deep ditch from Caparſaba, now called Antipatris, up to the very ſea of Joppa, which was the only acceſſible way to the town. He erected a wall alſo with intervals of ſeveral wooden towers, which he carried on for an hundred and fifty * furlongs in length, and there he waited for Antiochus, who, without more ado, ſet fire to theſe wooden contrivances, and ſo paſs'd his army into Arabia, where the enemy gave way upon the firſt encounter; but advancing afterward with a body of ten thouſand horſe, Antiochus charging in directly upon them, it came to a bloody diſpute; but preſſing in too eagerly to the relief of one of his wings that he found over-power'd, it was his fortune to be kill'd, when he was as good as ſure of the victory. The death of the general diſcouraged the hearts of the whole army, who inſtantly upon his fall fled in a rout to Cana, where the greater part of them periſh'd for want of bread.

Antiochus king of Damaſcus. His brother Philip goes into the town, and ſupplants him.

Mileſius gets poſſeſſion of the place, and preſerves it for Antiochus.

A bloody battle betwixt Antiochus and Alexander.

Antiochus kill'd, and his army routed.

ARETAS next obtain'd the government of Cele-Syria, being call'd and invited thereto by the people of Damaſcus, out of a pure ſpite and oppoſition to Ptolemy the ſon of Menneus. He enter'd Judea with an army, overthrew Alexander near Addida; and then upon conditions betwixt them two, return'd back from whence they came.

Aretas ſucceeds to the government of Cele-Syria.

ALEXANDER went on, and took Dion by aſſault; marching thence to Eſſa, where Zeno's treaſure lay, and all he had that was rich and precious. He ran firſt three walls about it, and then made himſelf maſter of it by ſtorm, as he did afterwards of Gaulana, and Seleucia, the vale of Antiochus, and the fortreſs of Gamala. And in regard that there were many grievous miſdemeanors laid to the charge of Demetrius, formerly the maſter of theſe places, he diveſted him of his royal authority. When he had ſpent ſome three years in this courſe of action, he carried his army back again, to the great ſatisfaction of the Jews, in regard that they ſaw every thing ſucceeded ſo well in his hands.

Alexander takes Dion, Eſſa, and afterwards Gaulana, Seleucia, the vale of Antiochus and Gamala.

THE Jews were at that time in poſſeſſion of Syria, Idumea, and Phenicia; the tower of Straton upon the ſea, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Azotus, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, Rhinocura; and in the midland, of Idumea, Adora, and Mariſſa; all Samaria, and the mountains of Carmel and Itabyr. And beſide theſe, of Scythopolis, Gadara, Gaulanitis, Seleucia, and * Gabala. And in the land of the Moabites, of Eſſebon, Medaba, Lemba, Oron, Telithon, Zara; and in Cilicia, Aulon and Pella. This laſt they demoliſhed for refuſing to conform to the laws and cuſtoms of the Jews. They had likewiſe other conſiderable places in Syria, that came but lately to be under their juriſdiction.

The Jews have a large command.

Pella demoliſhed.

ALEXANDER deliver'd up himſelf toward the end of his reign, to intemperance and debauch, and drank himſelf into a quartan ague, that held him for full three years; but yet at the ſame time he attended the affairs both of his army and government, which betwixt the diſtemper of his wine, and the fatigue of his cares, brought him quickly to his end. He died upon the frontiers of the Geraſens, at the ſiege of the caſtle of Ragaba, on the further ſide of the river Jordan.

Alexander, betwixt debauch and fatigue, dies of a quartan ague before Ragaba.

WHEN the queen Alexandra found him reduced to the laſt extremity, and out of all hope of recovery, ſhe fell into a paſſionate tranſport of weeping, beating her breaſts, and lamenting the miſerable condition of herſelf and children, in terms to this effect: "Alas, "my dear, ſays ſhe, what will become of "your poor helpleſs wife and children now, "without ſo much as one friend in the world "to truſt to, and left in the hands too of "your mortal enemies." "Well, ſays Alex-

Alexandra bemoans the caſe of herſelf and family to her husband.

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* An hundred and fifty furlongs amounted to about nineteen Engliſh miles.

† Card. Noris, in his book de Epocha Syromaced. reads Gamala.

" ander,

Alexander adviſes the queen what to do.

ander, if you would be ſafe and happy when I am dead and gone, and you and your children quietly ſucceed to the government, mind what I ſay now, and be ſure to follow my counſel. In the firſt place keep my death conceal'd from the ſoldiers till the caſtle is taken, and then do you go triumphant to Jeruſalem with the news of it, and make your firſt court to the Phariſees, as the only way to make yourſelf popular; for your character riſes or falls according to their opinion of you; for there are no ſuch friends where they love, or enemies where they hate: whether they ſpeak true or falſe, good or evil, 'tis all a caſe to the multitude, that believes them all alike, whatever they ſay. I ſpeak this upon experience; for it has been my moroſeneſs to this ſect, and nothing elſe, that has turn'd the hearts of the whole nation againſt me; therefore, ſays he, when you come to Jeruſalem, ſend for ſome of the leading men of that party, lay the corps before them, and tell them in words as near the truth as the matter will bear, ſomewhat to this purpoſe; that is to ſay, that out of the reverence you have for their generoſity, piety, and juſtice, you do now deliver up the body to be diſpoſed of as they in their wiſdom ſhall judge meet, whether for ſcorn and infamy, without the rites of burial, or by any other way of exemplary juſtice upon it for paſt indignities, or otherwiſe, at their pleaſure; aſſuring them that you ſhall ever reſign yourſelf to their authority and prudence, not only in this, but in all other matters of a publick nature. Do but follow theſe meaſures, and depend upon it there will be a care taken for the decencies of an honourable and a magnificent funeral, and for the ſettling of yourſelf and your children in the exerciſe of your rightful power. Let them but have the ruling of you, and it will be their buſineſs to eſtabliſh you in a peaceable rule over others." As ſoon as he had given this advice to his wife he died, in the nine and fortieth year of his age, and the twenty ſeventh of his reign.

Alexander dies in the twenty ſeventh year of his reign.

CHAP. XXIV.

The ſtate of Judea under Alexandra. She conſults the Phariſees about her husband's body and the government. Alexander leaves two ſons, Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, and the regency to the queen. Hyrcanus is made high-prieſt. The Phariſees govern in the queen's name. Ariſtobulus remonſtrates againſt them. Several ſtrong holds put into the hands of the male-contents; only Hyrcania, Alexandrias, and Macherus, the queen reſerves to herſelf. Ariſtobulus ſent with an army againſt Ptolemy. Tigranes ſets down before Ptolemais with a prodigious army. Alexandra compliments Tigranes with an embaſſy. Cleopatra makes head againſt him. Lucullus gives Mithridates an overthrow. Tigranes returns with his army. Alexandra falls ſick. The queen's three forts declare for Ariſtobulus. Alexandra claps up his wife and children. The people come flocking into him. Hyrcanus and the elders complain of him to the queen. The death and character of Alexandra.

Alexandra commits all to the Phariſees.

SO ſoon as the caſtle was taken, Alexandra applied herſelf immediately to the Phariſees, according to her husband's directions, leaving the whole affair of the body, and of the government, to their diſpoſal. Upon this inſinuation, the Phariſees, who before had been the greateſt enemies ſhe had in the world, became her greateſt friends; addreſſing themſelves preſently in an harangue to the people upon the glorious exploits of Alexander, the irreparable loſs of ſo juſt a prince; and by theſe rhetorical flouriſhes of condoling, rais'd the paſſions of the multitude to ſuch an extreme pitch of ſorrow, that they thought him worthy of a funeral ſolemnity beyond all that ever went before him.

Alexander leaves two ſons, Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, and the queen regent.

THIS prince left at his death two ſons, Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, but devolved the regency by his laſt teſtament to his wife Alexandra. Hyrcanus, the elder brother, was a lover of his eaſe, and a man not qualified for the cares and adminiſtration of publick affairs. Ariſtobulus, on the contrary, was naturally daring and induſtrious; but the mother all this while was the favourite of the people, for the diſlike ſhe ſhew'd in her husband's life-time to his male-adminiſtration. By her aſſiſtance and advice, Hyrcanus was promoted to the pontificate, not for ſeniority or parts, but upon the account of his natural indolence. Upon the whole matter, the queen did but execute the Phariſees orders; and at the ſame time when ſhe ſign'd and ſeal'd, the other govern'd; nay, and the common people had it in charge to pay them all obedience. She appointed alſo the revival of the Phariſees ordinances and traditions, which her father-in-law had aboliſh'd; and at this rate every thing was done in the queen's name by the others power; for at their inſtance exiles were recall'd, priſoners ſet at liberty, and the like. In ſome few caſes, 'tis true, ſhe acted by her own proper authority; that is to ſay, ſhe kept a mercenary army in pay, and augmented her forces to ſuch a degree, that the kings, her neighbours, ſtood in awe of her, as appear'd by the ſecurity they gave her in hoſtages for their good behaviour. Her reign, in ſhort, would have been quiet enough, but for the troubleſome importunities of the Phariſees, that would ſtill be putting her upon one miſchief or another. As when they preſs'd her for juſtice upon thoſe that adviſed the death of the eight hundred perſons before mentioned; upon which inſtigation, Diogenes was cut off in the firſt place, and ſo one after another, till at laſt ſeveral of the moſt eminent men concern'd went directly in a body to the queen herſelf, with Ariſtobulus at the head of them, who ſhew'd in his countenance, the diſguſt he had at ſuch proceedings, and that he wanted only power and opportunity to bring his mother to reaſon. His followers took this occaſion of remonſtrating to the queen, what proofs they had given their late maſter of their faith and loyalty, through all extremities and hazards, acknowledging alſo the generous returns they had received in honours and rewards for their ſervices; and they were now in hopes, they ſaid, that all this ſhould not be turn'd to their diſadvantage; and after eſcaping the ſwords of their enemies in an open war, to be deliver'd up for ſacrifices like beaſts, to the malice of treacherous enemies at home in a time of peace, and there to periſh without any manner of redreſs. Nay, they ſaid further, that if their adverſaries would but ſtop there, and content them-

Hyrcanus advanced to the pontificate.

The Phariſees direct, and the queen executes.

A proud and a cruel ſort of people.

Ariſtobulus and other eminent men addreſs to the queen againſt them.

themſelves with the blood they had ſpilt already, ſuch was the reverence they had for their ſuperiors, that they would patiently ſit down without ſo much as complaining of any thing that was paſt; but if they ſhould be allowed ſtill to perſiſt, they would only beg leave to withdraw, which, without the queen's permiſſion, they durſt not preſume to do, though they were ſure otherwiſe to loſe their lives, even in the palace itſelf: To ſay nothing how highly it would reflect upon her majeſty's honour to countenance the ſworn enemies of her dead husband, againſt his tried friends; or how welcome a hearing it would be to Aretas the Arabian, and other enemy princes, to find that Alexandra had clear'd her court of a ſort of a people, whoſe very names had been formerly a terror to them. But, ſaid they further to the queen, if this be yet too much, and that you are abſolutely reſolv'd to indulge the pride and ambition of the Phariſees, in preference to all other conſiderations, you may be pleaſed to diſpoſe of us only into caſtles and gariſons elſewhere; for if this be the fate that attends Alexander's friends, we ſhall be content for the remaining part of our lives to live in privacy and obſcurity.

These words and many more to the ſame purpoſe, drew tears from all that were there preſent, partly out of grief for thoſe that were ſlain already, and partly out of an apprehenſion for the reſt that were yet in danger, calling out, in general, upon the ghoſt of Alexander. There was no man ſpoke ſo freely as Ariſtobulus, both upon the main cauſe, and in particular reflections upon his mother. But all this was their own fault at laſt, in gratifying the impetuous paſſion of a malicious woman againſt all right and reaſon, with the reins of government, eſpecially where there was no danger of a failure for want of a ſucceſſor.

Alexandra puts Ariſtobulus in poſſeſſion of ſeveral ſtrong places, ſaving three caſtles to herſelf.
Ariſtobulus advances againſt Ptolemy.

The queen was ſo hard put to it for an anſwer to theſe expoſtulatory propoſals, that ſhe could not do better than to put the malecontents into ſtrong holds and gariſons, upon condition that Hyrcania, Alexandrias, and Macherus, where ſhe depoſited her jewels, treaſure, and rich goods, might be none of them. She ſent her ſon Ariſtobulus a little while after this, with an army toward Damaſcus againſt Ptolemy, ſirnamed Menneus, a very troubleſome prince to his neighbours; but he returned ſoon after from that expedition, without doing any thing of moment.

Tigranes threatens Judea with an army of five hundred thouſand men.
Alexandra ſends an embaſſy to him at Ptolemais.
Cleopatra reſolves to oppoſe him.

While things were in this poſture, came a report that Tigranes the king of Armenia was fallen into Syria with an army of five hundred thouſand men, and with a deſign to march ſuddenly into Judea. Alexandra was ſo ſurpriz'd at this intelligence, (as indeed ſhe had reaſon to be,) that ſhe forthwith ſent ambaſſadors with a compliment and preſents to Tigranes, who was at that time before Ptolemais. The queen Selene, otherwiſe called Cleopatra, who had then the government of Syria, animating her ſubjects to ſtand upon their guard, and to oppoſe Tigranes's entrance into the country. The ambaſſadors acquitted themſelves ſo well toward the king on the behalf of Alexandra and the whole nation of the Jews, that with great inſtances of acknowledgment and good-will for the honour and reſpect of the embaſſy, (and at ſuch a diſtance too,) he gave them an aſſurance of all good offices in return. In ſhort, he took Ptolemais, and was no ſooner maſter of it, but word was brought him of the rout of Mithridates by Lucullus, his eſcape upon the purſuit into Iberia; and that when Lucullus ſaw he could not overtake him, he ſtruck off into Armenia, where he was at that time ravaging and deſtroying the country. Upon this intelligence, Tigranes immediately marched off with his army, and returned home again.

Lucullus routs Mithridates.

Tigranes goes home again.

Alexandra falls ſick.

Ariſtobulus gains the three forts over to him.

Alexandra makes his wife and children priſoners.

Two and twenty caſtles declare for him in fifteen days.

Hyrcanus and the elders preſs the queen for relief.

The queen Alexandra fell ſome time after this into a dangerous fit of ſickneſs, which gave Ariſtobulus as fair an opportunity of playing his own game as his heart could wiſh; ſo that ſlipping out in the night, attended only by one ſervant, he arriv'd privately at the forts and caſtles, where his father's friends were in gariſon, as hath been ſaid already. Ariſtobulus had been a long time very much unſatiſfied with his mother's way of government; but conſidering her preſent indiſpoſition, and the danger of the whole family's lying at the mercy of the Phariſees, in caſe of her death; Hyrcanus, the next in ſucceſſion, being their property and creature to all manner of purpoſes, and utterly unqualified for the exerciſe of any publick charge, he found himſelf more uneaſy under theſe circumſtances than ever. No mortal knew any thing of his deſign but his own wife, whom he left behind him at Jeruſalem, with his children, and ſo went to Agada, where he was very generouſly received by Galeſtes, a perſon of eminent quality there. Alexandra miſs'd him the very next day after his departure, but not ſo much as ſuſpecting what he was about, till they came to underſtand by one meſſenger after another, that this, and that, and t'other fortreſs were gone over to him; and there was no more in it at laſt neither, than as one led the way, for the reſt to follow. This turn put the queen and the people into a deſperate confuſion; for they look'd upon Ariſtobulus as a perſon likely enough to ſet up for himſelf, and in as fair a poſſibility of carrying his point; beſide the diſmal apprehenſion of being call'd to a bloody account for the outrageous barbarities they had committed upon ſeveral of his particular friends. In this conſternation they could think of no better expedient than to ſecure the wife and children of Ariſtobulus under a guard in the citadel, near the temple. While this was in agitation, the people came flocking to him in ſuch throngs, that there ſeemed to be ſomething in it, both of the tumult, and of the pomp of a court. In ſhort, in fifteen days he made himſelf maſter of two and twenty caſtles; and when he had thus ſecured himſelf, both of a ſtand and a retreat, he quickly got an army together from Mount Libanus, Trachonitis, and the princes thereabouts, who were forward enough upon this occaſion to help the ſtronger ſide, in a proſpect of the advantages they might reaſonably expect for the ſervice of raiſing a new king to the throne. Upon this pinch of affairs, Hyrcanus and the elders of the Jews applied themſelves to the queen for advice and directions what to do. They told her that Ariſtobulus, by virtue of the places he had already taken, was as good as maſter of all the reſt; that they found her, to their great grief, in extremity; but, however, ſo long as ſhe liv'd they could do nothing without her, even tho' they ſaw themſelves upon the very brink of ruin. The queen's reply was, "That not "being in condition either of body or mind "to charge herſelf with the publick, ſhe had "laid all thoſe cares aſide, and remitted it "wholly to themſelves, to conſult the ne"ceſſities of the government. They had the "means of defence, ſhe told them, in their "own hands, the ſtrength of the nation en"tire, and wanted neither men nor money." Theſe were her laſt words; and ſoon after ſhe died, in the ninth year of her reign, and the ſeventy third of her life.

The death and character of Alexandra.

This princeſs was a woman of a character even above her ſex, ambitious both of honour and of command, beyond meaſure; but withal, intent upon her buſineſs, and highly induſtrious, to the reproach of the ignorance and male-adminiſtration of but too many maſculine governors. She made the preſent ſtate the greateſt part of her care, without wandering unneceſſarily into the uncertainty of things to come. She kept herſelf ſtrictly to moderation, even in the very ſtretch of her power, and continued living and dying in an untainted reputation for her integrity and juſtice; but in her family ſhe was yet ſo unfortunate, as to leave nothing of that dignity and power to her poſterity, that ſhe had acquired with ſo much difficulty and hazard, only, in truth, to gratify a more than feminine ambition. The thing, in ſhort, that ruin'd all, was the taking of her enemies for her adviſers; by which miſcarriage the government was left without a head. But the miſtakes of her reign appeared more eminently in the calamities that enſued upon them to the royal family after her death. This muſt be ſaid, however, for her, that ſo long as ſhe liv'd, ſhe kept the people in peace. And we are now come to the end of the life of queen Alexandra.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK XIV.

From the Year of the World 3898 *to* 3929.

CHAP. I.

A battle betwixt Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, wherein the former is defeated. They come afterward to an agreement; Ariſtobulus to govern, and Hyrcanus to enjoy his peace and liberty in a private ſtate of life.

THERE is enough ſaid in the foregoing book, of the reign, life, and death of Alexandra: We ſhall now take the following part of the hiſtory, in order as it lies before us; with all poſſible care, as near as we can, neither to ſuppreſs nor to omit any thing material, for want of recollection or information. The memorials of antiquity are much in the dark, and in many caſes tireſome to the reader, as well as obſcure; wherefore whoever enters upon this office, ſhould do well to make the work as eaſy and as entertaining as he can, in the very ornament of ſtile and language; but with a reverence to truth in the firſt place, for fear of abuſing and miſleading the world, under a pretence of informing them.

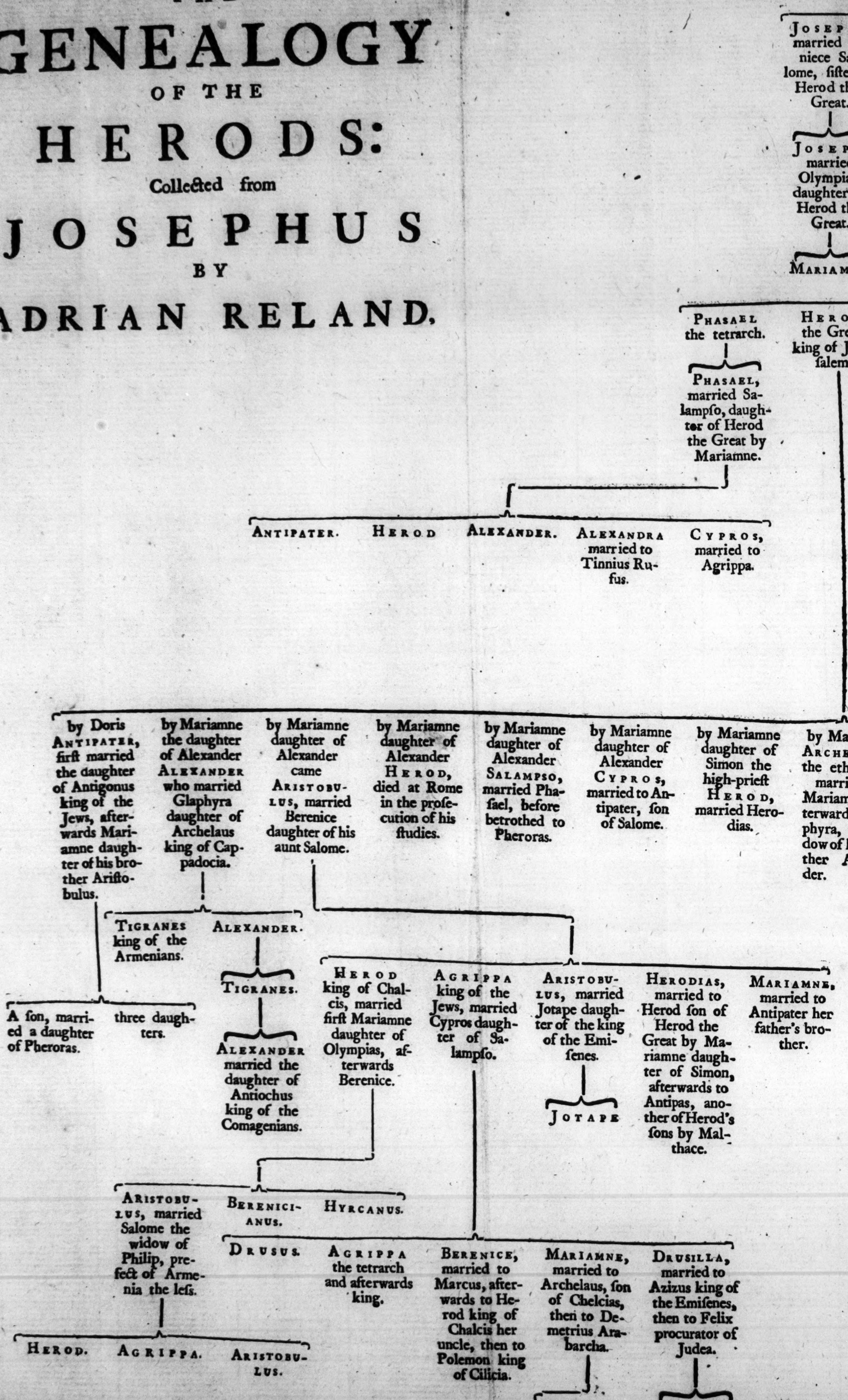
It was in the third year of the Olympiad one hundred and ſeventy ſeven, Q. Hortenſius, and Q. Metellus Creticus, conſuls, that Hyrcanus took upon himſelf the pontificate, and Ariſtobulus immediately made war upon him. They fought a battle at Jericho, and a great many of Hyrcanus's ſoldiers deſerted, and went over to his brother; himſelf being driven into the citadel, where the wife and children of Ariſtobulus were kept priſoners, by the order and direction of his mother, as we have ſaid before; and the remainder of the faction took ſanctuary for a while within the verge of the temple, but render'd themſelves ſoon after. As matters cool'd by little and little, the brothers enter'd upon a treaty of an accommodation, and came in the concluſion to this agreement, that Ariſtobulus ſhould be eſtabliſh'd in the poſſeſſion of the government, and Hyrcanus be allow'd to live at eaſe and liberty upon his own particular fortune, without any moleſtation. This contract was ſign'd and ratified in the temple itſelf, with all the formalities of joining hands, and promiſes reciprocally interchang'd for the performance of covenants, concluding with a mutual embrace in the ſight of all the people, and ſo departing, the one to his palace, the other to his private apartment, under the roof of Ariſtobulus.

Hyrcanus defeated by Ariſtobulus in a battle near Jericho.

They treat, and come to an accommodation.

The articles formally ſign'd and ratified in the temple.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE HERODS:
Collected from
JOSEPHUS
BY
ADRIAN RELAND.



Joſep married niece Sa lome, ſiſte Herod th Great.

Joſep marrie Olympi daughter Herod th Great.

Mariam

Phasael the tetrarch.

Phasael, married Salampſo, daughter of Herod the Great by Mariamne.

Hero the Gre king of J ſalem

Antipater.

Herod

Alexander.

Alexandra married to Tinnius Rufus.

Cypros, married to Agrippa.

by Doris Antipater, firſt married the daughter of Antigonus king of the Jews, afterwards Mariamne daughter of his brother Ariſtobulus.

by Mariamne the daughter of Alexander Alexander who married Glaphyra daughter of Archelaus king of Cappadocia.

by Mariamne daughter of Alexander came Aristobulus, married Berenice daughter of his aunt Salome.

by Mariamne daughter of Alexander Herod, died at Rome in the proſecution of his ſtudies.

by Mariamne daughter of Alexander Salampso, married Phaſael, before betrothed to Pheroras.

by Mariamne daughter of Alexander Cypros, married to Antipater, ſon of Salome.

by Mariamne daughter of Simon the high-prieſt Herod, married Herodias.

by Ma Arche the eth marri Mariam terward phyra, dow of ther A der.

Tigranes king of the Armenians.

Alexander.

Tigranes.

Alexander married the daughter of Antiochus king of the Comagenians.

A ſon, married a daughter of Pheroras.

three daughters.

Herod king of Chalcis, married firſt Mariamne daughter of Olympias, afterwards Berenice.

Agrippa king of the Jews, married Cypros daughter of Salampſo.

Aristobulus, married Jotape daughter of the king of the Emiſenes.

Jotape

Herodias, married to Herod ſon of Herod the Great by Mariamne daughter of Simon, afterwards to Antipas, another of Herod's ſons by Malthace.

Mariamne, married to Antipater her father's brother.

Aristobulus, married Salome the widow of Philip, prefect of Armenia the leſs.

Berenicianus.

Hyrcanus.

Herod.

Agrippa.

Aristobulus.

Drusus.

Agrippa the tetrarch and afterwards king.

Berenice, married to Marcus, afterwards to Herod king of Chalcis her uncle, then to Polemon king of Cilicia.

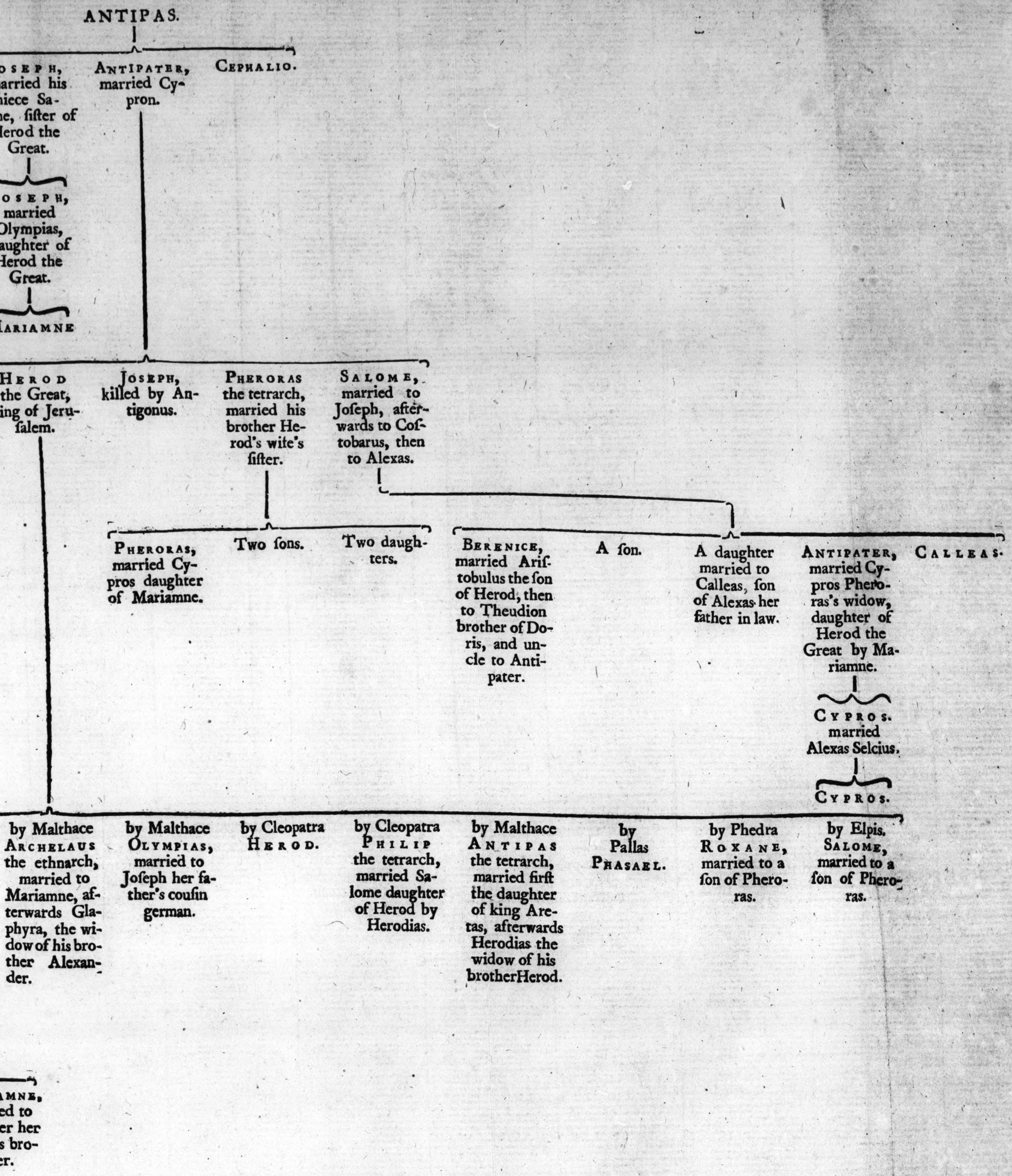
Mariamne, married to Archelaus, ſon of Chelcias, then to Demetrius Arabarcha.

Berenice.

Agrippinus.

Drusilla, married to Azizus king of the Emiſenes, then to Felix procurator of Judea.

Agrippa, kill'd with his wife by an eruption of Veſuvius.



ANTIPAS.

oseph, arried his niece Salne, ſiſter of Herod the Great.

oseph, married Olympias, daughter of Herod the Great.

ariamne

Antipater, married Cypron.

Cephalio.

Herod the Great, ing of Jeruſalem.

Joseph, killed by Antigonus.

Pheroras the tetrarch, married his brother Herod's wife's ſiſter.

Salome, married to Joſeph, afterwards to Coſtobarus, then to Alexas.

Pheroras, married Cypros daughter of Mariamne.

Two ſons.

Two daughters.

Berenice, married Ariſtobulus the ſon of Herod, then to Theudion brother of Doris, and uncle to Antipater.

A ſon.

A daughter married to Calleas, ſon of Alexas her father in law.

Antipater, married Cypros Pheroras's widow, daughter of Herod the Great by Mariamne.

Calleas.

Cypros. married Alexas Selcius.

Cypros.

by Malthace Archelaus the ethnarch, married to Mariamne, afterwards Glaphyra, the widow of his brother Alexander.

by Malthace Olympias, married to Joſeph her father's couſin german.

by Cleopatra Herod.

by Cleopatra Philip the tetrarch, married Salome daughter of Herod by Herodias.

by Malthace Antipas the tetrarch, married firſt the daughter of king Aretas, afterwards Herodias the widow of his brother Herod.

by Pallas Phasael.

by Phedra Roxane, married to a ſon of Pheroras.

by Elpis. Salome, married to a ſon of Pheroras.

amne, ed to er her s brother.

To be placed between p. 346, 347.

CHAP. II.

Antipater makes an intereſt for Hyrcanus againſt Ariſtobulus, and ſets the people againſt him. Hyrcanus applies himſelf to Aretas for aſſiſtance and protection. Antipater agrees with Aretas about the receiving of him, and ſettles the matter with him at Petra in Hyrcanus's favour.

NOW there was a certain Idumean of Hyrcanus's faction, a man of wealth, yet a very buſy and troubleſome fellow, his name Antipater, and a deadly enemy to Ariſtobulus. Nicolaus of Damaſcus makes him to be of the firſt ſtock of Jews that came out of Babylon into Judea, out of a compliment probably to his ſon Herod, who had the fortune afterward to be advanced to the throne; of which we ſhall ſpeak farther in its proper place. This Antipater was at firſt call'd by his father's name, Antipas, who, they ſay, was prefer'd by the favour of king Alexander and his wife, to the government of Idumea; where by the force of fair words, and large preſents, he made a conſiderable intereſt with the Arabians, Gazeans, and the people of Aſkalon; in truth, ſtanding in ſome awe of Ariſtobulus, as well for his power to do him miſchief, as for a grudge there was betwixt them. Young Antipater, finding that there was no good to be done upon Ariſtobulus, but by leſſening him in his reputation among the people, betook himſelf by the ſecret ways of calumny and detraction, to the making of parties, and ſtirring up fears and jealouſies againſt him. He would be ſaying now and then, "How unreaſonable "a thing it was for the younger brother to "ſupplant the elder, ſtrip him of his birth-"right, and uſurp the government to himſelf; "nay, and how mean a thing it was for ſo "many noble Jews of power and credit to "look on and ſuffer it." The very ſame words ſerv'd him for Hyrcanus too; but adviſing him withal, to get out of the way in time; for the other party had moſt certainly a deſign upon his life, being all agreed upon it, that Ariſtobulus could never be ſafe ſo long as Hyrcanus was in being. Hyrcanus was an eaſy good-natur'd man, and having no guile in himſelf, was not apt to ſuſpect it in others; ſo that this diſcourſe did not work upon him as it was expected it ſhould; but the ſoftneſs of his nature, and the love he had for peace and quietneſs, was invidiouſly imputed to him as a want of ſpirit and common ſenſe. His brother Ariſtobulus was juſt the reverſe, being of a bold, daring, enterprizing temper. Antipater ſaw well enough, that with all his inſinuations, he had not yet gain'd his point upon Hyrcanus; but this did not divert him however from plying him with freſh cautions and importunities, to have a care of his brother; inſomuch, that he prevail'd upon him at laſt to apply himſelf for protection to the Arabian king Aretas, with the offer of his own friendſhip and ſervice over and above; which propoſals ſeem'd the more plauſible, in regard that Arabia borders upon Judea. The reſolution being taken, Antipater goes his way immediately to Aretas, to treat with him about the reception of Hyrcanus; and upon the ſecurity both of his oath and honour, that he would not upon any terms deliver him up into the hands of his enemies, Antipater went back again to Hyrcanus with an account of his buſineſs. When he had been ſome ſhort time at Jeruſalem, he took Hyrcanus with him one night out of the city, and conducted him by long journies to the city of Petra, where Aretas kept his court; and here he employ'd his uttermoſt credit with the king, (which was very great,) in favour of Hyrcanus, and in order to the eſtabliſhing of him in his paternal right. He follow'd him ſo cloſe, in fine, with preſſing inſtances and gifts, that at laſt he brought him over; Hyrcanus promiſing him at the ſame time, that if ever he came to be ſettled in his kingdom by his means, he would reſtore to him the country and the twelve cities, which had been taken from the Arabians by his father; that is to ſay, Medaba, Nabal[o], Livias, Tharabaſa, Agalla, Athone, Zoara, Oronæ, Mariſſa, Rydda, Luſa, and Oryba.

Antipater makes an intereſt for Hyrcanus againſt Ariſtobulus.

Ill offices done betwixt the brothers.

Antipater mediates with Aretas toward the re- ving of Hyrcanus.

CHAP. III.

Aretas gives Ariſtobulus battle, forces him into Jeruſalem, and beſieges him in the temple. The paſchal feaſt being at hand, the Jews withdraw into Egypt. Onias ſton'd to death by the rabble, for refuſing to curſe Ariſtobulus. God's judgment upon the people for their perfidy and murder.

UPON the encouragement of theſe promiſes, Aretas advanced againſt Ariſtobulus with an army of fifty thouſand horſe and foot; fought, and overcame him; inſomuch, that finding himſelf abandon'd by his ſoldiers going over to Hyrcanus, he was forc'd to fly for refuge to Jeruſalem; where Aretas, with his whole army, attack'd him in the very temple; the people unanimouſly joining with Hyrcanus againſt Ariſtobulus, the prieſts only excepted. Aretas, on the other hand, with his Jews, as well as Arabians, puſhing on the aſſault with the uttermoſt vigour. While this action was in hand, the feaſt of unleavened bread coming on, (that which we call the Paſchal,) the chief men of the Jews withdrew themſelves out of the country, and went into Egypt; at which time, one Onias, a holy and a righteous man, upon the apprehenſion of a civil war at hand, went out of the way, and hid himſelf. The Jews reflecting upon the piety of this man, and how he had obtained rain from God in an extremity of drought, brought him out into the camp, and there made it their requeſt, that as he had formerly deliver'd them from the judgment of a famine, ſo he would now relieve them from a moſt deſtructive war, by denouncing a malediction upon Ariſtobulus and his whole faction. He oppos'd it a great while, till at laſt being over-ruled by the multitude, he ſtood up in the middle of them, and deliver'd an ejaculatory prayer to this purpoſe: "Lord, ſays he, thou "art the king of kings; and ſince it is ſo, that "both we that ſtand here before thee are thy "people, and they that are beſieged in the "temple, are thy prieſts, I do humbly be-"ſeech thee not to hear the prayer of either "of them one againſt the other." Upon which words ſome of the vileſt Jewiſh rabble that ſtood by, ſton'd him to death. This barbarity

Aretas gives Ariſtobulus an overthrow, drives him into the temple, and aſſaults him there.

The Jews retire into Egypt.

Onias ſton'd to death by the multitude.

barity of theirs was followed immediately by a divine juſtice, and the murder of Onias avenged in manner as follows: While Ariſtobulus with the prieſts were thus beſet in the temple, the paſchal feſtival came on; at which time, according to cuſtom, the Jews offer'd up a great number of ſacrifices; but the beſieged, not having ſo many as they had occaſion for, deſir'd their brethren to ſupply them at their own price; and ſo they agreed at one thouſand * drachma's a head, each beaſt, and the money to be paid down. Ariſtobulus and the prieſts agreed to the price and the conditions, and ſo let down the money to them with a rope and a bag from the temple wall. When the beſiegers had the money, they refuſed to deliver the victims; and ſuch was their ſhameleſs impiety, that they did not only break faith with men, but ſacrilegiouſly robbed God himſelf of a ſervice that was dedicated to his honour. The prieſts upon this perfidy, impoſed upon them under the countenance of a contract, joined in a prayer to God, that this iniquity might not eſcape unpuniſh'd. Their prayers were heard, and the judgment not deſer'd; for there fell immediately a violent tempeſt, that deſtroy'd all the fruits of the earth through the whole province; ſo that one meaſure of wheat was ſold for fifteen † drachma's.

A ſacrilegious treachery in the beſiegers.

A judgment from Heaven overtakes them.

CHAP. IV.

Pompey ſends Scaurus for Syria; who, upon the taking of Damaſcus by Metellus and Lollius, poſts away toward Judea. Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus propoſe an alliance with Scaurus, who cloſes with Ariſtobulus, and bids Aretas withdraw from the ſiege of Jeruſalem at his peril. Ariſtobulus falls upon Aretas and Hyrcanus, cuts off ſeven thouſand of their men, and Cephalio the brother of Antipater among the reſt.

POMPEY himſelf was at this time detained in Armenia, by the war he had there with Tigranes; but in this interim ſent Scaurus into Syria. When he came to Damaſcus, he found the city newly taken by Metellus and Lollius; and ſo he poſted forward without any ſtop toward Judea. As he was upon the way, there came ambaſſadors to him from Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, both of them ſolliciting an alliance offenſive and defenſive. Ariſtobulus offer'd four ‡ hundred talents, and Hyrcanus juſt as much. Scaurus inclin'd rather to Ariſtobulus, as the more generous and ſolvent of the two, beſide the terms he inſiſted upon were more practicable and eaſy; but he look'd upon the other to be poor and ſtingy, his conditions higher than his brother's, and himſelf at laſt not ſo reſponſible; for it was a much harder matter to carry ſo ſtrong and ſo well fortified a city by aſſault, than to beat a vagabond parcel of Nabatheans and fugitives, not well provided nor accouter'd for the carrying on of that war. For theſe reaſons Scaurus agreed with Ariſtobulus, took his money, and diſcharg'd the ſiege; ordering Aretas to withdraw, upon the peril of being accounted an enemy to the Roman people in caſe of refuſal. Scaurus, after this, went back to Damaſcus, and Ariſtobulus advanced with a mighty army againſt Aretas and Hyrcanus; and engaging them in a place called Papyron, he gave them an overthrow, with the loſs of about ſeven thouſand of the enemy, and Cephalio the brother of Antipater among the reſt.

Pompey in war with Tigranes. Damaſcus being taken by Metellus and Lollius, Scaurus advances toward Judea.

Scaurus enters into a league offenſive and defenſive with Ariſtobulus, and makes Aretas quit the ſiege.

Ariſtobulus gave Hyrcanus and Aretas a great overthrow.

CHAP. V.

Pompey goes to Damaſcus, and ſo to Cele-Syria. Great court made to him all the way he goes. Ariſtobulus makes him a magnificent preſent. Gabinius and Scaurus charg'd with corruption. Pompey takes the cauſe into his own hand. Ptolemy Menneus pays a thouſand talents compoſition for his head. The cauſe of Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus brought to Damaſcus. Pompey gives them a hearing, and adjourns the trial; but Ariſtobulus goes away in a huff, without waiting for the iſſue.

UPON Pompey's coming to Damaſcus and Cele-Syria, a while after there came ambaſſadors thronging to him from all quarters; that is to ſay, from all Syria, Egypt, and Judea. Ariſtobulus, above all the reſt, ſent him a moſt glorious preſent, a golden vine of ‖ five hundred talents, which Strabo the Cappadocian gives an account of in theſe words: "There was a preſent made to Pompey out of Egypt, of a crown that weighed four hundred pieces of gold; and another out of Judea, of a golden vine, or garden, to which they gave the name of Terpole, or delight. Theſe preſents were brought by ambaſſadors, and I myſelf ſaw the vine at Rome in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with this inſcription, Alexander king of the Jews. It was valued at five hundred talents, and paſs'd for the preſent of Ariſtobulus the prince of the Jews."

Application to Pompey from all quarters, upon his way into Syria.

A rich preſent from Ariſtobulus.

See Strabo.

THERE came to Pompey not long after this other ambaſſadors, Antipater on the part of Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus for Ariſtobulus, who charged Gabinius and Scaurus with taking ſums of money, the former ** three hundred talents, and the other four, thereby diſobliging them both. Pompey took the cognizance of the cauſe into his own hand, and appointed the parties to attend him about it. The ſpring coming on, Pompey drew out of his winter quarters, and marched to Damaſcus, deſtroying the fort of Apamia, a fortification of Antiochus Cyzicenus by the way, having an eye likewiſe upon the country of Ptolemy Menneus, a wicked man, and worſe, if poſſible, than his kinſman Dionyſius Tripolitanus, who loſt his head by the hand of juſtice. But this man had the good fortune to

Gabinius and Scaurus charged with corruption. Pompey ſets a time for hearing the cauſe.

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* A thouſand Jewiſh drachma's amounted to about twenty nine pounds Engliſh money.

† Fifteen drachma's amounted to about eight ſhillings and nine pence of our money.

‡ Four hundred Hebrew talents weighed forty five thouſand ſix hundred and twenty five pounds, and their value in ſilver amounted to one hundred thirty ſix thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy five pounds Engliſh money.

‖ Five hundred talents weighed fifty ſeven thouſand and thirty one pounds, three ounces, and their value in gold amounted to two millions, ſeven hundred and thirty ſeven thouſand, five hundred pounds, Engliſh money.

** Three hundred talents weighed thirty four thouſand two hundred and eighteen pounds, nine ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to one hundred two thouſand, ſix hundred and fifty ſix pounds, five ſhillings, Engliſh money.

redeem

Ptolemy compounds for his head.

redeem himſelf for a * thouſand talents, which Pompey divided among his ſoldiers. He raiſed the fort of Lycias alſo, where Silas the Jew had gotten poſſeſſion; and ſo paſſing from thence toward Heliopolis and Chalcis, he took the way of the mountain that lies betwixt them, and ſo paſs'd into Cele-Syria, and then from Bella to Damaſcus, where the controverſy betwixt the Jews and their princes was brought to a hearing, Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus being at odds one with another, and the common people againſt them both. "They "were not to be govern'd by kings, they ſaid, "but by God's prieſts, according to the laws "and conſtitutions of their country. They "did not deny the ſacerdotal extraction of "the two brothers; but they charged them "with a deſign of enſlaving the people, and "ſubverting the fundamentals of the govern"ment."

Pompey gives Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus a hearing at Damaſcus.

Hyrcanus's plea.

Hyrcanus inſiſted upon it, that he being the elder brother, Ariſtobulus had violently, and againſt all law and juſtice, ſeiz'd upon his hereditary dignity and eſtate; and depriving him of the prerogative of his birthright, reduced him to the condition of a penſioner at his mercy and allowance; ſetting forth how troubleſome and vexatious he was to his neighbours both at ſea and land, as a man born for miſchief, and that it was only the turbulence of his ambitious humour that animated and tranſported the people into this revolt. You have here the ſubſtance of his plea, and he had at leaſt a thouſand of the moſt eminent Jews that Antipater had engaged in his intereſt, to ſtand by him in it.

Ariſtobulus's defence.

Aristobulus pleaded, on the other hand, that Hyrcanus was not ſet aſide with any thought of uſurpation or encroachment, either upon his title, or upon his inheritance, but purely upon the account of his incapacity for the neceſſary offices of government, being fallen to ſuch a degree of ſcorn and contempt among the common people, that I had no other choice before me, ſays Ariſtobulus, but either to take the adminiſtration into my own hands, or venture the tranſlating of it into another family; and for the appellation of king, I only kept it as I found it, in the ſame ſtile of dignity that my father Alexander us'd before me. Now this I am ready to make good, ſays he, by ſeveral witneſſes here, producing at the ſame time a company of gaudy foppiſh young fellows, ſparkling in the vanity of their dreſs and trappings, ſuch as all men of ſobriety hated and deſpiſed, and fitter in appearance for that we call a ball, or an aſſembly, than to give teſtimony in a court of juſtice.

Pompey gives them a fair diſmiſſion for the preſent, and puts off the trial to another time.

Pompey, upon the hearing of all parties, was in his judgment againſt the intemperate proceeding of Ariſtobulus; but gave them however for the preſent a fair diſmiſſion, with a promiſe, that ſo ſoon as ever he ſhould have reduc'd the Nabatheans into order, he would viſit their country, and do ſomewhat farther in it; requiring them in the mean time to behave themſelves peaceably, and ſo diſcharg'd Ariſtobulus with civility and reſpect, for fear he, being diſguſted, might obſtruct him in his paſſage. But he was not to be wrought upon by fair words it ſeems, for he went away preſently to Delion, and ſo to Judea, without waiting any further upon what Pompey had promis'd him.

Ariſtobulus goes his way into Judea, without waiting any longer upon Pompey.

CHAP. VI.

Pompey finding himſelf affronted, ſends a ſummons to him in Alexandrion, to come down, and ſpeak with him. Pompey demands the poſſeſſion of all the fortreſſes in his power, and Ariſtobulus delivers them up; but preſently withdraws to Jeruſalem, and prepares for a war. While this was a doing, comes the news from Pontus of Mithridates being poiſon'd by his ſon Pharnaces.

THE mockery of this way of proceeding provoked Pompey to ſuch a degree, that he took the army he had provided againſt the Nabatheans, and joining them with the auxiliary troops that he had rais'd at Damaſcus, and the reſt of Syria, together with the Roman legions that he had under his command, and marched with them directly toward Ariſtobulus, paſſing by Pella and Scythopolis, till he came to Coreæ, which enters into the heart of Judea; where he found upon the top of a mountain, a ſtrong and a famous caſtle, call'd Alexandrion: And being told that Ariſtobulus had made choice of that place for his retreat, he gave him a ſummons to come down and ſpeak with him; which he was prevail'd upon to do by the people he had about him, for fear of being engag'd in a war with the Romans. There paſs'd ſome diſcourſe betwixt them, upon the ſubject of the diſpute between the two brothers; and after that formality was over, Ariſtobulus, with Pompey's leave, return'd ſafely back again to the caſtle; and this he did over and over again, to keep fair with Pompey, in all reaſonable compliances, as the moſt likely way to compaſs his end: But this did not hinder him yet from putting himſelf into a poſture of defence in caſe of the worſt, out of a fear and jealouſy he had of Pompey's declaring for his brother. Pompey, after this, order'd him to deliver up all the caſtles that he was maſter of, and to ſignify ſuch his will and pleaſure to the governors under his own hand, that there might be no place left for ſcruple or excuſe. Ariſtobulus did as he was appointed; but took it ſo heinouſly, that he went away forthwith to Jeruſalem, to prepare, as he underſtood the matter, for a certain war. It was not long before Pompey, marching againſt him, at the head of his army, was met upon the way with an expreſs from Pontus, giving him an account of the death of Mithridates ſlain by his ſon Pharnaces.

Pompey, in an indignation, marches againſt Ariſtobulus.

He finds him in Alexandrion, and ſummons him down to ſpeak with him.

After ſeveral diſcourſes, Ariſtobulus delivers up all the caſtles in his poſſeſſion.

He goes away in a diſguſt to Jeruſalem.

Pompey follows him.

Mithridates ſlain by his ſon Pharnaces.

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* A thouſand Syrian talents, for ſuch we ſuppoſe are here meant, weighed fourteen thouſand two hundred and fifty ſeven pounds, nine ounces, fifteen pennyweights; and their value in ſilver amouhted to forty two thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy three pounds, eight ſhillings, and nine pence, Engliſh money.

CHAP. VII.

Pompey incamps at Jericho, and ſo marches towards Jeruſalem. Ariſtobulus offers him money, and the poſſeſſion of the town. Pompey complies, and ſends Gabinius to receive the money; but the gates are ſhut againſt him. Ariſtobulus is made a cloſe priſoner upon it, and Pompey lays ſiege to the city in perſon.

Pompey moves toward Jeruſalem.

POMPEY pitch'd his firſt camp at Jericho, a place famous for palm-trees and balſam, which is the moſt precious of gums, and only a diſtillation from a little ſhrub upon an inciſion made in it with a ſharp ſtone. The next morning he moved toward Jeruſalem. Ariſtobulus, by this time repented himſelf of what he had done, and went out to meet him with a compliment of offering him a ſum of money, and the command of the town; and whatever ſatisfaction he ſhould further deſire for the preventing of a war. Pompey accepted of his propoſals, and ſent Gabinius with a body of men into the city to receive the money: But he had only his labour for his pains; for the gates were ſhut againſt him, and he came back empty-handed as he went out; the fault being laid upon the ſoldiers that would not ſtand to the agreement. Pompey had ſuch an indignation for this affront, that he kept a ſtricter guard upon Ariſtobulus, and went himſelf to Jeruſalem, which was very ſtrong by ſituation, and well fortify'd; only it lay a little expoſed toward the north, where there was a large and a deep valley about the temple, and a ſubſtantial ſtone-wall to encompaſs it.

CHAP. VIII.

Jeruſalem divided; part for Pompey, part for Ariſtobulus. Pompey propoſes a peace, and it is rejected. The ſituation of the temple, and the taking of it by aſſault. The piety and modeſty of the conqueror. Jeruſalem made tributary. Straton's tower, or Ceſarea. The faction of Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus. Pompey carries Ariſtobulus a priſoner to Rome.

Jeruſalem divided; part for Pompey, part for Ariſtobulus.

Pompey's propoſals for a peace rejected.

The ſituation of the city and temple.

The Jews ruined by their ſuperſtition.

WHILE Pompey was before the town, the citizens were mightily divided how to behave themſelves: Some were for yielding; others for holding out, and preparing for a war; eſpecially conſidering that Ariſtobulus was kept a priſoner. So that without more ado they prepoſſeſs'd themſelves of the temple, and broke down the bridge betwixt that and the city; while the other party not only gave entrance to the army, but deliver'd up both city and palace into the hands of Pompey; who preſently ſent away Piſo his lieutenant with part of his army to take charge of both; which he did effectually, by fortifying the houſes and buildings of the temple that were next at hand. When things were come to this paſs, Pompey, in the firſt place, made them a propoſal of peace; but upon their refuſal to treat, he provided for an aſſault; Hyrcanus ſupplying him very frankly with what he had occaſion for. The north-ſide of the temple being the weakeſt quarter, Pompey propoſed to begin his attack there. It was encompaſſed with high towers, and forc'd a ditch, over and above the aforeſaid valley. Upon the city ſide, toward Pompey's ſtation, there was no paſſing, now the bridge was down, for craggs and precipices; but the Romans, with infinite labour and difficulty, made a hard ſhift yet to fill up the ditch with timber, and other materials that they got together, and ſo to raiſe platforms and ramparts to ſuch a prodigious height, that with engines of battery which they brought from Tyre, they play'd great ſtones upon the temple-wall; and yet if it had not been for the advantage they took of our ſeventh day's ſabbath, the Romans would have had much ado to have gain'd their point: For notwithſtanding that in caſe of aggreſſion, the law allow'd us to defend ourſelves upon that day, and to repel force by force, we durſt not do any work upon it however yet, though but to croſs and hinder one work with another. When the Romans came to underſtand this once, and to obſerve, that we made no oppoſition to the advancing of their bulwarks, and the fixing of their machines upon that feſtival, they employ'd the ſabbath wholly upon ſafe and quiet preparations for the action of the next day, without attempting any manner of violence upon us at preſent. This is enough to ſhew the infinite difference we have for the religion and laws of our country, when the dread of death itſelf is not able to divert us from the very rule and method of our devotions; for the prieſts have their ſolemn ſacrifices twice a day, morning and afternoon, with all their preſcript forms of worſhip, without any diſpenſation or excuſe, in what extremity ſoever, for the omiſſion. This temple was taken upon a faſting-day, in the third month of the ſiege, the hundred ſeventy ninth Olympiad; Caius Antonius, and Marcus Tullius Cicero, being conſuls. Upon the enemies forcing the place, they put every man to death before them: And all this cruelty was not enough yet to deter thoſe officiating at the altar, from going on with their devotions; accounting it the leſs evil of the two, to fall into the hands of an unmerciful enemy, than to abandon their holy profeſſion, or fail in the leaſt ſcruple of obedience and reſpect to their country's rites and ceremonies. Now for the authority of this relation, and to ſhew that there is nothing in it of fiction, we have it atteſted by all the authors of note that pretend to give any account of the actions of Pompey, and among the reſt by * Strabo, Nicolaus of Damaſcus, and Titus Livius the famous Roman hiſtorian. They fell to work with their engines upon the great tower, till by the dint of repeated batteries they ſhook it to pieces, and brought it down to the ground, carrying away a great part of the next wall along with it in the ruins. This breach was no ſooner made, but the enemy preſs'd in great numbers to enter it. The firſt that mounted was Cornelius Fauſtus, the ſon of Sylla, with his company; and then upon another quarter, the centurion Furius, with his men, and Fabius then betwixt them both with another ſtrong party; the place being all cover'd with dead bodies; ſome killed by the Romans, others by conſent diſpatching one another; ſome again caſting themſelves down headlong from the walls, and others ſetting fire to the houſes over their heads, rather than to be ſpectators

The temple taken by aſſault.

* lib. xvi.

tors of the barbarities that were committed. There were ſlain about twelve thouſand Jews, and not many Romans. Abſalom, the uncle, and the father-in-law of Ariſtobulus, was made a priſoner. Theſe outrages were accompany'd alſo with ſeveral indignities to the very myſteries of our religion, by the admittance of prophane perſons into the place, and to the ſight of thoſe privacies, which none but prieſts had ever been eye-witneſſes of before. Pompey and his train were of the number that came in there, where they found a golden table, a candleſtick, and cups of the ſame metal; varieties of incenſe, and perfumes in abundance, beſide a matter of two * thouſand talents in the treaſury: but he look'd upon all this proviſion as ſacred; and out of a veneration he had for holy things, he did not only forbear touching or ſeizing any of it, but with a generous piety order'd the officers of the temple next day to purge the place, and to offer ſacrifices according to their own cuſtoms and ordinances. He reſtored Hyrcanus to the high-prieſthood, partly for the good offices he had received from him himſelf, and partly for the ſervice he had done him in hindering the Jews from taking up arms for Ariſtobulus. He cut off the heads then of the incendiaries of the faction that were the promoters of the war, and took care to ſee Fauſtus, and others that behaved themſelves bravely upon the aſſault, rewarded according to their deſerts. As for Jeruſalem itſelf, he made it tributary to the Romans, and reduced all the places that he found the Jews poſſeſs'd of in Cele-Syria, under their allegiance, confining alſo that populous and powerful nation within the compaſs of their antient bounds. He cauſed Gadara, (lately deſtroy'd,) in favour of his freed man Demetrius that was born there, to be rebuilt; and as for Hippon, Scythopolis, Dion, Samaria, Mariſſa, Azotus, Jamnia, and Arethuſa, being inland places, he deliver'd them up into the hands of their former inhabitants, together with other places that were ruin'd by the war; but for the maritime towns, as Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and Straton's tower, Pompey made them all free, and laid them to the province. Now this tower of Straton, when it came afterward to be rebuilt by Herod, and beautified with ſtately ports and temples, changed the antient name for Ceſarea.

The piety and modeſty of the conqueror.

Jeruſalem made tributary.

The tower of Straton, afterwards Ceſarea.

The faction of Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus the ruin of the Jews.

From this feud betwixt Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, we may date the ruin of Jeruſalem, with the loſs of our liberty to the Romans, we being forced to give all back to the Syrians, which we had taken in a fair war, the impoſition of above ten † thouſand talents which it coſt us in a ſhort time after to the Romans; and the tranſlation of the ſovereign authority, which had ever till then deſcended in the high-prieſthood, to the very dregs of the people. But we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of all this in another place.

Pompey, after this, committed the government of Cele-Syria, as far as Euphrates and the borders of Egypt, to Scaurus, with two Roman legions, while he himſelf haſtened to Rome by the way of Cilicia, carrying Ariſtobulus along with him a priſoner, with two ſons, and two daughters; but Alexander, one of the ſons, made his eſcape; but Antigonus, the younger, was carried to Rome, together with his two ſiſters.

Cele-Syria committed to Scaurus. Pompey carries Ariſtobulus to Rome.

CHAP. IX.

Scaurus marches againſt Petra, and comes to a compoſition with Aretas, to the high ſatisfaction of both parties.

The paſſage to Petra, the capital of Arabia, is very craggy and difficult; inſomuch, that Scaurus, upon his march thither with an army, was forced to ravage the country thereabouts to provide bread for his ſoldiers. Antipater, by the order of Hyrcanus, furniſh'd him with corn and other neceſſaries out of Judea; and being well known to Aretas, Scaurus ſent him upon an embaſſy to him; and he acquitted himſelf ſo well in his commiſſion, that he prevail'd upon him for a compoſition of three ‡ hundred talents, to ſave his country from ruin, which put an end to the war, even before it was begun, to the great ſatisfaction of Scaurus, as well as of Aretas.

Scaurus marches againſt Petra.

CHAP. X.

Gabinius's expedition againſt Alexander, whom he routs and beſieges in Alexandrion. Gabinius offers an amneſty, and orders the repairing of what cities had been damaged. Alexander ſubmits. Hyrcanus is reſtor'd to the pontificate, and five courts of juſtice erected.

Some time after this, Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, falling into, and harraſſing Judea with frequent incurſions, Gabinius was ſent from Rome into Syria, with the commiſſion of general; and upon an expedition againſt Alexander, wherein he performed many memorable exploits. Hyrcanus the high-prieſt was not now in any condition to make reſiſtance, though he had it in his thought to repair and re-edify the walls of Jeruſalem that Pompey had deſtroy'd; but the Romans would not ſuffer him to go forward with it. Alexander ranging up and down the country, made a ſhift in a ſhort time to get together a mix'd body of Jews, and others, to the number of ten thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe. He ſtor'd and fortified the caſtle of Alexandrion near Coreæ, and Macherus on the borders of Arabia. Gabinius advanced to fight him, ſending Marcus Antonius, with ſome

Gabinius's expedition againſt Alexander.

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* Two thouſand talents weighed two hundred twenty eight thouſand, one hundred and twenty five pounds; and their value in gold amounted to ten millions, nine hundred and fifty thouſand pounds Engliſh money.

† Ten thouſand talents weighed one million, one hundred and forty thouſand, ſix hundred and twenty five pounds, and their value in gold (ſuppoſing talents of gold to be here meant) amounted to fifty four millions, ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; but if of ſilver, three millions, four hundred twenty one thouſand, eight hundred ſeventy pounds, Engliſh money.

‡ Three hundred talents weighed thirty four thouſand two hundred and eighteen pounds, nine ounces, and their value in gold amounted to one million, ſix hundred forty two thouſand, five hundred pounds; but if ſilver ones be here meant, to a hundred and two thouſand, ſix hundred and fifty ſix pounds, five ſhillings, Engliſh money.

other officers, before; who being join'd with the faithful part of the Jews, under the command of Pitholaus and Malichus, taking alſo the auxiliaries of Antipater, came up to Alexander, Gabinius following with the reſt of his army. Alexander drew off to be nearer Jeruſalem, where they came to a battle, in which Alexander loſt about three thouſand men, that were kill'd upon the ſpot, beſides as many that were taken. Gabinius, after this, laid ſiege to the caſtle of Alexandrion, but with an offer and promiſe of pardon to the defendants for all that was paſt, if they would render up the place. The beſieged kept a ſtrong outguard under the walls of the caſtle, which the Romans attack'd, and cut off a great many of them; Marcus Antonius behaving himſelf very bravely upon that occaſion. Gabinius was loth to loſe time; ſo that leaving part of his army behind to attend the ſiege, he went himſelf to take a view of the reſt of the country, and to give order for the rebuilding of what cities had been deſtroy'd; as Samaria, Azotus, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, Dora, Mariſſa, Gaza, and divers other places. This was done by the direction of Gabinius; and theſe places came to be a very convenient and ſafe habitation, after they had been for a long time deſerted. Gabinius, having put the country into this order, returned to Alexandrion, in proſecution of the ſiege, where Alexander took the opportunity of begging pardon by his ambaſſadors, upon condition of delivering up to him the caſtles of Hyrcania, Macherus, and Alexandrion, which he accepted of, but razed them all three to the ground. After this there came to him the mother of Alexander, who was a well-wiſher to the Romans, her huſband and the reſt of her children being then priſoners at Rome. Gabinius denied her nothing; and after the ſettling of matters, Hyrcanus was brought to Jeruſalem, and reſtored to the office and exerciſe of his prieſthood. There were then conſtituted five courts of juſtice, and a diviſion made of the whole province into five equal parts; ſo that ſome went for law to Jeruſalem, others to Gadara, and others alſo to Amathus, Jericho, or Saphora, which is a city of Galilee. They came by this means to be deliver'd from the tyranny they complain'd of, and ſo return'd to the form of an Ariſtocracy again.

Alexander routed, and beſieged in Alexandrion.

Gabinius offers an amneſty, and orders the repairing of what cities he had damaged.

Alexander ſubmits, and delivers up the caſtles he had in his hand.

Hyrcanus reſtor'd to the pontificate. Five courts of juſtice erected.

CHAP. XI.

Ariſtobulus makes his eſcape from Rome. Commiſſioners are ſent after him. He is routed by the Romans, and taken a ſecond time priſoner. He defeats the Nabatheans; after which he goes to Rome, and Craſſus ſucceeds him.

UPON the flight of Ariſtobulus from Rome to Judea, with an intent to repair and fortify Alexandrion afreſh after the late ruins, Gabinius ſent a body of men thither under the command of Siſenna, Antonius, and Servilius, to maintain the place, and to endeavour the ſecuring of Ariſtobulus himſelf. Betwixt the authority of ſo great a name, and a popular itch of novelty, there came great numbers of the Jews flocking over to him; and in particular Pitholaus the governor of Jeruſalem, with a thouſand men well arm'd; as for thoſe that were not ſo, of which there were a great number, he diſcharged them as unſerviceable and uſeleſs. He marched with a body of eight thouſand men, to attempt the taking of Macherus. The Romans following him very cloſely, came up with him and fought him; and after an obſtinate reſiſtance upon the firſt ſhock, gave him a terrible overthrow; kill'd five thouſand upon the place, while the reſt did what they could to ſave themſelves by flight. Ariſtobulus, upon this rout, with a matter of a thouſand men, fortified the caſtle as well as he could, and kept up his heart ſtill in the extremity of his ill fortunes; but in two days the caſtle was carried by aſſault, himſelf grievouſly wounded, and by a capricious fatality of ill luck, carried away priſoner with his ſon Antigonus his companion in his eſcape, and ſo brought to Gabinius; by whom he was now ſent a ſecond time priſoner to Rome, having been three years and a half, both in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and of the pontificate, and acquitting himſelf with great honour and magnificence in both charges. But the ſenate ſet his children at liberty, however, upon the intimation of Gabinius, that he had promiſ'd the mother as much, upon the delivery of certain caſtles; ſo that they came back again into Judea.

Ariſtobulus eſcapes from Rome to fortify Alexandrion. Commiſſioners ſent to look after him.

Ariſtobulus routed by the Romans.

Himſelf, with his ſon, taken and ſent a ſecond time to Rome.

GABINIUS was now enter'd upon an expedition againſt the Parthians, and gotten over the river Euphrates, when upon ſecond thoughts he chang'd his mind, and bent his courſe toward Egypt, for the reſtoring of Ptolemy, as is ſaid elſewhere. * Antipater furniſh'd him for this enterprize with corn, arms, and money, and brought over a great many of the Jews about Peluſium into an alliance with him, this Peluſium being the very key to Egypt.

Gabinius propoſes the reſtoring of Ptolemy.

AT his return Gabinius found Syria all in an uproar; for Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, having made himſelf maſter of the kingdom, harraſs'd the country with a powerful army, and forced a great many of the Jews over to his party, killing all the Romans he could come at in his paſſage, and beſieging the reſt upon the mount of Garizin, who fled thither for ſanctuary. Gabinius finding the Syrians in this diſorder, ſent Antipater, being a man of known prudence and integrity, to deal with them, and to try if he could bring them to their wits again. He behaved himſelf in this commiſſion ſo effectually, that he brought off ſeveral of the revolters, but Alexander himſelf he found was not to be mov'd; for having gotten together an army of thirty thouſand Jews, his reſolution was to hazard a battle with Gabinius. They fought, in ſhort, at the Mount Itabyr; and the Jews loſt ten thouſand men in that engagement.

Alexander makes terrible havock in Syria.

Gabinius gives him a notable overthrow, and defeated the Nabatheans alſo.

MATTERS being thus ſettled in Jeruſalem, the victor, by the advice of Antipater, marched away againſt the Nabatheans, and gave them a notable overthrow, diſcharging two noble Parthians, Mithridates and Orſanes, that came over to him for protection; giving it out that they were fled into their own country. Gabinius having now acquitted himſelf with honour in all his commiſſions, went back to Rome, and Craſſus ſucceeded him in his command.

Gabinius goes back to Rome, and Craſſus ſucceeds him.

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* According to biſhop Montague's correction it ſhould be, Hyrcanus and Antipater furniſh'd him, &c. See Appar. iv. ad Orig. Eccleſiaſt.

The atchievements of Pompey and Gabinius may be ſeen in the hiſtories of Nicolaus Damaſcenus, and Strabo the Cappadocian; and they write both to the ſame purpoſe.

CHAP. XII.

Craſſus rifles the temple, contrary to his oath. Strabo, the Hiſtorian. Craſſus and his army cut to pieces by the Parthians. He retreats into Syria. Tarichea taken by aſſault. Pytholaus taken and put to death. The character of Antipater.

Craſſus rifles the temple againſt his oath.

CRASSUS, being now upon the preparative for a war with the Parthians, came into Judea, and ſeized not only the [*] two thouſand talents that Pompey made a conſcience of ſo much as meddling with, but he pillag'd the temple of all the gold he could lay his hands on, to the value of [†] eight thouſand talents more. He carry'd away with him alſo a wedge of gold of [‖] three hundred mina's, reckoning every mina, according to the Jewiſh computation, at two pounds and a half. Eleazar the prieſt, who had the keeping of this holy treaſure, deliver'd it up to Craſſus; not out of ſpite, or ill-will, for he was a righteous and a juſt man: But this bar of gold being lodged in a wooden beam that was made hollow on purpoſe to receive and conceal it, and no mortal privy to the ſecret but himſelf, Eleazar had no other thought, ſeeing Craſſus's heart ſo wholly ſet upon the money, but to deliver up this wedge as a compoſition for all the reſt; for there were hangings alſo of an ineſtimable value faſten'd to this timber, and other rich ornaments for the ſervice of the temple, which were all likewiſe in Eleazar's cuſtody. And he did not deliver this bar of gold at laſt neither, but upon the declaration of Craſſus, that he was abundantly ſatisfy'd with what he had already; and upon the ſolemnity of an oath and promiſe, that he would not meddle with any thing elſe. But, it ſeems, he made no account of his oath; for he rifled the temple from top to bottom, and ſtript it to the bare walls.

THE maſs of money that was lodged in this temple, how prodigious ſoever it may appear, will not be found ſo great a wonder, conſidering how long the Jews were a getting it together, and that it came from all quarters of the world, wherever the worſhip of the true God was known: Beſide that the report of this immenſe value is ſo far from vanity and oſtentation, that it is a truth atteſted and confirm'd by the authority of ſeveral hiſtorians; as of Strabo the Cappadocian for one. "Mithridates, "ſays he, ſent to the iſle of Coos for ſome money of Cleopatra's, that ſhe had depoſited "there; and for eight hundred talents be"longing to the Jews." Now we have no publick treaſure, but what is ſacred, and dedicated to God; and it is as clear as day, that the Aſiatick Jews tranſmitted this treaſure from thence to Coos, upon the apprehenſion of a war with Mithridates: For it cannot be imagined that the Jews of Judea, that had ſo much a ſtronger, and a ſafer place near hand, that is to ſay, the temple and city of Jeruſalem, would ever have ſent their money away for better ſecurity to Coos: Neither can it be ſuppoſed, that it came from the Alexandrian Jews; for they were too far off to have any apprehenſion of Mithridates.

Strabo the hiſtorian.

STRABO has it in another place, "That "Sylla paſſing through Greece to carry on a "war againſt Mithridates, ſent Lucullus to "Cyrene, that was then torn to pieces with "feuds and factions among the Jews, a people "that had ſpread themſelves over the face of "the whole earth. He ranges the Cyreneans in another place into four diviſions; "burghers, husbandmen, ſtrangers, and Jews. "The laſt ſort of them are ſo univerſally diſpers'd, that there's hardly any habitable part "where they have not got footing, and a conſiderable eſtabliſhment. As for Egypt and "Cyrene, while they were under the juriſdiction of the ſame prince, and ſeveral other "countries alſo, they embraced in many places "the Jewiſh laws, rites, and cuſtoms; gave "them the liberty of populous congregations, "and trained up their children in a conformity to the Jewiſh way of diſcipline. In "Egypt they had whole colonies of them, beſide a right of propriety that they have by "a formality of aſſignment in a conſiderable "part of the city of Alexandria, with magiſtrates, judges, and courts of juſtice of "their own, and ways of deciding differences "in caſes of propriety, peculiar to themſelves, "and all in as good method as if it were in "a form of government. Now Egypt agreed "the better with this nation, both for extraction ſake and neighbourhood; for the Jews "came out of it, and they eaſily became one "again; ſo that it was but making a ſtep to "either, only as one borderer does to another; "and in this manner, not only as neighbours, "but as formerly members of the ſame body." Thus far Strabo.

See Strabo again.

WHEN Craſſus had done what he pleaſed in Judea, he advanced againſt the Parthians, and gave them battle, where he was cut off himſelf, and his whole army, as we have related elſewhere. But Craſſus made his retreat into Syria, where he gave a ſtand to the progreſs of the Parthians, that were now grown inſolent upon their ſucceſs. He went afterward to Tyre, and ſo to Judea, where he took Tari-

Craſſus and his army cut to pieces by the Parthians.

Craſſus retreats into Syria, and puts a ſtop to the Parthians.

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[*] The weight and value of two thouſand talents is given in our notes on Chap. viii. of this book, which ſee.

[†] Eight thouſand talents weighed nine hundred twelve thouſand five hundred pounds; and their value in gold amounted to forty three millions eight hundred thouſand pounds Engliſh money.

[‡] An Hebrew mina of gold, according to Calmet's tables, weighed one pound, one ounce, thirteen pennyweights, eighteen grains, and in value amounted to fifty four pounds fifteen ſhillings; three hundred therefore muſt weigh no more than three hundred forty two pounds, two ounces, five pennyweights; and their value amount only to ſixteen thouſand four hundred twenty five pounds Engliſh money: But even allowing what Joſephus ſays, viz. that every mina weighed two pounds and an half, the weight of the whole would amount to no more than ſeven hundred fifty pounds; and the value, reckoning gold at four pounds four ſhillings an ounce, but to thirty ſeven thouſand eight hundred pounds; which, compared with the reſt of the treaſure, ſaid to be taken away by Craſſus, will appear to be very inconſiderable, and no way adequate to the idea the deſcription gives us, which ſays, it was a wedge ſo large that it fill'd one of the beams of the temple, which was made hollow on purpoſe to receive it; and that it was a treaſure of ſo great a value, that no mortal was privy to the ſecret but the high-prieſt himſelf.

Tarichea taken by aſſault, and thirty thouſand priſoners.

cheæ by aſſault, upon the firſt attack, and a matter of thirty thouſand priſoners; and among the reſt Pitholaus, Ariſtobulus's friend, whom he cauſed to be put to death by the advice of Antipater, who over and above the power he had with him as a friend, was a perſon very conſiderable with the Idumeans, upon the account of a match with an Arabian lady of a moſt illuſtrious extraction; her name was Cypron, and by her he had four ſons, Phaſael and Herod, (afterwards king,) Joſeph and Pheroras, and an only daughter Salome. This Antipater had ſo generous and obliging a way with him, that all the princes and great men about him had a high eſteem for him, the king of Arabia eſpecially, to whoſe charitable goodneſs he recommended the government of his children, during the war with Ariſtobulus. Craſſus having by this time recruited and reinforced his army, advanced to the river Euphrates to make head againſt the Parthians, according to the report of ſeveral hiſtorians.

The character of Antipater.

CHAP. XIII.

Pompey and the ſenate abandon Rome. Ceſar diſcharges Ariſtobulus. Pompey's faction poiſons him. Alexander's head cut off by Pompey's orders. Philippion marries his ſiſter Alexandra; after which Philippion is ſlain, and Ptolemy marries the widow.

Rome abandon'd by Pompey and the ſenate. Ceſar ſets Ariſtobulus at liberty.

SOME time after this when Ceſar came to be maſter of Rome, and to find the city abandon'd by Pompey, and the whole ſenate, who all ſhifted away beyond ſea upon the fright, he bethought himſelf of ſetting Ariſtobulus at liberty, and diſpatching him away into Syria, with the command of two legions to keep that province in order. But the comfort he promis'd himſelf in the honour of being Ceſar's favourite was not long liv'd; for Pompey's faction found a way in a ſhort time to diſpatch him by poiſon, and the Ceſareans took care of the funeral. His body lay embalm'd with honey a long time, till Anthony ſent it into Judea, to be interr'd among their kings.

Pompey's faction poiſons him.

SCIPIO cauſed the head of Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, to be cut off by the order of Pompey, for former ſeditious practices againſt the Romans, and the execution was done at Antioch; but Ptolemy Menneus, the governor of Chalcis near Libanus, diſpatch'd his ſon Philippion to the widow of Ariſtobulus at Askalon, to have her ſend him his ſon Antigonus and his ſiſters. Philippion fell in love with one of his ſiſters, whoſe name was Alexandra, and married her; but he being afterwards ſlain, his father Ptolemy himſelf took her to wife, and provided nevertheleſs for the family.

Alexander's head cut off by Pompey's order.

Philippion, Alexander's ſon, marries his ſiſter Alexandra. Philippion ſlain, and Ptolemy marries the widow.

CHAP. XIV.

Peluſium taken by Mithridates, and Antipater the firſt man that enter'd the breach.

Antipater did Ceſar eminent ſervice in his war with Egypt.

ANTIPATER was a man of great authority in Judea, and one that after the overthrow and death of Pompey, did Ceſar many conſiderable ſervices, at the inſtance of Hyrcanus, in his war upon Egypt; for Mithridates the Pergamenian being forced to ſtop once at Askalon, becauſe there was no paſſing for him by Peluſium with the ſuccours that he had for Ceſar, Antipater join'd him with an armed body of three thouſand Jews, and brought in ſeveral of the prime men of Arabia, and effectually all Syria, to his aſſiſtance; as there was Jamblicus, a prince of the country, and his ſon Ptolemy; and Tholomy of Libanus, the ſon of Sohemus; with the cities, almoſt all in general, who came in a kind of emulation to ſerve him, and happy was he who could preſent himſelf firſt. Mithridates, being now in a condition to march, advanced out of Syria into Peluſium, where the inhabitants refuſing him entrance, he ſat down before the place, aſſaulted it, and batter'd a piece of the wall down. Antipater was the brave man that firſt enter'd the breach, and was ſo well ſeconded in the action, that the town was taken upon it; but as Antipater and Mithridates were haſtening away to Ceſar, the Egyptian Jews, who live in the country of Onias, as they call it, oppoſed their paſſage, till by the power and intereſt of Antipater, as their countryman, but eſpecially upon the ſight of a letter from Hyrcanus the high-prieſt to them, they were prevailed upon to uſe Ceſar kindly, and to ſupply him on his march with whatſoever neceſſaries his army might have occaſion for. Upon the credit, I ſay, of Antipater's mediation and advice, and upon that of the high-prieſt's letter, they chearfully complied; the people of Memphis, upon this, applying themſelves to Mithridates, and eſpouſing the ſame intereſt.

Peluſium taken by Mithridates. Antipater the firſt that enter'd the breach.

CHAP. XV.

Mithridates worſted; Antipater reſcues him, and wins the day. Hyrcanus and Antipater highly in Ceſar's favour. Antigonus complains to Ceſar of Hyrcanus and Antipater, who hears both ſides, and determines in favour of the defendants.

AT a place called Delta, and upon a particular ſpot of ground, known by the name of the Jews Camp, Mithridates and Antipater came to a battle with the enemy, the former commanding the right wing, and the other the left. Mithridates was ſo hard preſs'd, that his men gave way, and the diſorder was very near coming to a total rout; but Antipater, in the very nick of time, came up along the bank of the river, with an enforcement to his relief; reſcued his friends, and in one word put an almoſt victorious enemy to flight, and purſued them with ſo much fierceneſs and precipitation, that he made himſelf maſter of their camp, calling in Mithridates, who was left a great way behind, to take his part of the booty, who loſt a matter of eight hundred men, and Antipater not above fifty. Upon the report of this action, Mithridates gave Ceſar frankly to underſtand, that he was indebted both for the preſervation of the army, and for the glory of that day, to the bravery of Antipater; which Ceſar was ſo ſenſible of, that throughout the whole courſe of the war, he was ſure to be employ'd upon a poſt of honour ever after; and he carried the marks of

Mithridates worſted. Antipater reſcues him, and wins the battle.

it in the many wounds he received in that ſervice.

Hyrcanus and Antipater highly in Ceſar's favour.

So ſoon as this was over, Ceſar went back by ſea into Syria, treating both Hyrcanus and Antipater with a ſingular grace and reſpect; the one he confirmed in the pontificate, and the other he made a freeman of Rome, with all the privileges of the city. Some will have it that Hyrcanus was perſonally in this war, and came actually into Egypt. Strabo the Cappadocian tells us as much out of Aſinius. "Upon the coming of Mithridates into Egypt, ſays he, Hyrcanus the high-prieſt of the Jews came along with him." He ſays in another place, upon the credit of Hypſicrates, "That Mithridates came firſt thither alone, and then ſent for Antipater, the governor of Judea, to Askalon, who brought him three thouſand men; and that upon his counſel and perſuaſion, divers of the princes and great men of the country went over to him, and Hyrcanus the high-prieſt among the reſt." Thus far goes Strabo.

Strabo the Cappadocian.

Antigonus complains to Ceſar of Hyrcanus and Antipater.

About this time came Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, with a complaint to Ceſar, how his father had been poiſon'd by a faction, for bearing arms in his ſervice, and how a brother of his had his head chopp'd off at Scipio's inſtigation; ſetting forth how he was diſinherited and ejected, and preſented himſelf as an object of his compaſſion. He reflected alſo upon Hyrcanus and Antipater, for uſurping upon the liberties of the nation, and particularly for wrongs done to himſelf; but Antipater, being then preſent, wiped off theſe reproaches, by expoſing the turbulent and ſeditious humour of Antigonus, and how buſy he was in all factious cabals, to embroil the publick peace; not forgetting neither to mind Ceſar by a modeſt inſinuation, of his own merits, appealing only to himſelf upon the proof he had given of his diſpoſition and integrity, by the ſervice he had done in the late war. As for Ariſtobulus, he was always known to be a profeſs'd and an implacable enemy to Rome; ſo that the Romans, in keeping him a priſoner, did no more than what neceſſity of ſtate, common prudence, the law of arms, and the practice of nations obliged them to do; and then to the point of Scipio's beheading his brother, he was convict of ſeveral robberies, and it was no more than a capital puniſhment for a capital crime. Ceſar, in fine, upon a full hearing of Antipater's diſcourſe, pronounced Hyrcanus to be high-prieſt, gave Antipater his choice of any command he had a mind to, and conferr'd upon him the lieutenancy of Judea over and above.

Ceſar hears both parties, and determines in favour of Hyrcanus and Antipater.

CHAP. XVI.

Ceſar gives Hyrcanus leave to rebuild Jeruſalem. An alliance betwixt the ſenate of Rome and the Jews. A league betwixt Athens and the Jews. Antipater's exhortation to the people.

Ceſar gives Hyrcanus leave to rebuild Jeruſalem.

The walls of Jeruſalem lying at this time all in rubbiſh and ruin, juſt as they were left upon Pompey's breaking them down, Hyrcanus offer'd up a requeſt to Ceſar for leave to re-edify them, which was immediately granted with all the forms of ceremony and reſpect, and letters diſpatch'd away to the conſuls at Rome, for the entering of the reſolution in the records of the capitol; the copy of the decree running as follows:

A decree of the ſenate aſſembled in the Temple of Concord, on the thirteenth day of the month of December, preſent L. Coponius, the ſon of Lucius, and Caius Papirius Quirinus.

An alliance betwixt the ſenate of Rome and the Jews.

"Whereas it appeareth unto this ſenate, upon the report of Valerius the ſon of Lucius, Prætor, that it is requeſted and propoſed by Alexander the ſon of Jaſon, Numenius the ſon of Antiochus, and Alexander the ſon of Dorotheus, ambaſſadors on the behalf of the Jews, good men, and our faithful allies, that the antient league of friendſhip may be renewed betwixt us; and that in token of their good-will and diſpoſition, they have brought a preſent of a golden cup and buckler, valued at fifty thouſand crowns; deſiring letters alſo of recommendation to all governors and free towns, for a ſafe paſſage both by ſea and land, through all their ports and territories. Be it therefore order'd by this ſenate, that the ſame league of friendſhip and ſociety be renewed and eſtabliſhed, all the deſires of the ſaid ambaſſadors agreed unto and granted, and their preſents accepted." This was in the ninth year of the pontificate and principality of Hyrcanus, and in the month of Panemus.

This prince of the Jews had great honour done him alſo by the republick of Athens, in acknowledgment of their obligations to him; for they ſent him a decree to this following purpoſe:

*A decree of the Athenians, bearing date the twenty fifth day of the month Panemus; Dionyſius Aſclepiades being preſident and high-prieſt, and Agathocles, * Archon; reported by Eucles the Alimuſian, the ſon of Menander the ſcribe, on the eleventh of the Prytanea, in the month Munichion; a council of the † Prohedri being met in the theatre; and after gathering the ſuffrages of the people by the high-prieſt Dorotheus, and his aſſeſſors, Dionyſius, the ſon of Dionyſius, made publication as follows:*

A league betwixt Athens and the Jews.

"Foraſmuch as Hyrcanus the ſon of Alexander, and high-prieſt and prince of the Jews, hath upon all occaſions, both publick and private, as well in the generous reception, entertainment, and accommodation of our ambaſſadors, as otherwiſe, given proof of a ſingular affection and eſteem, both for our nation in general, and the citizens of Athens in particular, whereof we have received many inſtances; and foraſmuch as we have received credible information from Theodoſius the ſon of Theodorus of Sunium, of the virtue of the ſaid excellent prince, and of his friendly diſpoſition to do us all the good offices in his power, we have reſolved to preſent him with the honorary acknowledgment of a crown of gold, and to erect a brazen ſtatue to him in the temple of the * people and the graces, for the ſame of his memory, and to have it notified by proclamation at the exhibiting of any new ſhow, in all theatres and places of publick exerciſes, and ſpectacles in honour of Bacchus, Minerva, Ceres, &c. that we have preſented him with this crown out of a veneration for his virtue. And we do further will and require all our governors and magiſtrates to be aiding and aſſiſting in the effectual improvement of theſe our conceſſions to the beſt advantage of our friends and aſſociates, ſo long as this amity ſhall continue betwixt us; for the maniſeſtation of our gratitude, piety, and juſtice toward all men of worth and honour, and the encouraging of good offices and inclinations toward us for the future. We do likewiſe order, that a fit choice be forthwith made of ambaſſadors from among the Athenians, to attend Hyrcanus in our name, and with this our decree and preſents, and to provoke an emulation to outdo us in this generous way of competition." And ſo much for the intercourſe of friendſhip that paſs'd betwixt the Romans and the Athenians with Hyrcanus.

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* The Archon was a perſon among the Athenians, inveſted with ſovereign power.

† The Prohedri were chief magiſtrates, who had the direction and regulation of publick affairs, and to whom the reſt gave place in ſitting.

Antipater's exhortation to the people

When Ceſar had order'd his affairs in Syria, he went back again with his navy, and Antipater along with him, who immediately upon his return to Jeruſalem gave orders for the repairing of the walls that Pompey had thrown down; taking a tour at the ſame time up and down the province, to try what might be done with menaces and fair words, toward the keeping of a divided and a factious people quiet. "He laid before them the bleſſings of a dutiful obedience to their prince, in the peaceable enjoyment of their liberties and poſſeſſions, and the dangerous conſequences of ſeditious practices and innovations, which would force governors to turn perſecutors, Hyrcanus himſelf to turn tyrant, and the moſt neceſſary of their patrons and allies, even the Ceſars, and the ſenate of Rome themſelves, to become their implacable enemies; for depend upon it, ſays he, they will be obey'd." With theſe admonitions he quieted the whole country.

CHAP. XVII.

Phaſael and Herod governors of Jeruſalem and Galilee. Herod's character. Ezekiah a famous rover. Phaſael's character. Antipater's reputation draws envy upon him. Complaints of Antipater to Hyrcanus. Herod cited before the judges. A brave and a bold ſpeech of Simeas. Herod tranſported againſt Hyrcanus. Proclamations publiſh'd in favour of the Jews. Ceſar ſlain in the ſenate-houſe, by Brutus and Caſſius.

Phaſael and Herod governours of Jeruſalem and Galilee.

ANTIPATER, under theſe circumſtances, took an occaſion from the natural heavineſs of Hyrcanus to contrive a way for the advancing of his own family and fortunes by putting his two eldeſt ſons Phaſael and Herod into two eminent commands; the former into that of Jeruſalem, with the adjoining country, and Herod his ſecond ſon into the government of Galilee, being at that time † fifteen years of age; but of ſuch a pregnancy of wit, and ſo enterprizing a ſpirit, that his youth did not at all hinder him from ſearching out honourable occaſions for ſo heroical a diſpoſition to work upon. The borders of Syria were in thoſe days very much infeſted with robbers; ſo that the firſt inſtance of his prowess was upon that vagabond troop of highwaymen, wherein he took Ezekiah, their commander in chief, priſoner, with ſeveral of their companions, and put them all to death. This action gain'd him ſo mighty a reputation among the people, that his name was celebrated through all the towns and villages as their deliverer, and the author of their ſecurity and repoſe. By the fame of this exploit, he became alſo known to Sextus, the kinſman of Ceſar the Great; who had then the adminiſtration of Syria: Beſide that it kindled an emulation in Phaſael likewiſe, to do ſomewhat that was great too, after the example of his brother; applying himſelf accordingly to the arts of popularity, as the moſt likely way for the compaſſing of his end. He was a man of a publick ſpirit, and made for buſineſs; affable in his converſation, and ſo temperate in the exerciſe of his power, that never any good man was the worſe for it. By this dextrous way of addreſs, Antipater came to be treated by the whole nation, rather as an abſolute prince than as a proxy; and with a reverence alſo becoming the dignity of ſo great a maſter. And he had this virtue peculiar to himſelf from the reſt of the world, that proſperity never alter'd him, but from firſt to laſt he ſtood firm to his faith and to his friend.

Herod's character.

Ezekiah a famous thief taken, and put to death.

The character of Phaſael.

Antipater's reputation draws envy upon him.

This over-grown greatneſs of Antipater, and the elevation of his family to ſuch a degree of wealth, credit and power, together with the eſteem the people had for himſelf and his children, and his vaſt revenue in money from Hyrcanus, created ſo malicious an envy againſt him among the great men of the Jews, that they began to look upon him with an evil eye; eſpecially when they came to find what an intereſt he had made, not only among the people of Rome, but in the very hearts and good opinion of the emperors themſelves. They endeavoured to traduce him by ſaying he got money from Hyrcanus for the uſe of the Romans, and then engroſs'd the thanks for it to himſelf, as if it had been a preſent out of his own coffers, without ſo much as naming the other in the caſe. This was invidiouſly hinted to Hyrcanus, who was ſo far from taking it ill, that he ſeem'd pleas'd with it. But the thing of all the reſt that gave them the greateſt diſturbance, was the violent, daring, ambitious humour of Herod; inſomuch that in the heat of this indignation, they went to Hyrcanus with a complaint, and openly accuſed Antipater. "How long, ſaid they, ſhall every thing go to wreck thus, and you take no notice of it? Do not you perceive all this while, how the dignities, profits and prerogatives of royal power, are wholly ſhared betwixt Antipater and his two ſons; and that

Calumnies rais'd againſt him.

Complaints of Antipater to Hyrcanus.

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* See Meurſius's Athenæ Attic. lib. ii. c. 11.

† Caſaubon has ſhewn, that inſtead of fifteen, we ſhould read twenty five, or twenty ſix. See his firſt Exercit. againſt Baronius, towards the end. And biſhop Mountague's Exercitatio x. as alſo Harduin de Nummis, Herodiad. p. 23.

“you yourſelf have only the empty name and title of a prince? Have a care of letting things go too far, and being over ſecure; for moſt certainly the ſafety of your perſon and government lies equally at ſtake. You miſtake yourſelf, if you look upon theſe ſparks to be any longer your deputies, for they are effectually your maſters. What was Herod's outrage upon Ezekiah and his companions, but an affront to publick juſtice? For it is no better than direct murder by our law, to put any man to death, let him be never ſo great a villain, without the formality of a tryal: But this man had the face to exerciſe an arbitrary power, even without the leaſt colour of any power at all.”

Hyrcanus ſets a day of hearing, and refers the cauſe to the judges.

Herod appears.

WHAT with this diſcourſe and the clamour of the mothers in the temple, that lay day after day there, calling out both to prince and people for juſtice upon Herod, for the murder of their children, Hyrcanus was at laſt prevail'd upon to appoint a day of hearing, and try the cauſe indifferently betwixt Herod and his accuſers before a bench of Judges. Herod appeared upon the firſt call; though not altogether as a private man, but, according to his father's precaution, with only ſuch a train as might ſecure the priſoner, without affronting the court. Sextus Ceſar, having at that time the command of Syria, wrote a letter to Hyrcanus in Herod's favour, adding menaces, if they did not acquit him; which was no hard thing to obtain; for Hyrcanus lov'd him as his own fleſh and blood. When Herod with his people about him, had ſtood a long time facing the court, and not one mouth open'd againſt him, it put the whole aſſembly to their wits end, what to think of that profound ſilence, till in the concluſion, there ſtood up one Sameas, a man too juſt to be corrupted, and too innocent to fear any thing; and he deliver'd himſelf in terms to this purpoſe:

A bold ſpeech of Sameas.

“WITH the favour, ſays he, of yourſelf, Sir, and of this honourable court, this is the firſt time that ever I ſaw a priſoner at the bar, behaving himſelf with ſuch an air of vanity and confidence; and I am of opinion that you will hardly match this man, all things conſider'd, in the whole courſe of your obſervation and experience. It has been the practice formerly of perſons in his condition, to demean themſelves in their habits, countenances and behaviour, with ſome regard to the ſobriety, ſeverity and reſignation that becomes men in the hands of the law, and under the awe of a legal animadverſion: But we have a criminal here that values himſelf upon his guards, his ornaments and his purple, and ſtands in a poſture to make publick juſtice more dangerous to the court than to the criminal. But I do not blame him ſo much neither, for conſulting his own ſafety, before that of the law and the government, as I do thoſe that ſuffer'd him to go on in thoſe liberties: that is to ſay, the king and the judges. Take notice, however, ſays he, turning to the judges, of what I am about to tell you: God is a God of righteouſneſs and power; and the time will come, when this very man that you are now ſtickling to bring off in favour of Hyrcanus, ſhall be the ruin of you, both king and judges.”

Herod pays Sameas a great reſpect.

AND ſo it came to paſs not long after; for upon Herod's getting poſſeſſion of the government, he put the king himſelf to death, and all the judges, ſave only Sameas; for whom he had a ſingular honour, in regard both of his integrity and juſtice; and more particularly, as the perſon, that, after the beſieging of the city by himſelf and Soſius, was inſtrumental to the admitting of him into the place: With this further declaration, that it was a judgment upon them for their ſins, and a puniſhment not to be avoided. But of this elſewhere.

Hyrcanus adjourns the court.

HYRCANUS, finding how the judges ſtood affected, and that it was likely to go hard with Herod, he adjourned the court till next day, and gave him a private hint, by all means to get out of the way, for he was a loſt man elſe. Herod, upon this, withdrew to Damaſcus, for fear of Hyrcanus, as he pretended; and upon ſome diſcourſe with Sextus Ceſar, and the ſettling of his own affairs, he publickly declar'd, that if ever they cited him again to that court, he would diſclaim their juriſdiction. This contempt put the judges in a rage; and they fell preſently to ſuggeſting it to Hyrcanus, that his ruin was the very bottom of the deſign; but though the thing was as plain as plain could be, and that he himſelf was convinced of it, he had not either conduct or reſolution to make any uſe of the precaution to his advantage. Herod was by this time ſafe and eaſy under the care and protection of Sextus Ceſar, and ſettled alſo in a purchaſe for a ſum of money, of the government of Cele-Syria. This was the firſt thing that open'd Hyrcanus's eyes, and gave him terrible apprehenſions of miſchief from that quarter; neither were his apprehenſions groundleſs; for Herod was ſo exaſperated at the indignity of being expos'd to a trial, that he marched againſt him with an army; and if it had not been for the importunities and the interceſſions of his father, and his brother, he had moſt certainly fallen upon Jeruſalem itſelf; but upon their inſtances and entreaties, that he would content himſelf with the fright he had put them in, and ſtop there without offering any farther violence to the author of his dignity and fortune, they pacified and diverted him from his purpoſe. “'Tis true, they ſaid, he had been cited; but he was brought off to, and lay under ſome obligation for his deliverance.” They adviſed him likewiſe to conſider the uncertain chance of war, and how providence gave victories many times beyond and againſt human expectation; and that he had little to hope for in this cauſe from divine juſtice, conſidering that he fought not only againſt his prince, but againſt his very nouriſher and upholder, and one that had deſerved all good from him, without doing him any injury; or if he took any thing amiſs from him at preſent, it was rather to be imputed to the malevolence of evil counſellors he had about him, that had tranſported Hyrcanus into an evil opinion of him. Herod was ſo wrought upon by this way of advice and reaſoning, that he contented himſelf with ſhewing the people what power and reputation he had upon this occaſion; and this was the ſtate of affairs with the Jews at that time.

Herod withdraws.

Herod tranſported againſt Hyrcanus.

CESAR being now return'd to Rome, was preparing for an expedition into Africa, againſt

Scipio and Cato, and ſaluted upon the way by ambaſſadors from Hyrcanus to ſolicit the renewing of a former league of friendſhip. It will be proper enough in this place to take notice of the honours our people have from time to time received from the Roman emperors, and the alliances that have paſs'd betwixt us, to the end that the whole world may ſee what opinion the kings of Europe, as well as Aſia, have ever had for the faith and courage of the Jews.

The hiſtories of the Perſians and Macedonians are not publickly known and diſpers'd, 'tis true, and the authority of them may appear the leſs authentick; ſo that though we ourſelves have their books, and they are to be had alſo elſewhere, and make honourable mention of us upon many occaſions, we ſhall rather decline making any advantage of it, and caſt the credit of our cauſe upon the decrees and proclamations of the Romans, the monumental inſcriptions in their capitols, and upon pillars of braſs; which are all teſtimonies and evidences, beyond contradiction; and ſo was that memorable inſcription of Julius Ceſar's, upon the brazen pillar in Alexandria, which ſerves as a record to perpetuate the privilege of free citizens, which was allow'd the Jews as a prerogative in that famous place. I ſhall now proſecute my purpoſe with the particular inſtances of certain orders and decrees of the ſenate, and of Julius Ceſar, to the advantage of Hyrcanus and our whole nation.

Caius Julius Ceſar, emperor, Pontifex Maximus, and the ſecond time dictator, to the magiſtracy, ſenate, and the people of Sidon, greeting.

“I Myſelf, and my army are in health; and if you are well, all is well. I ſend you the copy of a letter of ours to Hyrcanus, the ſon of Alexander, the prince and high-prieſt of the Jews, to be engraved upon a braſs table, the inſcription in Latin and Greek, and to remain among your regiſters for after-times. The letter itſelf in ſubſtance is as follows:

“C. Julius Ceſar, emperor, the ſecond time dictator, and Pontifex Maximus, hath, with the advice and conſent of the ſenate, appointed the publication of this decree.

“Forasmuch as Hyrcanus, the ſon of Alexander a Jew, hath in all times, as well in war as in peace, approved himſelf to be our truſty good friend and ally, as appeareth by ſeveral atteſtations of unqueſtionable credit, and particularly by the ſupply of fifteen hundred choice men that he ſent to Mithridates, to my aſſiſtance in the late Alexandrian war: theſe ſervices and good offices duly conſider'd, I do hereby confirm and eſtabliſh unto Hyrcanus, and his heirs, the perpetual government of the Jews, both as their prince and high-prieſt, after the manner and method of their own laws; and from this time forward, enroll them among my * truſty and well-beloved friends, and ratify an affinity with them as my aſſociates. And it is my pleaſure likewiſe, that all the † legal pontifical rights and privileges be devolved upon him and his ſons for ever; and in caſe any controverſy ſhall ariſe among the people concerning the Jewiſh diſcipline, himſelf and his family, in the courſe of ſucceſſion, to be the only judges of it. It is moreover my will and pleaſure, that the Jews be diſcharged the burden of winter quarters, and of all publick payments.”

We ſhall come now to ſome of his particular grants, reſolutions, and decrees.

“It is ordered, Caius Ceſar being conſul, that the government of the Jews ſhall deſcend from Hyrcanus to his heirs for ever, with all the poſſeſſions, grants, and emoluments, belonging or annexed to the pontificate, the high-prieſt to have the judgment of all cauſes. And it is likewiſe appointed, that ambaſſadors be forthwith ſent to Hyrcanus the ſon of Alexander, the high-prieſt of the Jews, with inſtructions to treat about a friendly alliance with him; and that theſe particulars be fairly inſcrib'd upon brazen tables in Latin and Greek, to be ſet up in the capitol, at Tyre, Sidon, Askalon, and in the temples, to the end that this our pleaſure may be duly made known through all our dominions, and that none may pretend ignorance; and for the honour of our friends, and for a recommendation of their agents and miniſters, to a ſingular reſpect and eſteem in all places where they ſhall come.

“Caius Cesar, emperor, dictator, and conſul, taking into his conſideration the honour, the friendſhip, and the ‖ good ſervices of Hyrcanus, doth hereby, for the benefit and advantage of the ſenate and people of Rome, grant unto Hyrcanus, the ſon of Alexander, and to his ſons after him, by an hereditary right of ſucceſſion, the authority and office of princes and prieſts of Jeruſalem, and of the whole nation of the Jews, to be by them exerciſed and enjoy'd, in ſuch manner as their anceſtors enjoy'd and exerciſed the ſaid dignities before them.

“Caius Cesar, the fifth time conſul, hath ordained and appointed that the city of Jeruſalem ſhall be repair'd and fortified; and that Hyrcanus the prince and high-prieſt of the Jews, and the ſon of Alexander, ſhall have the adminiſtration of the government, with an abatement upon the duty every ſecond year, of a part of their taxes, and an exemption from carriages and other tributes.

“Caius Cesar, emperor, hath likewiſe ordained, that the inhabitants of Jeruſalem ſhall pay a yearly tribute for itſelf and all its dependencies, ſaving only the city of Joppa, with an exemption of all duty from the ſeventh year, which they call ſabbatical, or the year of reſt; in which they neither ſow, plant, nor reap, either fruit or grain; and it is his pleaſure alſo, that the Jews in Sidon pay a tribute of the fourth part of their fruits every ſecond year for a duty, beſide the tenths to Hyrcanus and his ſons, as they have paid formerly to their predeceſſors. And farther, that no governors, military officers, or ambaſſadors, preſume to raiſe any ſoldiers, or impoſe any charges upon the lands of the Jews, whether for winter quarters, or upon any other pretext whatſoever; but that they may hold all their

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* See Cotelerius's notes upon the ſecond volume of his Monumenta Eccleſ. Gr. p. 546.

† 'Tis in the original, as Cotelerius corrects it, ἀρχιερατικὰ ϰ̓ φιλάνθρωπα, ibid. p. 595.

‖ See Cotelerius's notes to the ſecond volume of his Monumenta Eccleſ. Gr. p. 525.

"purchaſes and acquiſitions peaceably and quietly to themſelves, without any let or moleſtation whatſoever. It is alſo our farther will and pleaſure, that the city of Joppa, which the Jews were poſſeſs'd of at their firſt entrance into an alliance with the Romans, remain under the government of Hyrcanus the ſon of Alexander and his family, with all the revenues and advantages ariſing from it, whether upon husbandry, port duties, taxes, cuſtoms, anchorage, impoſitions upon goods, and exportations of corn for Sidon, once in two years, ſaving only the ſabbatical year, wherein (as it is ſaid before) they neither plow, plant, ſow, reap, nor gather. As to the villages that Hyrcanus and his anceſtors formerly poſſeſs'd in the great plain, it is the will of the ſenate, that they continue to Hyrcanus and the Jews in manner as before, and that the ſame laws and cuſtoms be ſtill preſerved and exerciſed betwixt them and the prieſts, and all advantages made good that had been formerly granted to them by the ſenate and the people of Rome, the ſame privileges extending even to Lydda itſelf. And whereas the Romans had formerly beſtow'd upon the kings of Syria and Cilicia, certain lands and eſtates, in reſpect of an alliance betwixt them, it is the pleaſure of the ſenate that they ſtill continue in the poſſeſſion of Hyrcanus the prince of the Jews. And farther, that he himſelf, his ſon, and his ambaſſadors, ſhall have places aſſign'd them among the ſenators, to ſee the gladiators, and other publick ſpectacles; and that upon any occaſion of applying themſelves to the ſenate, the dictator, or the maſter of the horſe, ſhall introduce them to their audience, and an anſwer to be returned them within ten days, if the ſenate ſhall come to any reſolution upon the matter.

"Caius Julius, the fourth time emperor, the fifth time conſul, and perpetual dictator, makes this mention of Hyrcanus the ſon of Alexander, the prince and the high-prieſt of the Jews.

"Whereas my predeceſſors, as well in the provinces as in the ſenate, have formerly born witneſs to many honourable reports on the behalf of the high-prieſt Hyrcanus, and the generality of the Jews, who have thereupon received the thanks of the ſenate and people of Rome, in acknowledgment of their worth and goodneſs, we look upon theſe friendly offices and reſpects, as obligations never to be forgotten; and upon ourſelves, as bound in the name of the ſenate and people of Rome, to give Hyrcanus, his family, and countrymen, all poſſible demonſtrations of the ſenſe we have of their amity and eſteem."

Caius Julius, dictator and conſul, to the magiſtracy, ſenate, and body of the Parians, greeting.

"Whereas application hath been made unto us at Delos, by great numbers of the Jews from ſeveral quarters, complaining againſt you in the hearing and preſence of your own ambaſſadors, for denying the Jews the liberty of their country laws, and the free enjoyment of their rites and ſacrifices, they having likewiſe ſhew'd us the inſtrument of interdiction itſelf; theſe are to let you underſtand, that we will not ſuffer any ſuch unreaſonable rigour to be practiſed toward our friends and allies; but our pleaſure is, on the contrary, that they be let alone in the free and peaceable enjoyment of their cuſtoms, feſtivals, and ſacrifices, being no more than the allowance of a privilege which they enjoy in Rome itſelf; for in the edict of Caius Ceſar, conſul, prohibiting all publick meetings and congregations in the city, the Jews alone were permitted to meet together, feaſt and make merry; and I myſelf, in another caſe of prohibition, excepted the Jews likewiſe out of that reſtraint, and left them to their own ways and manners; wherefore if ſo it be, that you have paſs'd any order to the prejudice of our allies, in the privileges that we have thought fit to allow them, it is but juſt and reaſonable that you revoke, and make void any ſuch decree out of a reſpect to us, and to them for our ſakes, as they are our friends and aſſociates."

AFTER the death of Ceſar, Marcus Antonius, and Publius Dolobella, being then conſuls, call'd a ſenate, and gave an audience to the ambaſſadors of Hyrcanus, upon the ſubject-matter of their inſtructions and deſires, ſtruck up a new league with them, and came to a reſolution at laſt, in favour of all their demands. This Dolobella having received letters from Hyrcanus, took an occaſion from thence to ſend diſpatches all over Aſia, and particularly to Epheſus, the metropolis of that province, in terms much to this effect:

*The * emperor Dolobella to the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people of Epheſus, greeting.*

"Whereas we are given to underſtand by Alexander the ſon of Theodorus, and ambaſſador of Hyrcanus the high-prieſt and prince of the Jews, in the name of the ſaid Hyrcanus, that the Jews being tied up by the religion, laws, and conſtitutions of their country, not to bear arms, travel, or ſo much as provide themſelves neceſſaries for life, upon the day of their ſabbath, are thereby render'd incapable of attending the duties and ſervices of the war, we do therefore order and appoint, according to what our predeceſſors have done before us in the ſame caſe, that the ſaid Jews be from this time forward exempted from all military charges, and permitted the liberty of meeting, worſhipping, and ſacrificing, according to their own uſe and way. And hereof you are to cauſe due notice to be given through all the cities of your province."

"We find theſe privileges granted to our people by Dolobella, at the inſtance of Hyrcanus; and Lucius Lentulus the conſul pronouncing upon the whole matter, in form, that the citizen Jews in Epheſus ſhould be allow'd the free exerciſe of their religion, with an immunity from all offices and impoſitions relating to the war."

Given in court the 18th day of September.

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* The ſtile of generals in thoſe days.

We might produce ſeveral other imperial reſolutions and decrees of ſenate in favour of Hyrcanus and the Jewiſh nation, with letters recommendatory to the governors of cities and provinces, upon the ſubject of our rights and claims; for which we can ſhew authorities not to be doubted of by any equal and impartial judge, in juſtification of what we have here deliver'd. The proofs, in fine, of an amicable underſtanding of antient date, betwixt us and the Romans, are ſo firm and clear, that the record of it is yet to be ſeen to this day, upon brazen tables and pillars in the capitol, in perpetual memory of that alliance. It would be time loſt to be more particular in a caſe where there are ſo many undeniable evidences extant, in confirmation of the matter here exhibited; ſo that I ſhall rather caſt myſelf upon what I have ſaid already for the credit of what I could ſay farther, than tire out the reader with a tedious ſtory for the clearing of a thing that is indiſputable; wherefore let this ſuffice to ſhew the friendly correſpondence that paſs'd in former times betwixt the Romans and the Jews.

There happened at or about this time a deſperate ſedition in Syria, and it was upon this occaſion: Cecilius Baſſus, a Pompeian, enter'd into a plot upon the life of Sextus Ceſar. He got him treacherouſly murder'd, and immediately drew out his troops upon it, and took poſſeſſion of the province. This outrage was follow'd with a bloody war upon the borders of Apamia. The Ceſareans march'd againſt Baſſus with horſe and foot; Antipater with his ſons joining them, in honour to the memory of his illuſtrious benefactor; accounting himſelf bound both in honour and juſtice to take his revenge upon the murderer of ſo generous a friend. While the war was drawing out at length, * Marcus ſets up for ſucceſſor to Sextus; and in the mean time, Brutus and Caſſius, with a band of other conſpirators, aſſaſſinated Ceſar in the ſenate-houſe. He had now been three years and a half in his government, as appears by the whole current of hiſtorians.

CHAP. XVIII.

The death of Ceſar was follow'd by a civil war. Caſſius enters into a faction, and joins with Herod in horrible oppreſſions. People as well as places expoſed to ſale. Marcus in a plot againſt Antipater, and brings himſelf off by a falſe oath.

The death of Ceſar is followed with a civil war.

Caſſius makes a party, and draws Marcus and Baſſus into it.

Upon the death of Ceſar, the ſenators and the chief men of Rome fell preſently all into parties and factions, every man ſhifting and ſetting up for himſelf, till the confuſion broke out into a civil war. Caſſius got poſſeſſion of the army in Syria, which was then before Apamia; raiſed the ſiege, and brought over Marcus and Baſſus into his intereſt; took his progreſs from place to place, picking up men, money, and arms, more or leſs, wherever he came, but oppreſſing Judea above all the reſt, by an impoſition of betwixt † ſeven and eight hundred talents of ſilver. In the hurry of this diſtraction and confuſion, Antipater committed the care of levying one part of this money to his two ſons, and the reſt of it to Malichus, (one who had no great kindneſs for him,) together with ſome others. Herod, who was willing to oblige the Romans at other people's coſt, began with the moſt acceptable preſents to Caſſius, of the contribution of Galilee, as the firſt-fruits of his ſervice; but for ſeveral cities under other governors, they were expoſed to publick ſale, and ſold as by an outcry, people, places, and all, to him that would give moſt; as particularly the cities of Gophna, Emmaus, Lydda, and Thamna, where the inhabitants, by Caſſius's order, were ſold by auction; and he was ſo exaſperated againſt Malichus, upon this occaſion, that if Hyrcanus had not pacified him with a compoſition of a hundred ‡ talents out of his own coffers, by the hands of Antipater, it would have coſt Malichus his life. So ſoon as Caſſius was gone off with his treaſure, Malichus enter'd into a practice againſt the perſon of Antipater, infering, that if he were once out of the way, Hyrcanus would find himſelf more eaſy and ſecure in his government. Antipater had ſuch an apprehenſion however of this deſign upon him, that for prevention ſake he forthwith paſs'd the river Jordan, and put himſelf at the head of as many Jews and Arabians as he could gather into a body; but Malichus, who was a bold and a cunning fellow, finding himſelf ſuſpected, went to Antipater and his ſons, barefac'd, and without more ado clear'd himſelf of the jealouſy by the dint of downright perjury. "Can any body imagine, " ſays he, that I ſhould be ſo arrant a fool, as " to entertain ſo much as the leaſt thought of " a plot, or a conſpiracy, when at the ſame " time Phaſael had the command of Jeruſa- " lem, and Herod that of the arms and ma- " gazines?" So that by this impudence, failing of his main end, he made his peace with Antipater. Marcus had at this time the government of Syria, who coming afterward to hear of new practices of Malichus in Judea, had certainly put him to death, if it had not been for the interceſſion of Antipater on his behalf.

Horrible oppreſſions under Caſſius and Herod.

People and places all put to ſale.

Malichus in a plot againſt Antipater.

Malichus makes his peace by a falſe oath.

CHAP. XIX.

Marcus and Caſſius give Herod the command of the lower Syria. Malichus gets Antipater poiſon'd, but forſwears it. A bloody malice well diſſembled.

Antipater's good nature in this act of tenderneſs, was more than his diſcretion; for, as it fell out, he ſav'd Malichus only to deſtroy himſelf. When

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* By Marcus we are to underſtand Marcus Criſpus, or otherwiſe to read Murcus, as Mr. Spanheim conjectures. To this purpoſe ſee Caſaubon's Exercit. An. DCCVI.

† Seven hundred Jewiſh talents weighed ſeventy nine thouſand eight hundred forty three pounds, nine ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to two hundred thirty nine thouſand five hundred thirty one pounds, five ſhillings, Engliſh money.

‡ An hundred Jewiſh talents weighed eleven thouſand four hundred and ſix pounds, three ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to thirty four thouſand two hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen ſhillings of our money.

Marcus and Caſſius give Herod the command of the lower Syria.

Malichus gets Antipater poiſoned;

but forſwears it. The two brothers reſolve upon a revenge.

Malice well diſſembled on both ſides.

and Caſſius had gotten an army together, they gave Herod the command of it both by ſea and land, and at the ſame time made him governor of all Cele-Syria, with a further promiſe of the kingdom of Judea, ſo ſoon as the war ſhould be over with Anthony, and the younger Ceſar, afterward Auguſtus, which they were then engaged in. This promotion of Herod put Malichus into ſuch an apprehenſion and jealouſy of Antipater, that he got him poiſon'd for a ſum of money, by Hyrcanus's butler, one day at his maſter's table; and thereupon, with a guard of ſoldiers about him, took poſſeſſion of the city. This was the end of Antipater; a juſt and a good man, and a true lover of his country. Herod and Phaſael reſented this barbarous practice upon the perſon of their father, as they ought to do; but Malichus had the confidence however to forſwear all upon the main, and ſtand upon his juſtification. The two brothers were both agreed in the determination of a revenge; but the queſtion was, in what manner it was to be effected. Herod was for doing of it at the head of an army; but Phaſael rather by ſtratagem and ſurprize, for fear of embroiling the people in a civil war: So that he behaved to Malichus with an air of complacency, without diſcovering any ſuſpicion he had of him for the murder; employing himſelf at the ſame time upon the erecting of an illuſtrious monument to the honour of his dead father. Herod came about this time to Samaria, and finding every thing in great diſorder, he made it his buſineſs to ſet matters to rights again, and to compoſe all controverſies and diſputes among the inhabitants, by a regular courſe of law and juſtice. There came on ſoon after this, a ſolemn feſtival at Jeruſalem; upon which occaſion, Herod advanced with his army toward the city; where Malichus in a dread on the other hand, earneſtly preſs'd Hyrcanus not to give him admittance; who was accordingly prevail'd upon to refuſe him entrance, upon a pretext, that it would be a prophanation of the holy religion to communicate in their ceremonies and worſhip with ſtrangers. But Herod made light of this interdiction, and got into the town by night. This ſurprize put Malichus under dreadful apprehenſions; but he had the cunning however, to ſtick to his diſguiſe of tears and exclamations for the loſs of his dear friend Antipater, and at the ſame time privately to provide a guard for the ſecurity of his perſon. Herod's friends under theſe circumſtances, had no better expedient than to encounter his pretence of ſorrow and affliction on the one hand, with an artificial ſemblance of friendſhip and confidence on the other.

CHAP. XX.

Caſſius and Herod join to revenge Antipater's murder. Malichus ſtabb'd under a colour of friendſhip.

Caſſius joins with Herod to revenge Antipater's murder.

Malichus ſtabb'd upon the way, under colour of friendſhip.

THE character of Malichus was ſo well known to Caſſius, that he order'd Herod, immediately upon the news of Antipater's death, to revenge it upon the head of the murderer, privately commanding the troops alſo that were then at Tyre to his aſſiſtance. Upon the taking of Loadicea afterward by Caſſius, and the people thronging to him with money and preſents, Herod made no doubt of an opportunity to gain his point upon that occaſion: But as Malichus was upon the way near Tyrus in Phenicia, his heart miſgave him, and that apprehenſion put him upon other meaſures. He had a ſon at that time an hoſtage in Tyre, and he thought with himſelf that if he could but ſteal him away into Judea, the Jews might be tamper'd to a revolt; and he himſelf take his advantage, while Caſſius was engaged in a war with Anthony, to poſſeſs himſelf of the government. The project was bold, and well enough contrived; if Herod's wonderful ſagacity and precaution had not diſappointed it, by ſending out ſeveral officers beforehand to meet Malichus and his train upon the way in their arms, under a pretext of inviting them into a collation; which they did accordingly, and falling upon him on the ſea-ſide of the town, they there diſpatch'd him with their daggers. The horror and ſurprize of this action ſtruck Hyrcanus ſpeechleſs; but upon coming a little to himſelf, and enquiring into particulars, Herod put a ſhort end to his curioſity, by telling him that it was all done by the command of Caſſius: Whereupon Hyrcanus ſeemed highly to approve the juſtice of the vengeance for the murder of Antipater, upon ſo lewd a man, and ſo treacherous an enemy to his country.

UPON the departure of Caſſius out of Syria, there follow'd great troubles in Judea. For Felix, with the troops that were under his command in Jeruſalem, made an attack upon Phaſael; and the people betook themſelves to their arms in his defence. Herod upon this, apply'd himſelf to Fabius the governor of Damaſcus, with a deſign to aſſiſt his brother; but was prevented for the preſent by a fit of ſickneſs, that put him out of condition to ſerve him. Phaſael however had the good fortune to do his buſineſs without him, and to force Felix for ſanctuary into a ſtrong hold upon terms: Phaſael reproaching Hyrcanus all this while with ingratitude to the higheſt degree, in ſiding with his enemy, after ſo many obligations as he had laid upon him; for the brother of Malichus had at that time gotten ſeveral fortify'd places into his hand, and Maſada among the reſt, which was look'd upon as a fort in a manner impregnable; but Herod upon his recovery, took them all back again, and ſo diſmiſs'd him upon articles of agreement betwixt them.

CHAP. XXI.

Antigonus raiſes an army. Herod's tenderneſs for the Tyrians. He defeats Antigonus, and marries Mariamne.

Antigonus raiſes an army.

ANTIGONUS, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, a near kinſman of Ptolemy Menneus, and for affinity ſake, by him adopted, engaged Fabius for a ſum of money to join with him in the drawing of an army together, taking Marion alſo into his aſſiſtance, who, by the favour of Caſſius, had gotten the command of Tyre, and the power of all Syria into his hand, having ſettled ſeveral gariſons there, and three

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Herod's tenderneſs for the Tyrians.

Herod encounters Antigonus, and defeats him.

Herod marries Mariamne. Herod had Antipater by a former wife, Dores.

in Galilee itſelf, upon his own borders; but Herod quickly reduced theſe places, treating the Tyrians that had the keeping of them, not only with fair quarter, but with reſpect, tenderneſs, and even with preſents too, for the love he bore to the people themſelves. His next buſineſs was immediately to march up to Antigonus, whom he encounter'd and defeated upon his very entrance into Judea, and returning triumphant from thence to Jeruſalem, he was received by Hyrcanus and the whole people, with all poſſible inſtances of honour and eſteem; for being now upon the point of a match with the daughter of Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, and of Alexandra the daughter of Hyrcanus, Herod was conſider'd as a branch of the family; and the marriage being conſummated ſoon after, he had by this wife three ſons and two daughters; having had a former wife of his own country, whoſe name was Dores, by whom he had his eldeſt ſon Antipater.

CHAP. XXII.

Caſſius routed by Anthony and Brutus. Complains againſt Phaſael and Herod. Hyrcanus preſſes Anthony for ſatisfaction againſt Caſſius. Several edicts in favour of the Jews.

Caſſius routed at Philippi by Anthony and Auguſtus.

Complaints to Anthony againſt Phaſael and Herod.

Herod pleads his cauſe with arguments and preſents. Hyrcanus and the body of the Jews preſs Anthony for ſatisfaction againſt Caſſius.

AFTER the defeat of Caſſius at Philippi, by Anthony and Auguſtus, Ceſar went his way into Gaul, and Anthony into Aſia, who was complimented upon his march in Bithynia with embaſſies and applications from ſeveral parts; and among others, he was encounter'd with complaints and accuſations againſt Phaſael and Herod, from many eminent perſons among the Jews, ſuggeſting that Hyrcanus, though he had the name of a governor, was in effect, but a mock prince; for that the two brothers had uſurp'd the authority and adminiſtration to themſelves. Herod pleaded ſo well for himſelf, and ſeconded his reaſons with ſo large a ſum of money, that his adverſaries were not ſo much as admitted to be heard againſt him. Upon Anthony's coming up to Epheſus, ambaſſadors were ſent from Hyrcanus the high-prieſt, and the whole body of the Jews, with a crown of gold, ſupplications, and preſents; deſiring that their countrymen, who were carried away priſoners by Caſſius, contrary to the rules of war, might be ſet at liberty, and their lands reſtored to them, that had been wrongfully taken away; deſiring Anthony's letters to the provinces in their favour to this purpoſe. Their requeſt was found to be ſo reaſonable, Anthony preſently granted their petition, and wrote to Hyrcanus, and to the Jews, and likewiſe diſpatch'd an edict to the Tyrians, to this following effect:

Marcus Antonius, emperor, to Hyrcanus the high-prieſt, and prince of the Jews, greeting, joy and health.

Anthony to the magiſtrates of Tyre.

"WHEREAS we have received from Lyſimachus the ſon of Pauſanias, Joſeph the ſon of Menneus, and Alexander the ſon of Theodorus, your ambaſſadors, at Epheſus, freſh aſſurances of the continuance of yours and your people's affection for us, according to what hath been formerly exhibited to us at Rome; in which commiſſion they have faithfully and worthily acquitted themſelves; and whereas we are abundantly ſatisfied in the ſincerity of your intentions, and more from the proof we have had of your good faith, piety, and virtue, than by the force of words, we do heartily agree to your propoſals, and embrace your friendſhip. Now ſince ſo it is that the enemies, both of ourſelf, and of the people of Rome, have laid waſte and ravaged the whole country of Aſia, without any regard to ſocieties, laws, or holy places, oaths, promiſes, or contracts, we have turned our arms againſt theſe violaters of all duties, ſacred and civil; not for any particular intereſt of our own, but in vindication of the common cauſe of mankind. As in the caſe of the horrid murder of Ceſar, a villainy ſo black and hideous, that the ſun itſelf was confounded at the ſight of it: the execrable aſſaſſins betook themſelves, ſome of them at leaſt, into Macedonia, as if it had been to fight the old quarrel againſt the gods over again there. Such was their outrageous malice at the battle of Philippi, where having poſſeſſed themſelves of all the faſtneſſes and ſtrong places, up to the very ſea, under the cover of almoſt impaſſable mountains, they were ſo poſted, that there was only one way open to come at them. But theſe difficulties notwithſtanding, divine juſtice gave us ſo entire a victory over the ſacrilegious rebels, that we beat Brutus and Caſſius into the town; where finding themſelves environ'd, they both periſhed together; ſo that having inflicted a juſt vengeance upon the heads of theſe monſters, we are now in hope to ſee peaceable days again, and Aſia, that looks like a body already recovering out of a deſperate diſtemper by the benefit of this relief, deliver'd finally from the outrages of a devouring war. And it ſhall be our care likewiſe to provide that you and your people may come in for an ample ſhare in the comfort of ſo great a bleſſing. To this end we have already diſpatch'd away our mandates from place to place for the immediate diſcharge of all the Jews, as well bond as free, that had been expoſed to ſale by Caſſius, or his order. And it is our farther pleaſure, that you ſhall quietly enjoy to yourſelves and your heirs, all the graces and privileges unto you granted by myſelf and Dolobella, with an expreſs inhibition to the Tyrians, that they give you no ſort of moleſtation, and as poſitively commanding them to make full reſtitution of all the goods and eſtates that had been taken away from the Jews, declaring our acceptance alſo of the crown you were pleaſed to ſend."

Marcus Antonius, emperor, to the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people of Tyre, greeting.

"WHEREAS we have been given to underſtand at Epheſus, by the ambaſſadors of Hyrcanus the high-prieſt, and prince of the Jews, that in the time when our enemies were in poſſeſſion of this province, you enter'd upon the lands of ſeveral of this people for your own uſe, be it now known unto you, that as we engaged in this “war for the good of the empire, and for the maintenance of piety and juſtice, againſt a band of ungrateful rebels; ſo we do hereby will and require you, not only to live in peace and amity with our allies, but alſo to reſtore to the former proprietors whatever you have of theirs that was taken from them by the hands of our enemies; who, as they had no manner of right thereunto themſelves, by any commiſſion or authority from the ſenate; ſo neither could they convey any right to others, upon whom they pretended to beſtow it, being only the mercenary inſtruments of their violence and uſurpation. And now having brought our adverſaries to condign puniſhment, we find it reaſonable to re-eſtabliſh our allies in the full and quiet enjoyment of their eſtates; wherefore if you have in your hands at preſent any lands or eſtates formerly belonging to Hyrcanus the prince of the Jews, which you came to be ſeized of in the time, or under the countenance of Caſſius's unrighteous invaſion, it is our will that they be forthwith deliver'd up to the perſons from whom they were taken, without any oppoſition or delay; and in caſe of any doubt or difficulty that may ariſe upon the equity of the matter, it ſhall be our care when we come into thoſe parts, to hear both ſides, and to diſcharge juſtice impartially.”

Mark Anthony, emperor, to the magiſtrate, ſenate, and people of Tyre, greeting.

“I HAVE ſent you my mandate, which you are to ſee carefully tranſcrib'd in Latin and Greek, and expoſed upon a table among your records, in a publick place where all people may take notice of it.” And again.

Marcus Antonius, emperor and triumvir, &c. as follows.

“WHEREAS Caius Caſſius, taking advantage of our troubles and diſtractions, broke in with a body of vagabond troops upon a province where he had nothing at all to do, and without the leaſt colour of any warrantable title or pretenſion; ravaging and deſtroying the country and the whole nation of the Jews, though our dear friends and allies; and continuing thoſe outrages, till by our arms we brought down the pride and inſolence of theſe preſumptuous uſurpers; it is our expreſs will and command now for the reparation of all theſe indignities, (as far as in us lies,) to ordain and appoint, that reſtitution or ſatisfaction be forthwith made to our allies the Jews, for whatſoever hath been forcibly taken from them, and the perſons of all their priſoners to be ſet at liberty; and we do likewiſe require that this our decree be punctually obſerved, upon pain of our utmoſt diſpleaſure.”

ANTHONY wrote to the ſame purpoſe alſo to the people of Sidon, Antioch, and Arad, which we think reaſonable to give an account of in this place, to the end that poſterity may know how great an honour and reſpect our nation has received time after time from the ſtate of Rome.

CHAP. XXIII.

Anthony's encounter with Cleopatra. Heavy complaints againſt Herod and Phaſael. The cauſe tried, and council heard. Anthony adviſes with Hyrcanus. The ingratitude of Herod's accuſers.

Anthony's encounter with Cleopatra. Complaints and accuſations againſt Herod and Phaſael. Counſels heard on both ſides.

The cauſe tried at Daphne. Anthony adviſes with Hyrcanus.

The defendants advance, and ſeveral of the proſecutors put to death. The ingratitude of Herod's accuſers, which coſt them their lives in the concluſion.

ANTHONY paſſing after this into Syria, was met and complimented by Cleopatra upon the way in Cilicia, where he fell deſperately in love with her. Application was alſo made to him by a matter of a hundred eminent perſons of the firſt quality of the Jews, with complaints and accuſations againſt Herod and Phaſael, bringing along with them a ſelect choice of the beſt ſpeakers they had for their advocates. Meſſala was of council for the two brothers, being likewiſe ſeconded by Hyrcanus, who was at this time by marriage become father-in-law to Herod. The cauſe was tried at Daphne; where, upon full hearing of both ſides, Anthony put it to Hyrcanus, which of the two was the beſt qualified for the office of a governor, who made anſwer, that he took Herod to be the more competent adminiſtrator of the two. Anthony had ſo great a tenderneſs and reſpect for the two young men, upon the ſcore of paſt kindneſs received from their father Antipater, who took him into his protection when Gabinius made war upon Judea, that he confer'd upon them both the dignity of Tetrarchs, and committed Judea to their care. He wrote ſeveral letters alſo in their favour, and impriſon'd fifteen of the moſt violent of their proſecutors, with a reſolution to have put them all to death, if Herod by his mediation had not diverted the execution. But this generoſity of Herod's had no effect at all upon the implacable malice of his enemies; for they were no ſooner diſmiſs'd from their embaſſy, but they entered into new practices againſt the life of their preſerver, immediately upon their return; and drawing together to the number of a thouſand perſons of the faction, they marched in a body to Tyre, to wait for Anthony's coming thither. But Herod and his brother had already made ſo powerful an intereſt by the force of money and preſents, that Anthony ſent his orders to the magiſtracy of the place, to aſſiſt Herod in the ſupport of his authority, and to do juſtice upon the Jewiſh ambaſſadors, as a parcel of ſeditious innovators, that were in a deſign to overturn the government. But Herod gave yet a ſecond inſtance of his humanity and good nature, in repairing to the deputies as they were advancing up to the city, and adviſing them by all means to withdraw themſelves in time; Hyrcanus joining with Herod in the ſame advice, and deſiring them to retire, for fear of what miſchief might befal them if they perſiſted in that appeal. But theſe people, in contempt of all counſels and dangers, kept on their way till they were ſet upon and overborn by multitudes of both Jews and inhabitants; great numbers of them being kill'd and wounded, and the reſt diſpers'd, which put a final end to that controverſy; not but that the common people ſtill perſever'd loudly to exclaim againſt Herod's proceedings, which irritated Anthony to that degree, that he commanded all the priſoners to be put to death.

In the year following Pacorus the ſon of the king of Parthia and Barzapharnes, a prince of the country, made themſelves maſters of Syria; and Ptolemy Menneus dying at the ſame time, his ſon Lyſanias ſucceeded him, having contracted a particular friendſhip with Antigonus the ſon of Ariſtobulus, by the means of Barzapharnes, who was held in very great eſteem by him.

CHAP. XXIV.

Antigonus deals with the Parthians to depoſe Hyrcanus, and to put Herod and his brothers to death. Pacorus and Barzapharnes join againſt Judea. The Tyrians deny Pacorus entrance. The Jews of Mount Carmel ſide with Antigonus. A guard ſet upon the temple, and the houſes fir'd over their heads. Pacorus betrays Phaſael. Barzapharnes charged with treachery, but denies it.

Antigonus contracts with the Parthians to depoſe Hyrcanus, and put Herod and his brothers to death.

ANTIGONUS contracted with the Parthians for a * thouſand talents, and five hundred women, upon the depoſing of Hyrcanus, and receiving him for governor in his ſtead; and at the ſame time put Herod to death and all his party. The ſum agreed upon was not depoſited, but the Parthians, however, enter'd upon the undertaking, and marched with an army againſt Judea, Pacorus by the way of the coaſt, and Barzapharnes through the inland. The Tyrians ſtood upon their guard againſt Pacorus, and kept him out of the city; but the people of Sidon and Ptolemais open'd their gates and receiv'd him. He detached, upon this, a party of horſe upon the ſcout, under the command of the king's cup-bearer, whoſe name alſo was Pacorus, to diſcover the ſtate of the country, and to ſecond Antigonus, if there ſhould be occaſion. The Jews of Mount Carmel ſided with Antigonus, who fancied that by their aſſiſtance he might make himſelf maſter of that part of the country which they call Drymœ, and he was perſuaded by others alſo that came over to him, to puſh forward, even to Jeruſalem itſelf; which he did accordingly by the help of ſeveral ſtrong enforcements that join'd him with a reſolution to attack Herod and Phaſael in the royal palace; but while this was in agitation, the two brothers, with a conſiderable body of their friends and party, fell upon them in the market-place; and beating them from their poſt, they fled into the temple. Herod clapt a guard of ſoldiers into the adjoining houſes, for the better ſecurity of the place; but the multitude breaking violently in upon them before they could be reliev'd, ſet fire to the buildings over their heads, and burnt the houſes to aſhes, together with the defendants. Soon after this outrage, Herod had his revenge, in a defeat he gave them with a very great ſlaughter. They continued skirmiſhing from day to day, till toward the feaſt of Pentecoſt, which Antigonus and his party expected with great impatience, becauſe of the mighty confluence of people that reſorted thither upon that ſolemnity. The time being come, there were ſeveral thouſands gather'd together about the temple; ſome with arms, others without, and the city as well as the temple crowded with them, all but the palace, which Herod, with a ſmall party, maintain'd, the charge of the walls and outworks being committed to Phaſael. The enemy having poſted themſelves in the ſuburbs, Herod made a brave and a deſperate ſally upon them, wherein he did great execution, driving ſeveral thouſands before him; ſome into the temple, ſome into the city, and forcing others to take ſanctuary behind a rampart that was there at hand; Phaſael alſo acquitting himſelf in this action like a man of honour. Pacorus, in the mean time, at the inſtance of Antigonus, with a ſmall party, enter'd the city upon a pretence to keep the people quiet, and put a ſtop to the tumult; but with a deſign, in truth, to advance Antigonus to the government. Phaſael, after this, treated them with great reſpect, both upon the way, and at his own palace, and Pacorus requited the civility with a practice upon his life, which was carried on under colour of an embaſſy to Barzapharnes; which Phaſael, being a credulous man, was eaſily prevail'd upon to undertake, though ſo much againſt Herod's opinion, that he was abſolutely for cutting off Pacorus, and the whole crew that came along with him, to prevent a worſe miſchief, being too well acquainted with the infidelity of the barbarous people he had to do withal, to truſt them. But ſo it was, however, that Hyrcanus and Phaſael put themſelves upon their journey with Pacorus to conduct them, leaving a guard of two hundred horſe with Herod, and ten of thoſe people that they call freemen. Upon their arrival at Galilee, the commanders of the neighbouring gariſons came out in their arms to meet them, and none forwarder than Barzapharnes, with fair words and preſents to bid them welcome, though his heart, upon the whole matter was full of treachery. Phaſael and his train were conducted to a quarter upon the ſea ſide, where being given to underſtand, that the Parthians were to have a thouſand talents, and five hundred women, of Antigonus, for this piece of ſervice, he began to have an apprehenſion of foul play, over and above that he had notice given him of a deſign upon him that very night, and that there was a guard of ſoldiers in readineſs to ſeize upon his perſon. And the plot had certainly been put in execution, if they had not waited for the intelligence of Herod's being ſecured at Jeruſalem by the Parthians, as it was concerted among themſelves; for if the other two had been taken up firſt, Herod might have had time enough, they thought, to make his eſcape, and ſecure himſelf. The information of this contrivance was quickly found to be true, by the coming up of the guards that were to do the exploit. Upon this diſcovery ſeveral of Phaſael's people urged him immediately to take horſe and away; Ophellius eſpecially, who by the means of Saramella, (one of the greateſt men for eſtate in all Syria,) had detected the conſpiracy; and living near the ſea, offer'd him the convenience of ſhipping to carry him off; but Phaſael was too generous to abandon his friends in their diſtreſs; ſo that he choſe rather to go directly to Barzapharnes,

The Jews of Mount Carmel ſide with Antigonus.

The two brothers clap a guard upon the temple.

The multitude fire their houſes over their heads.

Herod drives them out of the ſuburbs.

Pacorus betrays Phaſael.

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* A thouſand Jewiſh talents weighed one hundred fourteen thouſand and ſixty two pounds, and their value in ſilver amounted to three hundred forty two thouſand one hundred and eighty ſeven pounds, ten ſhillings; but if gold ones be here meant, to five millions, four hundred and ſeventy five thouſand pounds, Engliſh money.

Barzapharnes charg'd with treachery, but denies it.

and charge him in plain terms with the indignity of ſo diſhonourable a practice. "If money, ſays he, be your buſineſs, Phaſael, methinks, ſhould be better able to gratify you that way than Antigonus, beſide the ſcandalous barbarity of ſo horrid a violence upon the perſons of ambaſſadors, in oppoſition to all the laws of good faith, hoſpitality, and nations." The Barbarian forſwore the whole matter from one end to the other, alledging he tormented himſelf with groundleſs jealouſies, and ſo went his way to Pacorus.

CHAP. XXV.

Hyrcanus and Phaſael taken up by the Parthians. A plot upon Herod, who accuſes Pacorus. Alexandra abſolutely governs him. He makes his eſcape, and builds Herodium, in honour of his victory there. He meets Herod at Reſa, and goes himſelf to Petra. Jeruſalem beſieg'd, and Mariſſa demoliſh'd. Antigonus put in poſſeſſion of the government. Hyrcanus and Phaſael in bonds. Phaſael beats out his own brains. The greatneſs of Herod's mind. He applies himſelf to Marcus, who orders him to leave his country. He goes for Egypt, and then for Rome. He meets Sappinas and Ptolemy at Rhodes, and tells Anthony his whole ſtory.

Hyrcanus and Phaſael taken up by the Parthians. A plot upon Herod.

Herod accuſes Pacorus.

Alexandra governs Herod.

Herod ſlips away with all his people.

BARZAPHARNES had no ſooner turn'd his back, but a party of ſoldiers ſeized and put in chains Hyrcanus and Phaſael, who highly exclaim'd againſt ſo perjurious and ſo barbarous a practice; an eunuch being diſpatch'd away at the ſame time alſo for the apprehenſion of Herod, if they could but inveigle him out of his palace. But he had got ſuch intelligence already of the deſign they had upon him, and the intercepting of his correſpondence with his brother, that he went directly to expoſtulate the matter with Pacorus, and the leading men of the Parthians, who gave him for anſwer, that they knew nothing at all of the buſineſs, though in truth they were privy to the whole intrigue. They told him, indeed, if he had any doubt of his brother's welfare, he could not do better than to go out of town with them to meet his letters upon the way, for fear of their falling into wrong hands; but having heard ſo much of his brother's ill uſage, and being alſo confirm'd in his ſuſpicion of the Parthians, by the opinion of Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, a woman of ſingular prudence, and whoſe daughter he was to marry, Herod govern'd himſelf by her caution and advice, whatever the reſt ſaid to the contrary. Upon this occaſion the Parthians conſulted together what courſe to take, and gave themſelves time till next day to conſider of it; for they did not think fit to venture an aſſault upon ſo great a man as Herod was, in the face of the ſun; but Herod reflecting upon the diſtraction they were in, with the certain knowledge he had of the perfidious violence they had committed upon his brother, (though the Parthians told him it was all falſe,) and conſequently the deſperate hazard of ſtaying any longer among thoſe people, he bethought himſelf of giving them the ſlip that very night; and ſo taking the opportunity of the duſk of the evening, he reſolved to attempt his eſcape. He took along with him all the troops he had about him; provided waggons, and horſes, and other beaſts of carriage for the women and his train, as his mother, ſiſter, and Mariamne, his contracted miſtreſs, the daughter of Alexander, and the neice of Ariſtobulus, with his ſpouſe's mother, the daughter of Hyrcanus, the youngeſt brother, and the reſt of his company and family, marching away altogether toward Idumea, and well advanced upon the way before their enemies took notice of it. It was a ſpectacle to make the moſt inſenſible heart to bleed; the ſight of the poor women hurrying away with ſucking children at their breaſts with tears and outcries, leaving their country in miſery, and their friends in bonds, and in an hourly expectation of falling under the ſame fate themſelves.

Herod's mother endanger'd by the overturning of a waggon.

Herod hath ſeveral ſkirmiſhes upon the way, but comes off ſtill.

Herod builds Herodium in honour of his victory there.

Joſeph meets Herod at Reſa.

BUT Herod ſtood as firm as a rock all this while, againſt the uttermoſt iniquities of a croſs fortune, and did all that was poſſible to do, both by his example, and by his counſels, to keep up the hearts of his companions. He told them that there was no poſſibility of ſafety, or any thought of life, but in flight, encouraging them to hope the beſt, and not to ruin themſelves by fruitleſs lamentations and deſpairs, but rather bear up and aſſiſt toward their own deliverance. Upon theſe words they took up a reſolution becoming the occaſion. There fell out, juſt upon this, an unlucky accident by the overturning of a waggon, which put his mother in extreme danger of her life. This diſaſter made ſuch an impreſſion upon Herod, partly out of a filial tenderneſs for his mother, and in part for fear of being overtaken by the advantage of this ſtop, that he had certainly caſt himſelf upon the point of his own ſword, if his friends about him had not laid hold of him, and prevented it; for this, they told him, would have been the ſacrificing of his friends to the fury of his enemies; neither was it the part of a brave man to indulge his own particular to the damage of the publick. He was, in fine, betwixt force and ſhame, brought to better reaſon, and thereupon betook himſelf immediately to the care of his mother, by all manner of good offices that the place and the time would bear, proſecuting his journey to the caſtle of Maſſada with all the ſpeed he could; the Parthians preſſing upon him in his paſſage, with whom he had many ſkirmiſhes, but always got the better. Nay, the very Jews were upon the purſuit of him too; and coming up with him when he was gotten a matter of threeſcore [*] furlongs in his way from Jeruſalem, they formally attack'd him, but were beaten back, and put to the rout; and notwithſtanding this hurry and confuſion, the fight was managed on Herod's part with all exactneſs of order and diſcipline. When he came afterward to be king of Judea, he erected a famous palace upon that ſpot of ground where he obtained this victory, and built a village near the place, which he called by the name of Herodium. Coming afterwards to Reſa in Idumea, he was met by his brother Joſeph, and they two laid their heads together, how they might eaſe themſelves of that vaſt multitude of uſeleſs and ſuperfluous people that they had in their train, over and above their liſted troops. The caſtle of Meſſada that they pitch'd upon for their retreat, was too little for the whole body: So that they diſmiſs'd about nine thouſand of their people to provide the beſt they could for themſelves up and down in Idumea, with a viaticum for their entertainment, till they could find ſome quarter to ſettle in. As for thoſe that were fit for action, and his near relations, Herod took them along with him into the caſtle, where he diſpos'd of the women and their families to the number of about eight hundred perſons; and ſo leaving them a competence of proviſion of bread-corn, water, and all other neceſſaries, he haſten'd away to Petra, the capital city of Arabia.

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[*] Threeſcore furlongs made about ſeven miles and three quarters, Engliſh meaſure.

Herod puts his mother and relations into the caſtle of Meſſada. Herod himſelf goes to Petra.

Jeruſalem beſieged.

By break of day the Parthians made ſpoil of all that Herod had left in Jeruſalem, as well in the city as the palace, ſaving only three hundred * talents in caſh, of Hyrcanus's, which they left behind them untouch'd, and divers conſiderable pieces of Herod's too, beſide what goods and treaſure he had tranſported before-hand into Idumea, to ſecure them from danger. And the Parthians were not content neither with the wealth and plunder of the city, without depopulating the country alſo; beſide the laying of Mariſſa, a place of great riches and ſtrength, in rubbiſh.

Mariſſa demoliſh'd.

Antigonus put in poſſeſſion of the government. Hyrcanus and Phaſael deliver'd up to him in bonds. Hyrcanus's ears cut off by the order of Antigonus.

Antigonus being now put into the poſſeſſion of the government by the king of Parthia, Hyrcanus and Phaſael were deliver'd up to him in bonds. But the eſcape of the women was yet a great diſappointment to him; for the Parthians were by contract to receive the women with the money. Hyrcanus being at this time a priſoner, Antigonus order'd both his ears to be cut off, deſigning by that maim to put him into a legal incapacity for the honour of the pontificate: Not knowing but that a popular faction ſome time or other, in a freak, might otherwiſe reſtore him to the government.

But there was nothing greater in this extraordinary juncture, than the generous magnanimity of Phaſael; who, when he found that he was certainly to die, was not ſo much troubled at the death itſelf, as at the reproachful circumſtances of lying at the will and pleaſure of an inſulting enemy. Finding himſelf in this extremity, and his hands ſo manacled, that there was no execution to be done that way, he beat out his brains againſt a ſtone-wall; accounting it much more honourable to act that violence upon himſelf, than to ſuffer the ſame thing by the hand of another. Some will have it that the contuſion was not mortal, and that the ſurgeons appointed by Antigonus, under pretence of aſſiſting him, were in truth to diſpatch him; and that they dreſs'd the wound with poiſons inſtead of proper remedies. He liv'd long enough however, to underſtand that his brother Herod was at that time ſafe, and out of the hands of his adverſaries, which made his death welcome and eaſy to him, in the ſatisfaction of leaving one behind him, that would avenge his blood upon the heads of his adverſaries.

Phaſael, in a generous indignation, beats out his own brains.

The greatneſs of Herod's mind.

Herod, after all this, was ſo far from ſinking, either in his courage, or in his preſence of mind, though ſurrounded with almoſt inſuperable miſfortunes, that his reſolution and his ſenſe of things, ſeemed rather the ſtronger and the ſharper, for the difficulties he had to encounter. His firſt application was to Malchus the king of Arabia, to borrow a ſum of money of him now in his diſtreſs, either upon credit and conſideration, or elſe upon the ſcore of humanity and bounty; not doubting of a fair and friendly return from a prince that was already indebted to him for many ſignal obligations. Now he had heard nothing as yet of the death of his brother; and his preſent buſineſs was to provide himſelf with three hundred talents for his immediate ranſom, taking a ſon of Phaſael's, of about ſeven years old, along with him, as a pawn to the Arabians for the ſecurity of their money. Upon this point of time, there came meſſengers from Malchus with orders to Herod to depart the country, for the Parthians were abſolutely againſt the receiving of him. His anſwer was, that he did not come to be either a trouble or a charge to any body, but only to treat about ſome important affairs of his own. The coarſeneſs of this uſage was look'd upon to be only a trick of ſome of the great ones, to avoid the payment of a juſt debt, and to cozen Herod of the treaſure that Antipater had depoſited in their hands.

Herod applies himſelf to Malchus king of Arabia.

Herod order'd to depart the country.

Herod, upon bethinking himſelf, found it his beſt courſe to be gone, how unſatisfy'd ſoever with the indignities they had put upon him: So away he went toward Egypt, taking a certain temple in his way, where he had left ſeveral of his company. He was told next day at Rhynocura of the death of his brother. Malchus was by this time become ſenſible of his ingratitude, and haſten'd all he could after Herod, to make him ſome amends, but could not overtake him; for he was gone a great way before toward Peluſium; and when he came thither, the ſhip that was bound for Alexandria, would not take him in: Whereupon he addreſs'd himſelf to the magiſtrates of the place, who, out of a reverence to the dignity of his former character, conducted him with great reſpect into the city, where he was generouſly entertained by Cleopatra, and not without earneſt invitations to make a longer ſtay there: But his heart was ſo ſet upon going to Rome, that neither Cleopatra's entreaties, nor the difficulties of a winter voyage, nor the general talk of troubles at that time in Italy, nor all this together, was ſufficient to divert him from his purpoſe.

Herod goes away for Egypt.

Herod takes a paſſage for Rome.

He went aboard, in fine, for Pamphylia, and after ſo terrible a tempeſt that the mariners were forc'd to caſt their goods and baggage over-board, to ſave their veſſel; with much ado at laſt he got ſafe to Rhodes, where he had the good hap to meet with Sappinas and Ptolemy. He found the town ſo miſerably harraſs'd by the war with Caſſius, that he contributed out of the ſmall remainder of his fortune, more than in truth he could well ſpare, toward the repair of the ruins. Here he took

Herod meets Sappinas and Ptolemy at Rhodes.

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* Three hundred Jewiſh talents weighed thirty four thouſand two hundred eighteen pounds nine ounces; and their value in ſilver amounted to one hundred two thouſand ſix hundred fifty ſix pounds five ſhillings; and in gold, to one million ſix hundred forty two thouſand five hundred pounds Engliſh money.

ſhipping, with his friends for Italy, taking Branduſium in his way, and from thence to Rome; where he was no ſooner arriv'd, but he gave Anthony an account of all his adventures in Judea; the ſeizure and the murder of his brother Phaſael by the Parthians; Hyrcanus at that time a priſoner, and a contract of a thouſand * talents, and five hundred women to be pick'd and choſen out of his own family, to be made good to the Parthians upon the advancing of Antigonus to the government. As for the women, ſays he to Anthony, I made a hard ſhift to get them away by night out of all danger for the preſent, into a place where they are ſince beſieged, and in hourly expectation of falling into the hands of the enemy. This is the truth of the matter; and I have now broken through all hardſhips and hazards, both at ſea and land, to lay the ſtate of our affairs before you, and to implore your aſſiſtance and ſupport.

Herod gives Anthony his whole ſtory.

CHAP. XXVI.

Herod in great favour with Auguſtus and Anthony; choſen king of Judea; and conducted by Anthony and Ceſar to the capitol. Antigonus preſſes hard upon Maſſada. Ventidius ſqueezes money out of him.

THE ſad ſtory of Herod's adventures gave Anthony a compaſſionate tenderneſs for him; and not without juſt reflections neither, how ſoon it might come to be his own caſe, conſidering the power and unſteadineſs of fortune in raiſing up, and caſting down. He call'd to mind alſo the good offices he had formerly receiv'd from Antipater, Herod's father, and the ancient friendſhip that had paſs'd betwixt them; not forgetting at the ſame time the ſum of money he was to have, upon his advancing Herod to be king, as he had before made him a Tetrarch. This was all in Herod's favour; but the thing that ſtruck the main ſtroke at laſt, was the averſion he had for Antigonus, whom he look'd upon as a buſy turbulent ſpirit, and a profeſs'd enemy to Rome: So that even out of ſpite to Antigonus, he reſolved to befriend Herod all he could. Auguſtus alſo join'd his intereſt with Anthony in the promoting of Herod's pretenſion and requeſt; partly upon the ſcore of acknowledgment for former ſervices, and partly for old acquaintance ſake betwixt the two families; for his father and Antipater had been fellow-ſoldiers in Egypt together, over and above the deſire he had to gratify Anthony himſelf, in the perſon of his friend. The matter was ſoon after brought before the ſenate, where Meſſala and Atratenus preſented Herod with a ſingular recommendation of him to their kindneſs and eſteem upon the account, both of his own, and of his father's ſervices and good affections to the ſtate of Rome; reproaching Antigonus on the other ſide, as a publick enemy, not only for paſt miſdemeanours, but for his late acceptance of the government from the hands of the Parthians, in contempt of the Romans. When this harangue had put the ſenate in a heat, Anthony laid hold of the occaſion and gave his opinion, that conſidering the ſtate of the preſent war with the Parthians, they could not do better than to conſtitute Herod king of Judea; and the motion paſs'd the aſſembly without any oppoſition. The honour was illuſtrious in itſelf; Herod's obligation to Anthony in the procuring of it, was much the more valuable for being confer'd upon him, not only beyond his hope and expectation, but likewiſe the method and meaſure of ordinary practice; for the Romans did not uſe to beſtow royal dignities but upon the branches of royal families. Neither did his very ambition aſpire to any thing more than to beg it for Alexander the brother of Mariamne; the nephew of Ariſtobulus by the father's ſide, and of Hyrcanus by the mother's; whom he cauſed afterward to be put to death, as will be ſeen in its proper place. This great work was but ſeven days a doing, and Herod diſpatch'd away out of Italy with his royal commiſſion.

Auguſtus and Anthony are Herod's friends.

Herod choſen king of Judea by the ſenate, without oppoſition, upon the motion of Anthony.

Upon the breaking up of the ſenate, Anthony and Ceſar took Herod out betwixt them, accompany'd with the conſuls and the ſenators, who conducted him to the capitol, where they were to ſacrifice in form, and to depoſite the decrees of the ſenate. Anthony gratulated the new king upon his acceſſion to his authority with a moſt magnificent treat; upon the firſt day of his reign, in the Olympiad one hundred eighty four, C. Domitius Calvinus, (now the ſecond time) and C. Aſinius Pollio, conſuls.

Herod conducted by Anthony and Ceſar to the capitol.

In this interim of Herod's abſence, Antigonus preſs'd hard upon his friends in the caſtle of Maſſada, where they had plenty of all ſorts of proviſions, ſave only of water; which they wanted to ſuch a degree, that Joſeph with a party of two hundred choice men, had taken a reſolution to ſally out of the town, and attempt the forcing their way through the enemy, to get to the Arabians; being well informed that Malchus had heartily repented himſelf of the inhoſpitality of his late behaviour toward Herod: But in this nick of time, there fell ſo prodigious a ſhower of rain, that it fill'd all their ciſterns and receptacle, for water; and upon this ſupply, they ſtood to their defence, without any further thoughts of quitting the place. The wonderful providence of this relief animated the beſieged to that degree, that not a day or a night paſs'd without a ſucceſsful ſally upon the enemy.

Antigonus preſſes hard upon Maſſada in Herod's abſence

While this was doing, Ventidius, a Roman general, drove the Parthians out of Syria, and went afterward into Judea, under pretence of a deſign to help Joſeph, but in truth to ſqueeze money out of Antigonus; which he did abundantly upon drawing his troops toward Jeruſalem: And having gain'd his point, he carry'd the greater part of them off again; leaving only a ſmall remainder under the command of Silo, for the better colour of the cheat; for Antigonus was forced to come to a compoſition with him too, for fear he might be troubleſome before the arrival of the Parthians, who he expected to come up to his ſuccour.

Ventidius ſqueezes money out of Antigonus.

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† See note at the beginning of chap. xxiv. of this book.

CHAP. XXVII.

Herod marches toward Antigonus. Silo and Ventidius aſſiſt Herod. Silo a penſioner to Antigonus. Herod marches toward Joppa; reſcues Silo, takes Joppa, and relieves Maſſada. He takes Reſa, and marches toward Jeruſalem. An act of grace offer'd. Herod reproach'd for his family. The ſoldiers mutiny. Herod quiets them, and marches to Jericho. The Romans rifle the city. Herod ſends Joſeph into Idumea. The robbers ſcatter'd, and Galilee reduc'd. Pheroras repairs Alexandrian. Silo joins Herod. Execution done upon the thieves. An old man kills himſelf, his wife and his children, rather than accept of amneſty. Ptolemy has the government; and Herod marches for Samaria. The death of Ptolemy. The Parthians overthrown. The Cruelty of Macheras to the Jews. Herod offended at it. He leaves the army to his brother Joſeph, and repairs to Anthony before Samoſata; who receives him very honourably. Antigonus gives up the place. Anthony leaves his army to Soſius, and goes for Egypt. Joſeph cut to pieces. Macheras fortifies Gath. Galilee revolts. Herod's foreboding dreams. He is preſerv'd at Jericho by a ſtrange providence. He defeats Pappus. His ſurprize in the bath. He lays ſiege to Jeruſalem.

Herod comes back from Italy, and marches toward Antigonus.

Silo and Ventidius order'd by Anthony to aſſiſt Herod.

Silo, a penſioner to Antigonus.

Galilee for Herod.

He marches toward Joppa, and Silo comes over to him.

The Jews purſue Silo, and Herod reſcues him.

Herod takes Joppa and relieves Maſſada.

He takes Reſa, and marches with Silo's troops toward Jeruſalem.

An act of grace.

Herod reproach'd for his extraction.

The ſoldiers in a direct mutiny.

Herod quiets them, and ſupplies them with all ſorts of proviſions.

HEROD was now come back again out of Italy as far as Ptolemais, with a conſiderable body, both of auxiliaries and of his own people, and was upon his march by the way of Galilee toward Antigonus. Silo and Ventidius had orders brought them alſo from Anthony by Gellius, to aſſiſt Herod in the taking poſſeſſion of his kingdom. But ſo it fell out, that Ventidius was at that time taken up in quieting the tumults, that an incurſion of the Parthians had raiſed in ſeveral of the cities: But Silo was in Judea, and a penſioner to Antigonus. Herod's army gather'd however daily, and encreaſed mightily upon the march. Galilee was in a manner wholly for him. The thing he was the moſt intent upon in the firſt place, was the raiſing of the ſiege of Maſſada, to ſet his friends and relations at liberty, that were coop'd up there. But Joppa was a block in his way, and would be ſuch a check upon him in his advance to Jeruſalem, that there was no leaving ſo ſtrong a place behind him. Silo upon this, march'd off; and the Jews plying him cloſe in the rear, Herod charged in upon them with a ſmall party; routed them, and brought off Silo, when he was juſt falling into their hands. Herod, after this made himſelf maſter of Joppa, and ſo immediately went away to the relief of his friends in Maſſada, where the people came over to him in abundance; ſome for his father's ſake, others for his own; ſome again out of a ſenſe of the obligations they had to both; but the generality, out of the hope they had to ingratiate themſelves with the new king. Antigonus, in the mean time, laid ſeveral ambuſhes and traps for him in his way, though with little effect; for Herod, ſo ſoon as ever he had rais'd the ſiege of Maſſada, relieved his friends, and taking the caſtle of Reſa, he advanced directly toward Jeruſalem with Silo's troops, and a great number of citizens that ſtood in awe of his power to attend him. He encamped with his army upon the weſt quarter of the town, where the defendants gull'd him all that was poſſible with arrows, darts and ſtrong ſallies: Herod, in the mean while making proclamation in form, by his herald from place to place round the walls of the town, that he had no other end in that enterprize than the publick good and the welfare of the city; nay, that he was ſo far from contriving, or deſigning them any miſchief, that he was ready to grant them an indemnity and oblivion, without exception to any perſon whatſoever, let the crime or indignity have been never ſo ſpiteful and notorious. Antigonus made anſwer, addreſſing himſelf to Silo and the Roman ſoldiers, that it was a very unjuſt, and an unreaſonable thing to pretend the ſetting of Herod upon the throne; a private man, and an Idumean: That is to ſay, but half a Jew neither; which was a practice directly againſt the law and right of ſucceſſion that was cuſtomary among them. If they took any offence at his receiving the crown from the hands of the Parthians; and for that reaſon thought fit to depoſe him from the dignity, there were others, he told them, of the royal and ſacerdotal line, and perſons who had deſerved every jot as well from the Romans, and had as fair a title to the government; and it would be great iniquity to deprive them of it. This conteſt betwixt Herod and Antigonus grew ſo hot, that they came at laſt to opprobrious language; inſomuch that Antigonus commanded his men to force the enemy off from the walls; and they ply'd them ſo hard with their darts and arrows, that they were obliged to retire. It was no longer any doubt after this, but that Silo was corrupted; for he had ſo tamper'd divers of his familiar acquaintance among the ſoldiers, that they broke out into clamours, for the moneys and proviſions; and into outcries for more commodious winter-quarters: For Antigonus, they ſaid, had made ſuch havock up and down in the country thereabouts, that there was no living upon it. This mutinous extravagance put the army into ſuch a diſtemper, that the ſoldiers were ready to lay down their arms and be gone; but Herod, on the other hand, made uſe of the authority of Ceſar, Anthony, and the ſenate, by whoſe commiſſion he was now come thither, and encourag'd both Silo's officers and ſoldiers to ſtand their ground, and maintain their ſtation; and to depend upon him, that they ſhould want nothing that they themſelves could deſire for their entertainment and ſatisfaction. Immediately upon this, he ſent out his commiſſaries to provide them all neceſſaries, and left Silo no farther pretence of murmur or complaint; for they were preſently ſupply'd with vaſt quantities of proviſions beyond imagination: Herod having order'd his friends at Samaria to lay up ſtores of corn, wine, oil, cattle and all other neceſſaries at Jericho, and from thence to ſupply the army. Antigonus took the matter right, and preſently diſpatch'd away parties up and down the fields and the paſſes, to way-lay and intercept the foragers; who, according to their orders, diſpos'd of their detachments about Jericho, and the crags of the mountains, where they were very careful to watch the convoys. Herod, on the other ſide, was as careful on his part; and with ten com-

Herod marches to Jericho, where he finds the town abandon'd.

The city rifled by the Romans.

companies, one half Romans, the other Jews; together with a body of mercenaries, and ſome few troops of horſe, he marched ſtrait forward to Jericho, where he found the town abandon'd; and five hundred of the inhabitants, with their families, fled to the mountains, which he took and diſcharg'd again. The Romans rifled the city; and the booty, in money, jewels, and other precious goods and furniture, amounted to an ineſtimable value. The king left a gariſon in the place, and returned back again; aſſigning his army their quarters in his new conqueſts, as Idumea, Galilee, and Samaria; Antigonus prevailing alſo with Silo, by the force of money, that part of the Roman army might be quarter'd in Lydda, which was done to make a friend of Anthony; ſo that the Romans were now at eaſe, and in both peace and plenty.

Herod ſends Joſeph into Idumea, and goes himſelf to Samaria.

But Herod, who could not endure to be idle, ſent away at this time his brother Joſeph into Idumea, with a thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe, and went himſelf to Samaria, where he provided for his mother, and the reſt of his kindred that he brought from Maſſada, and ſo marched for Galilee to take in ſome gariſons, which were then in the poſſeſſion of Antigonus. Coming up to Sephoris in a deep ſnow, he found the place wholly abandon'd, and proviſions in it of all ſorts, and in great plenty. The country thereabouts, not far from Arbela, being vexatiouſly infeſted with robbers, that from the faſtneſſes of the mountains terribly annoyed the neighbourhood, Herod commanded out a ſquadron of horſe, and three companies of foot, to reſtrain their inſolencies, and prevent them from committing depredations. Some forty days after this detachment, he march'd againſt them with his whole army; whereupon they drew out, and made ſo brave a charge upon him, that Herod's left wing gave way; till upon a victorious reinforcement, with Herod himſelf at the head of it, he brought his own men on again, who put their adverſaries to a total rout, purſuing the victory as far as the river Jordan. This overthrow brought all Galilee over to Herod in time, ſaving only thoſe that ſhelter'd themſelves in the receſſes of the mountains. The work being now over, Herod order'd the common ſoldiers a hundred * and fifty drachma's a man for a reward, and the officers more in proportion; and after this donative they were all diſmiſs'd to their winter ſtations. Silo, and his officers, that had been hitherto quarter'd upon Antigonus, gave Herod to underſtand, that he did not only refuſe to allow them more than one month's entertainment, but ſent likewiſe up and down to the neighbours every where thereabouts, to be gone with what they had up to the mountains, and to clear the country of all manner of neceſſaries for life, to ſtarve the Romans out of their quarters; but Herod prevented this miſchief, by committing the charge of providing for the army to his younger brother Pheroras, with orders alſo to repair the fort of Alexandrion, which lay then in ruins; in both which commiſſions he acquitted himſelf effectually, and much to his reputation.

The robbers routed, and Galilee reduc'd.

Pheroras provides for the army, and repairs to Alexandrion.

Anthony orders Silo to join Herod.

Anthony was now at Athens, and Ventidius in Syria, where he order'd Silo to join him with the auxiliary troops of the Parthians, but ſtill to aſſiſt Herod in the firſt place, if there ſhould be occaſion. Herod, however, ſent away Silo and his people to Ventidius, and marched himſelf againſt the free-booters that lay lurking in their hiding-holes up and down the hills. The rocks were ſo ſteep and craggy, and the paſſages ſo ſtrait, that it was almoſt impoſſible to come at them; and theſe caves ſerv'd them and their families, both for their retreat and their habitations. The king, upon the view of the place, finding that there was no good to be done by ſcaling from below, or by creeping or ſtealing down upon them from above, made uſe of this invention: He cauſed ſeveral cheſts to be fram'd, and ſo let them down by a machine, with iron chains, from the top of the hills, and theſe caſes to be fill'd with ſoldiers, lances, darts, hooks, and other arms, either by attack to deſtroy them in their dens, or to draw them out, and caſt them down headlong, as the caſe ſhould require. This was a bold and almoſt a deſperate experiment, conſidering the horrid depth of the precipice; beſide that they were victualled and provided in their cells with all manner of neceſſaries. One of theſe boxes being let down juſt upon the entrance into a cavern, and not a man of them daring to ſhew his head out of the vault, a ſoldier ſtarted up with his ſword and buckler, and catching hold with both hands of the chain that upheld the coffer, he ſlipt down into the cavity of the rock, out of an impatience to wait any longer for their coming out: In one of theſe receſſes he killed ſeveral with his darts, and pluck'd others out with his hooks, where he met with any reſiſtance, and threw them down the cliffs; ſome at a farther diſtance he diſpatch'd with his launce, and then betook himſelf to his cheſt again. The cries of the wounded frighted the reſt to the laſt degree of deſperation; but night coming on, put a ſtop to the execution. The king in the mean while having offer'd an indemnity to all that would lay down their arms, and come into him, they ſubmitted in great numbers, and laid hold of that act of grace.

Herod's invention to fetch the robbers out of their holes.

Execution done upon the thieves.

An act of grace offer'd, which brings a great many over.

On the day following they plied the attack in the ſame manner as before; only their bodies were more expos'd, and putting fire to the combuſtible matter they had in the caves, they ſet all in a flame, and ſmother'd their adverſaries in their holes. There was among the reſt an old man, with his wife and ſeven ſons, begging leave of him in that hopeleſs extremity, to deliver up themſelves to the enemy. The man planting himſelf at the mouth of the cavern, ſtabbed them one after another, every creature of them as they attempted to paſs by him, and the woman laſt of all; caſting their bodies down the precipice, and himſelf after them, chuſing rather to loſe his life than his liberty, but not without ſcandalous reflections upon Herod for the meanneſs of his extraction, though this prince at the ſame time gave him all the aſſurances of clemency and mercy that could be given by ſigns and geſtures at a diſtance, if he would but have accepted of the pardon. This was the end, in ſhort, of this war betwixt Herod and theſe free-booters.

An old man kills himſelf, his wife, and ſeven children, rather than accept of it.

The end of the war with the free-booters.

This adventure being now over, and the government of that quarter given to Ptolemy,

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* A hundred and fifty drachma's amounted to about four pounds, one ſhilling, and four pence, of our money.

Herod

The government is left to Ptolemy, and Herod marches for Samaria. Ptolemy ſlain by a party of highwaymen.

Herod marched away with ſix hundred horſe, and three thouſand foot, into Samaria, with a deſign to bring Antigonus to a deciſive battle; but Ptolemy's command prov'd fatal; for he was ſet upon and ſlain by a party of thoſe people that had formerly put Galilee in diſorder. Upon the committing of this outrage, they betook themſelves to the bogs, crags, and other places of difficult acceſs for refuge, and from thence they robb'd and ravag'd the whole country, as they ſaw their opportunity; but Herod, at his coming back, made them pay dear for their purchaſe; for ſome he kill'd, and others he forced out of their ſtrong holds, and put to the torture; demoliſhing all their caſtles and fortifications; and when he had rid his hands of the moſt conſiderable of his enemies, he ſet a fine of a hundred * talents upon the cities that were ſuſpected to favour them.

The Parthians overthrown. Ventidius ſends a detachment to Herod.

The Parthians having by this time received a great overthrow, with the loſs of their king Pacorus in the battle, Ventidius, according to his inſtructions and orders from Anthony, ſent away Macheras to Herod, with an enforcement of two legions, and a thouſand horſe; who having been invited by Antigonus, and corrupted with money, was abſolutely for going to him, under a pretext of giving intelligence, and making diſcoveries, notwithſtanding that Herod was utterly againſt it, and ſo he went his way; but finding upon his approach, that Antigonus was ſo far from truſting him, or admitting him, that he order'd his people to keep him off with ſlings and darts, this gave him ſufficiently to underſtand that Herod was in the right when he diſſuaded him, and he himſelf in a great miſtake for not complying with his advice. Hereupon he returned to the city Emmaus, in a furious rage, putting all the Jews to the ſword that he found in the way, without diſtinction of either friend or foe. Herod was ſo irritated at this barbarous way of proceeding, that he went preſently to Samaria, with a reſolution to inform Anthony of this outrage, and give him to underſtand that he was in condition good enough himſelf to deal with Antigonus, without need of any ſuch aſſiſtants as did more miſchief to their own party than to the enemy. As he was going forward upon this deſign, Macheras poſted after him, and overtook him upon the way, preſſing him earneſtly either to put a ſtop to his journey, or at leaſt to leave Joſeph his brother behind, for them two to carry on the war together againſt Antigonus. Herod upon his importunity granted him his requeſt, and forgave what was paſt, leaving the army under the command of Joſeph, with expreſs orders not to run any unneceſſary hazard, nor to enter into any miſunderſtanding with Macheras.

Macheras puts to death all the Jews he finds in his way to Emmaus.

Herod much mov'd at it, but forgives it.

He leaves the command of the army to his brother Joſeph, and repairs to Anthony himſelf, before Samoſata.

Matters being thus ſettled, he marched away immediately with an auxiliary body of horſe and foot to join Anthony, who was at that time before Samoſata, upon the river Euphrates. At his coming to Antioch, he found great numbers of people that would fain have gone over to Anthony, if they could have got to him; but the ways were ſo beſet with troops of bloody barbarians, that there would have been no coming at him, if Herod had not put himſelf at the head of them, and undertaken both for their conduct and protection; ſo that they proſecuted their march, and when they were advanced within two days journey of Samoſata, they fell into an ambuſh of the enemies horſe that lay cloſe behind the buſhes, upon the entrance into the campaign, to prevent any ſuccours from going that way to Anthony. They ſuffer'd the front to paſs forward on to the plain, without either diſcovery or interruption; but upon Herod's coming up with the rear, they fell furiouſly upon him with a matter of five hundred horſe, and broke through the firſt rank; but the king preſſing violently upon them with his guards, beat them from their ground, rallied his own ſcatter'd troops, and follow'd the execution till he made himſelf maſter of the booty they had taken, in priſoners, horſes, mules, carriages, and all the baggage, which was very conſiderable; and this being done, Herod continued his journey to Anthony; but not without other encounters upon the way with troops of barbarians that ſallied out of the woods and thickets upon him in his further progreſs; but ſtill defeating and cutting them to pieces upon every attempt, till in the end the way was ſafe and open to him, without any difficulty or hazard, his people adoring him as their protector and preſerver.

Several encounters by the way.

Anthony receives Herod with infinite honour and reſpect.

Anthony having heard of his exploits upon the barbarians, and how bravely he had acquitted himſelf upon ſeveral other occaſions, ſent out the flower of his troops to receive him upon his approach to the town, with all honour and reſpect imaginable, both for his perſon and his ſervices, embracing him upon his arrival with infinite joy, affection, and eſteem, celebrating and admiring him for his virtue; and, in fine, treating him with a dignity anſwerable to the royal character that he himſelf had conferred upon him. In a ſhort time after this Antigonus deliver'd up the place, and in ſo doing put an end to the war. Anthony gave the government of the province, and the command of the army to Soſius, with orders to aſſiſt Herod upon all occaſions, and ſo went himſelf into Egypt. Soſius hereupon ſent away two legions with the king toward Judea, for the guard of his perſon, and marched after them himſelf with the reſt of his army.

Antigonus delivers up Samoſata.

Anthony leaves his army to Soſius, and goes himſelf to Egypt.

While theſe things were doing, Joſeph, in the abſence of his brother, was ſlain in Judea, for want of obſerving Herod's order when he went to Anthony. He march'd out toward Jericho with his own troops, and five companies belonging to Macheras, with a deſign to get in the harveſt, and he encamped upon the mountains. Now the Romans with him being but raw and undiſciplin'd ſoldiers, and the greater part of them only new rais'd men out of Syria, the enemy took advantage both of the place where he was poſted, and the inexperience of the men they had to do withal; ſo that falling upon them, they ſurpriz'd and routed them; entirely deſtroying ſix companies, and cutting Joſeph to pieces, fighting manfully at the head of them. Antigonus being maſter of the field, and finding Joſeph

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* A hundred talents weighed eleven thouſand four hundred and ſix pounds, three ounces; and their value in ſilver amounted to thirty four thouſand two hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen ſhillings, and in gold to five hundred forty ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds, Engliſh money.

Galilee revolts.

Macheras fortifies Gath.

among the dead bodies, cauſed his head to be cut off, and his brother Pheroras redeem'd it at * fifty talents. This rout was follow'd with the revolt of Galilee, and with drowning as many of Herod's friends as they could lay hold of in the lake; beſide divers ſeditious commotions in Judea; Macheras in the mean while fortifying the caſtle of Gath.

Herod preſerv'd at Jericho by a ſtrange providence.

The ſad ſtory of theſe calamities, one immediately in the neck of another, was brought to Herod at a place call'd Daphne, the ſuburbs of Antioch; and it was the leſs ſurprizing to him for ſome foreboding dreams he had a little before, which manifeſtly pointed at the death of his brother. He went from thence in all haſte for Mount Libanus, and taking eight hundred men of the place along with him, and a Roman legion, he advanced to Ptolemais; and ſo paſſing forward by night through the country of Galilee, he was ſet upon by the way, but beat the enemy back into the caſtle they came out of the day before; immediately inveſting the place, and diſpoſing his troops early next morning for an attack; but there happened to fall juſt then ſo violent a tempeſt, that he was forc'd to draw off into ſome of the neighbouring villages for ſhelter. Juſt after this came another legion to Herod from Anthony, which enforcement put the gariſon in ſuch a fright, that they quitted the place, and ſtole away in the dark of the night. Herod thought the time long till he had avenged the blood of his brother, and ſo made all the haſte he could to Jericho, where he treated with great magnificence all the princes of the place upon his arrival. When ſupper was juſt over, and the company gone, Herod retir'd into his own apartment, without leaving ſo much as one perſon in the eating-room. So ſoon as ever the place was empty, the roof fell flat to the ground into the parlour, without any farther miſchief, which was look'd upon as a ſingular providence that watched over Herod in the delivery of him from ſo eminent a danger.

Pappus defeated by Herod.

The enemy falling down from the mountains next day upon the Romans, with a body of ſix thouſand men, put them into a downright conſternation; beating back the forlorn, and over-running all before them, even to the wounding of Herod himſelf, in the ſide, with an arrow. Antigonus, at this time, out of an oſtentation as if he had men to ſpare, ſent Pappus away to Samaria with ſome troops under his command; and while he and Macheras were deſigning upon one another, Herod got poſſeſſion of five towns, put two thouſand men to the ſword that were there in gariſon, and leaving them all in aſhes, went back to look after Pappus, who was then encamped at a place called Iſanas, where he was join'd with great numbers that came over to him from Jericho and Judea; but Herod perceiving that the enemy had the heart yet to puſh it to a battle, put it immediately upon that iſſue, and gave them a total rout, doing execution upon them, in revenge of his brother's death, in the very town they fled to for ſanctuary. The houſes were preſently crowded with ſoldiers from top to bottom, ſome in one place, ſome in another; but upon taking off the roofs, what with ſtones and other weapons from above, they were all laid open to an univerſal ſlaughter; and after all this, the moſt diſmal and horrid part of the ſpectacle, was the piles of the dead bodies that lay in heaps up and down in the chambers, which was the only thing that ſunk their hearts into a deſpair beyond all recovery.

Herod ſurprized in the bath.

The blood of Pappus, that kill'd Joſeph, ſent to Joſeph's brother.

The miſerable remainder of their broken troops fled in ſuch diſorder, and in ſuch ſhoals, that if it had not been for a violent hurricane at that very time, the victors had march'd directly up to Jeruſalem in that heat, and put an end to the war; for Antigonus was already upon the point of reſolving to abandon the city. It was now late in the evening, and Herod having order'd his ſoldiers to go to ſupper, retired into his chamber to refreſh himſelf after the fatigue of the battle; and upon this occaſion he had a ſecond deliverance, no leſs providential than the former; for as he was there in the bath, ſtark-naked, and only one ſervant to attend him, out ſtarted three ſoldiers with drawn ſwords in their hands, and croſſing the room in haſte, ruſh'd out at the door. Now theſe were people who had hid themſelves in the houſe, it ſeems, for fear of the enemy in the heat of the outrage, and ſo ſcamper'd away in a fright to ſave themſelves, without ever dreaming of any violence upon the king, whom they might eaſily have deſtroy'd. The body of Pappus being found among the ſlain, Herod the next day order'd his head to be ſtruck off, and ſo ſent it to Pheroras, as a kind of conſolitary revenge for his brother Joſeph, whom Pappus put to death with his own hand.

Herod lays ſiege to Jeruſalem.

So ſoon as the confuſion of this hurry was over, Herod march'd away with his army, and encamped near Jeruſalem, taking up his quarter upon the temple-ſide of the town, as Pompey had done long before him, and as the place that lay faireſt for an attack. When he had gotten his pioneers, and all neceſſary materials about him, and given his orders for the caſting up of three trenches and bulwarks about the place, and the erecting of ſuch and ſuch towers, away he went himſelf to Samaria to conſummate his marriage with Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, and the grandchild of Ariſtobulus, who had been for ſome time contracted, as we have ſaid before, leaving officers behind him in his abſence to carry on the ſiege.

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* Fifty Jewiſh talents weighed five thouſand ſeven hundred and three pounds, one ounce, and ten pennyweights, and their value in ſilver amounted to ſeventeen thouſand one hundred and nine pounds, ſeven ſhillings, and ſix pence, and in gold to two hundred ſeventy three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty pounds, Engliſh money.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Soſius and Herod generals at Jeruſalem. The city and temple taken, with a bloody execution. The moderation of Herod. The abject ſubmiſſion of Antigonus. Herod brings him in chains. A mutiny in the army. The tenderneſs of Herod. Antigonus carried in his fetters to Anthony, who orders him to be put to death. The end of the Aſmonean family.

WHEN the marriage-ſolemnity was over, Soſius ſent away his troops before him, being a conſiderable body of horſe and foot, and ſoon after follow'd them himſelf by the way of Phenicia. The king returned alſo from Samaria, with an enforcement of about thirty thouſand men; which being join'd, the whole army drew together toward the walls upon the north quarter of the town, to the number of eleven legions of foot, and ſix thouſand horſe, over and above the auxiliaries they brought from Syria. The two generals were Soſius and Herod; the former employ'd by Anthony, as an aſſiſtant; the other acting upon his own account, in a proſpect of ſettling himſelf in poſſeſſion of the kingdom that the ſenate had given him upon the overthrow of Antigonus, the profeſs'd enemy of Rome.

Soſius and Herod, generals at the ſiege of Jeruſalem.

THE Jews within were bold and numerous; for the whole nation of them in effect was gotten into the town, where they made a very obſtinate defence; animating their companions with emphatical outcries of THE TEMPLE OF THE LORD, THE TEMPLE OF THE LORD, ſtill at every turn, by way of exultation; and ſuch preſages of victory by God's bleſſing upon their cauſe, as ſeemed prophetically to foretel their deliverance. Neither were they wanting all this while in their endeavours, by frequent excurſions, and ravaging the country, to ſtraiten and diſtreſs the beſiegers; for they ſwept it ſo bare, that there was hardly any thing left for man or beaſt to live upon. But Herod quickly put a ſtop to this inconvenience, partly by the ambuſhes he laid up and down to entrap the pillagers, and partly by the commiſſaries and convoys he employ'd far and near, for the ſupply of the camp. The ſeaſon was ſo fair and favourable, and ſo many hands at work, that the pioneers had by this time finiſh'd the approaches, and the beſiegers were now advanced to the battery, leaving nothing unattempted for the gaining of their point. The beſieged, on the other hand, made a ſtout reſiſtance; oppoſing ſtratagem to ſtratagem, and by one invention diſappointing another. They made a great many deſperate ſallies, and ſet fire to divers of the enemy's works, as well thoſe that were perfected, as thoſe that were only begun; and their courage, when they came to handy-ſtrokes, was nothing inferior to that of the Romans, though in the matter of military knowledge and experience, the Romans in truth had the advantage of them. As faſt as one wall was thrown down, the defendants ſupplied it with a retrenchment that ſerv'd for another. They counterwrought mine againſt mine, and met, and fought many times under ground in the very work; ſtanding it out to the laſt, their very deſperation doing the office of valour. This was their bravery, in defiance of a formidable enemy before the town, and a ſtarving want of neceſſaries within the walls; for they were now in the ſabbatical year, when it was not lawful for them to till the ground. Upon the fortieth day after breaking ground, twenty brave fellows mounted the firſt wall; and after them a centurion belonging to Soſius. The ſecond wall was taken fifteen days after, and ſeveral galleries about the temple ſet a fire, which Herod invidiouſly imputed to Antigonus, to make him odious to the people. Upon taking the out quarter of the temple, and the lower town, the Jews betook themſelves into the middle of the one, and the upper part of the other; and for fear the Romans ſhould interrupt them in their daily prayers and ſacrifices, they deſired leave of Herod by their ambaſſadors, only to bring in ſo many beaſts as ſhould be neceſſary for that ſervice. Herod readily granted their requeſt, in hope it might work ſome good upon them; but finding his miſtake, and that they were more and more violent for Antigonus, he fell on immediately with his whole ſtrength, and took the city by aſſault. The Romans were ſo exaſperated at the oppoſition and the delay, and the Herodian Jews alſo ſo embitter'd againſt thoſe of the other party, that they put all to the ſword without mercy, as well in the ſtreets as in the houſes, and without ſparing age or ſex; nay, the very temple itſelf was no longer a ſanctuary to thoſe that fled into it; never ſo diſmal a ſpectacle for blood and ſlaughter; and the ſoldiers were tranſported betwixt fury and revenge, to ſuch a degree of implacable inhumanity, that though the king himſelf did all he could by his authority and earneſt entreaties to put a ſtop to the butchery, there was not a man who regarded or obeyed him.

The city and temple taken.

A bloody execution.

The moderation of Herod.

IN this extremity Antigonus came down from the tower, and (below the dignity of his late character) caſt himſelf at the feet of Soſius, who was ſo far from pitying him, that inſtead of Antigonus, he ſaluted him by the name of Antigona, and made a woman of him, in contempt of ſo effeminate a ſpirit. But he did not treat him afterwards like a woman; for he was put in chains, and ſecur'd under the cuſtody of a guard.

The abject ſubmiſſion of Antigonus.

Herod brings him in chains.

BUT Herod's work was not yet done neither; for he was as hard put to it afterward to keep his own party in order, as he had been already to gain a victory over his enemies. His mercenaries, in fine, preſs'd ſo eagerly forward in troops and throngs to pry into the temple, and the very ſanctuary itſelf, that all Herod could do by his authority, fair words, threatenings, and force itſelf, was little enough to reſtrain them; and, in truth, his ſucceſs would have been worſe than a defeat to him, if he ſhould have ſuffer'd the expoſing of the ſacred and incommunicable myſteries of religion, to the pragmatical curioſity of the prophane multitude. He kept off the ſoldiers alſo from pillaging, all he could too, by reaſoning and expoſtulating the matter with Soſius, laying it before him, that if they went on killing and deſtroying in ſo furious a manner, the Romans would find him the king of a deſart, rather than of a people; and telling him that if the whole world were offer'd him upon thoſe terms, he would not purchaſe it at the price of ſo much blood. Soſius made anſwer, that it was a thing of courſe, juſtice, and common practice, upon the taking of a

The army mutinous.

The tenderneſs of Herod.

place by aſſault, to allow the ſoldiers the advantage of the booty. Herod told him on the other ſide, that as to what concern'd the ſoldiers, he would compound himſelf for the plunder, and gratify them upon his own account abundantly to their ſatisfaction, which he did accordingly; for he was in every point as good as his word. He was, in ſhort, ſo generous to the common ſoldiers, ſo bountiful in proportion to the officers, and ſo magnificent in his preſents and acknowledgments to Soſius, that the city was redeem'd; and all parties, in the concluſion, very well rewarded.

Jeruſalem taken on a remarkable year.

THIS happen'd in the conſulate of Marcus Agrippa, and Canidius Gallus, Olympiad 185. in the third month, and upon the day of a ſolemn faſt, being the very anniverſary of their deſtruction by Pompey; for the city was taken upon the very day of the taking it * ſeven and twenty years before.

Antigonus carried in chains to Anthony.

SOSIUS, upon this, dedicated unto God a golden crown, and ſo went his way from Jeruſalem, taking Antigonus his priſoner along with him in bonds to Anthony. Herod had a jealouſy in his head, that perhaps Anthony would not take away his life; and that in caſe of his appearing at Rome, and putting in his claim to the government before the ſenate, Antigonus being of the royal blood, and himſelf but a Plebeian, he did not know what the iſſue of it might be. Antigonus, he thought, might ſuggeſt, that though for his own part, he could not pretend to the dignity, having been in arms againſt the Romans; and though his own guilt might be taken for a ſufficient forfeiture as to himſelf, he might be yet in hope, that they would not puniſh his innocent ſons for the guilty father's ſake, but admit him into the ſucceſſion. Herod found himſelf very uneaſy under this proſpect and apprehenſion, and ſo prevail'd with Anthony, for a mighty ſum of money privately, to have Antigonus diſpatch'd out of the way, and that being done, Herod's heart was at reſt.

Anthony orders Antigonus to be put to death.

The end of the Aſmonean family.

THUS ended the reign of the Aſmonean family, after a hundred and twenty ſix years poſſeſſion of the government, a family illuſtrious in itſelf for the long continuance of the ſacerdotal ſucceſſion in it; and no leſs famous for the ſignal ſervices they and their anceſtors had from time to time render'd to the publick; but it was diverted at laſt by an inteſtine broil, as we have it upon tradition, from our forefathers; and the adminiſtration was transfer'd to Herod, the ſon of Antipater, a perſon of a Plebeian extraction, and a private ſubject.

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* According to Scaliger it ſhould be twenty ſix. See his book de Emendat. Temp. lib. v. p. 451.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK XV.

From the Year of the World 3929 *to* 3955.

CHAP. I.

Pollio and Sameas great with Herod. A notable prediction of Pollio's. Herod preſents Anthony. Five and forty of Antigonus's men put to death, and himſelf beheaded at Antioch.

Herod kind to his friends, and ſevere to his enemies.

WE have already ſet forth the taking of Jeruſalem by Soſius and Herod, and the making of Antigonus a priſoner; and we are now to proceed to what follow'd upon it. So ſoon as Herod came to the exerciſe of his royal authority over Judea, he made it his buſineſs in the firſt place to promote, and to provide for the Plebeian citizens, who had taken part with him, as yet while he was in the condition but of a private man. But for thoſe of the oppoſite party, hardly a day paſt without a capital execution upon ſome or other of them. Pollio, the Phariſee, and his diſciple Sameas, were highly in his favour for the good offices they did him, in adviſing the citizens when he lay before the town, to open the gates and receive him. This was that * Pollio that formerly foretold to Hyrcanus and the reſt of the judges, upon the queſtioning of Herod for his life; that if they acquitted him, the time would come, when he ſhould as certainly take away their lives, as they might now take away his. This prediction was verify'd in the event.

Pollio, the Phariſee, and his diſciple Sameas, great with Herod.

A notable prediction of Pollio's.

Herod preſents Anthony.

Forty five men of Antigonus's party put to death.

No ſooner was Herod in poſſeſſion of the city, but he got together all the royal furniture, with the rich booty in goods, gold and ſilver, that had been taken away by the wealthy citizens, and had it all carry'd to the palace; out of which he made a mighty preſent to Anthony; dividing the reſt among his friends and his favourites. He order'd alſo forty five principal men of Antigonus's intereſt to be put to death, and a guard ſet at their ſeveral doors to wait for the bringing out of the bodies, and to inſpect whether they were dead or not, and to take care that they carry'd out nothing elſe. In caſe of diſcovering any gold or ſilver, it was all brought to the king; and in one word, they ſaw no end of their miſery. They were in the hands of a griping and a neceſſitous prince; and all they were worth in the world was too little to ſatisfy his avarice. They were alſo in their ſabbatical year, and conſequently no harveſt to ſupply their wants.

Antigonus beheaded at Antioch.

ANTHONY having at this time Antigonus a priſoner, had ſome thoughts of expoſing him in chains for the honour of his triumph; but when he heard that the Jews began to be mutinous, and out of the averſion they had for Herod to favour Antigonus; Anthony without any more ceremony, ſtruck off his head at Antioch, as the beſt expedient he could think of to keep the people quiet. Strabo of Cappadocia atteſts this fact in the following manner:

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* Lib. xiv. c. 17. Sameas not Pollio. See Vorſtius's Diſſertation de Synedriis Hebræorum.

See Strabo.

“Anthony, ſays he, brought Antigonus the king of the Jews priſoner to Antioch, where he cauſed his head to be ſtruck off; the firſt king that ever the Romans put to this manner of death: But he had this to ſay for himſelf, that the Jews would never acknowledge Herod for their king, ſo long as Antigonus was living. Nay, ſo great was the reverence and eſteem they had for their former prince, that they were not to be wrought upon, even by torments, to allow Herod ſo much as the name of a king: But Herod propounded to himſelf by this ſcandalous and ſhameful puniſhment, to blaſt the memory and reputation of the one, and to ſoften the popular averſion of the multitude to the other.” Thus far goes Strabo.

We have ſpoken already of the two Parthian generals, Barzapharnes and Pacorus; and of their carrying away Hyrcanus and Phaſael priſoners: The former having been firſt high-prieſt, and then prince of the Jews; the latter, the brother of Herod, who out of a generous indignation daſh'd out his own brains, rather than he would ſubmit to the ſlaviſh infamy of an inglorious death. Hyrcanus being at this time in the hands of the Parthians, news was brought him of Herod's promotion to the government; upon which intelligence, he made his court to the new king, and we are now to ſhew how he came to obtain his liberty, and to return

CHAP. II.

Phraates treats Hyrcanus with great reſpect. Upon Herod's promotion, Hyrcanus would needs viſit him; but his friends oppoſed it. Herod invites Hyrcanus, and compliments Phraates. Hyrcanus goes for Jeruſalem, where Herod entertains him very generouſly. Ananus anvanc'd to the pontificate; which Alexandra takes for an affront, and puts Cleopatra upon moving Anthony for her ſon. Alexandra ſends Anthony the pictures of Ariſtobulus and Mariamne. Anthony tells Herod, he ſhould be glad to ſee Ariſtobulus, but Herod is againſt it; Anthony being a man of liberty and pleaſure, Herod charges Alexandra for plotting with Cleopatra. Ananus depos'd, and Ariſtobulus in his place. Alexandra's excuſe.

Phraates treats his priſoner Hyrcanus with great honour.

Upon Herod's promotion, Hyrcanus had a mind to give him a viſit.

Hyrcanus being brought priſoner to Phraates, the king of Parthia; and this prince being well informed of his birth and character, he had ſo great a reſpect for his illuſtrious blood and quality, that he immediately order'd his chains to be taken off, and allow'd him the freedom of the city of Babylon for the bounds of his confinement: A place where there were a great many of his own ſect; and where he had the ſame reverence paid him, not only by the Jews of that city, but by thoſe likewiſe on the other ſide of Euphrates, as if he had been their governour and high-prieſt. So that the preſent condition of Hyrcanus was not very uneaſy to him. But when he came to underſtand that Herod was advanced to the government, he being a grateful and a good-natur'd man himſelf, made a judgment of others according to the ſame meaſure; flattering himſelf with the hope of mighty things that Herod would do for him now upon this elevation, as an acknowledgment to the preſerver of his life and honour, which he himſelf had ſav'd when it was all at ſtake, of which we have ſaid enough heretofore. This fancy ſo ſtrongly poſſeſs'd Hyrcanus, that he reſolved within himſelf to make a journey to him, but not without the formality of adviſing firſt with ſome of his confidents about it. Upon laying their heads together, he found all his friends unanimouſly poſitive againſt his going. “For, ſaid they, ſo long as you are here, you may aſſure yourſelf from us and all our people, of a reverence and obedience ſuitable to the duty of your ſubjects and ſervants, and to the dignity of your own character, which you can never expect in your own country, by reaſon of the maim Antigonus has given you, which puts you into an incapacity of pretending to it. They told him likewiſe, that in the matter of good turns and reciprocal ſervices, it is not with princes as it is with private perſons. Kings have ſhort memories commonly in thoſe caſes, and men change their manners with their fortunes.” This diſcourſe was reaſonable enough, but the paſſion Hyrcanus had for his own country, made him deaf to all good counſels. Herod gave Hyrcanus an invitation alſo by letter to come over to him, and take his part in the government, deſiring him likewiſe to move Phraates and his brethren the Jews, not to envy him the comfort of ſo great a bleſſing; for now was the time, he ſaid, to ſhew his gratitude to the perſon he ſtood indebted to, both for his bread and for his life. And this was not all neither, but he ſent Saramalla upon an embaſſy to Phraates, with fair words and magnificent preſents over and above, to ſweeten him on the behalf of Hyrcanus, his worthy patron and dear friend. But this was all countenance and grimace; for Herod, being a crafty and a ſuſpicious prince, and an uſurper to boot, his buſineſs was to ſecure himſelf againſt all poſſible changes and turns of ſtate, and upon that conſideration, either to get Hyrcanus into his power, or ſend him out of the world, as afterwards he did.

All his friends againſt it.

Herod invites Hyrcanus to come over to him;

and ſends Saramalla to Phraates with compliments and preſents, to ſweeten him toward Hyrcanus.

Hyrcanus being, in fine, diſcharged by Phraates, and amply ſupply'd with monies and neceſſaries by the Jews in Babylon for his journey, went to Jeruſalem, where he was received with all the marks of ſingular honour and reſpect; as for inſtance, Herod gave him the firſt place at all meetings and entertainments; treated him in the ſtile of father, and carry'd every thing on with ſuch an outward appearance of good faith, that there was no room left for any poſſible doubt or jealouſy of the contrary. There was nothing, in fine, omitted, that might conduce to his eſtabliſhment, ſaving only that he was ſo over ſolicitous in that particular, that it prov'd the occaſion of a dangerous breach in the family; for he was ſo cautious of having any man of an honourable extraction advanced to the pontificate, that he ſent to Babylon for one Ananel, a perſon of a mean and obſcure condition, and made him high-prieſt. Alexandra, the wife of Hyrcanus, and the widow of Alexander the ſon of king Ariſtobulus, by

Hyrcanus diſcharg'd, and ſo goes his way for Jeruſalem. Herod entertains him with great honour.

Herod advances Ananel, a mean perſon to the pontificate.

whom ſhe had a ſon, whom ſhe called Ariſtobulus, after his grandfather's name, and a daughter Mariamne, a woman of admirable beauty, and the wife of Herod: this Alexandra laid it extremely to heart, to ſee her ſon thus affronted, and the high-prieſthood uſurped by one from abroad, while her ſon was yet living.

Alexandra takes this for an affront to her ſon.

She puts Cleopatra upon begging it of Anthony for her ſon.

In this diſcontent ſhe wrote by a certain muſician to Cleopatra, to beg the pontificate of Anthony for her ſon. But Anthony never minding the matter, it ſo happen'd, that one Gellius, a particular friend of his, being at that time in Judea about ſome affairs of his own, had the good fortune to ſee Ariſtobulus and Mariamne, whom he look'd upon to be two of the moſt graceful beautiful perſons that ever his eye beheld; inſomuch, that he highly complimented Alexandra upon the bleſſing of bringing two ſuch miracles into the world, and recommended it to her to make a preſent of their pictures to Anthony, as the way to ſecure herſelf of any good office that lay in his power to do her.

Alexandra ſends Anthony the pictures of Ariſtobulus and Mariamne.

Upon this conſideration ſhe ſent the pictures; and Gellius, that had a mind to inveigle Anthony into a paſſion for Mariamne, highly enlarged upon their beauty, with hyperbolical and extravagant flouriſhes, that they were perfect and lovely, ſo much beyond the ordinary rate of fleſh and blood, that they look'd liker angels in human ſhapes. It would not have been either handſome or honeſt in Anthony, to ſend for the wife of a prince that was his friend; and he was not willing neither to give Cleopatra any juſt ground of jealouſy; but he wrote, however, to Herod, how glad he ſhould be to ſee Ariſtobulus upon any fair occaſion, if it might ſtand with his convenience.

Anthony writes to Herod how glad he ſhould be to ſee Ariſtobulus.

Herod againſt it, as a matter of ill conſequence, Anthony being a man of liberty and pleaſure.

Ariſtobulus was not at that time above fifteen or ſixteen years of age, and Herod did not think it ſafe to ſend a delicate charming youth, nobly born, and in the flower of his years, to the perſon of all men living the moſt abandon'd to unnatural luſts, and the moſt eager in the purſuit of unlawful pleaſures; for this was Anthony's character; beſide, that being one of the greateſt men in Rome, he made uſe of his power and authority to bear him out in theſe liberties; ſo that Herod put him off with this pretence, that the Jews were ſo ſeditious, and ſo bent upon change and the experiment of another king, that if Ariſtobulus ſhould but ſtir out of the kingdom, it would blow up all in a flame.

WHEN he had ſobb'd Anthony off with this anſwer, he made it his buſineſs to treat the young man and Alexandra with more than uſual civility; his wiſe Mariamne alſo continually preſſing him to do her brother right in the buſineſs of the pontificate; urging withal, that it was his own intereſt ſo to do, for the very duty of the office would excuſe him beyond all exception from taking the journey. Herod, upon this diſcourſe, called ſeveral of his friends together, to confer and adviſe with; before whom he inveighed bitterly againſt Alexandra;

Herod charges Alexandra for intriguing with Cleopatra.

telling them that ſhe was enter'd into a ſecret conſpiracy againſt him, and that ſhe wrought by the means of Cleopatra, who was to engage Anthony to depoſe him, and transfer the government to her ſon; which, he ſaid, ſhe was the more to blame in, becauſe ſhe could not vindicate Ariſtobulus, without degrading her daughter, and making way by a publick broil to the dethroning of her ſon-in-law, and removing him from a dignity that he had acquir'd with ſo much toil and hazard.

Ananel depos'd, and Ariſtobulus put into the pontificate.

"But upon the whole "matter, ſays he, I am ready to forget and "to forgive all theſe injuries; and to ſhew "the reverence and tenderneſs I have for my "mother, and the reſt of her relations, I will "immediately veſt her ſon in the exerciſe of "the office; and I had done it ſooner too, "when I put Ananel into it, if the other had "been of age to execute it." This ſtudied ſpeech (for in truth ſo it was, and intended only for an amuſement to the women and the council) put Alexandra into the greateſt confuſion imaginable, betwixt the joy of ſeeing her own buſineſs done, and the trouble of finding herſelf ſuſpected; ſo that burſting out into a paſſionate tranſport of tears and proteſtations, ſhe gave this further account of her behaviour.

Alexandra's vindication.

"That as to the point of the high-"prieſthood, ſhe had ſuch an indignation for "the affront put upon her ſon in that particu-"lar, that ſhe left no lawful way or means to "do him right in it unattempted; but as to "any deſign ſhe had of advancing him to the "throne, ſhe was ſo far from having any "thought that way, that if the thing were "offer'd her, ſhe would refuſe it; for her "ambition look'd no further, ſhe ſaid, than "to ſee juſtice done to her ſon in that ſtation, "and conſequently the honour and the ſafety "of the family provided for. But as the caſe "then ſtood, ſhe ſaid, ſhe was ſo ſenſible of "the king's grace and goodneſs to herſelf in "the perſon of Ariſtobulus, that he ſhould "ever find her moſt dutiful for the future; "and if upon any punctilio of honour, or of "haughtineſs of mind, ſhe might have paſs'd "the preciſe bounds of reſpect and modera-"tion, ſhe begg'd his pardon for it." This diſcourſe put a ſeeming end to the controverſy; for they ſhook hands, and in appearance parted friends.

CHAP. III.

Herod is jealous of Alexandra, and ſets ſpies upon her. She writes to Cleopatra for advice what to do, who invites Herod and her ſon into Egypt, whither they are privately convey'd. Eſop tells Sabbion the ſecret, and he betrays it to Herod, who ſurprizes them in their eſcape. Herod contrives the drowning of Ariſtobulus, who is univerſally lamented. Alexandra diſguiſes her affliction. A ſplendid funeral, and Herod ſets up for the chief mourner.

THE king immediately depos'd Ananel from the pontificate, being a foreigner, as we have ſaid before, and of the race of thoſe Jews that were formerly carried away by the Syrians beyond the Euphrates, whereof many thouſands took up their habitations in Babylon. He was in truth, of a ſacerdotal extraction, and one of Herod's old acquaintance; who, upon his coming to the crown, had created him high-prieſt, and afterwards depoſed him, (though contrary to law,) for the peace of his family; for otherwiſe the high-prieſthood is an office for life, and not to be taken away again where it is once duly confer'd. The firſt that broke in upon that rule was Antiochus

Epiphanes, who removed Joſhua to make way for his brother Onias. Ariſtobulus was the ſecond who ſupplanted Hyrcanus, and aſſumed the dignity to himſelf. The third was Herod, who put Ariſtobulus into the holy function, while Ananel was yet living.

Herod is ſtill jealous of Alexandra.

He ſets guards and ſpies upon her.

She writes to Cleopatra for help and advice.

Cleopatra gives her and her ſon an invitation into Egypt.

She and her ſon are convey'd away privately thither.

Eſop tells Sabbion the ſecret, and he betrays it to Herod.

Herod ſurprizes them in the very act of their eſcape.

By this expedient they thought to ſet all right in the family; but, as it prov'd, the conſequence was not ſo clear yet, as after ſo ſolemn a reconciliation a body would have expected; for Herod was ſtill poſſeſs'd with a ſtrong jealouſy, that Alexandra would be no longer quiet, than till ſhe had an opportunity of compaſſing her ends, by being troubleſome. Under theſe apprehenſions he confin'd her to the palace, and abſolutely forbad her meddling in any publick buſineſs; ſetting moreover ſo many guards and obſervers upon her, that ſhe did not the leaſt thing in the world, not even what related to domeſtick oeconomy, but the king had notice of it. This odious way of proceeding gaul'd and exaſperated her extremely; for being a woman of birth, ſenſe, and of an high ſpirit, nothing could have touch'd her ſo ſenſibly, as to find herſelf thus watch'd and overlook'd; inſomuch, that ſhe reſolved, in ſhort, rather to endure any thing than the plague of ſo ſcandalous a jealouſy, and under the title of a woman of honour, to lead the life of a ſlave in fear and miſery. In this diſtreſs of thought ſhe writ the whole ſtate of her caſe in a letter to Cleopatra, together with an application to her for advice and relief; who gave her for anſwer, an invitation to ſteal away privately with her ſon, and to come over to her into Egypt. She could not but approve of the counſel, and ſo bethought herſelf of this way of putting it in execution. She order'd two coffins to be provided, and herſelf and her ſon to be put up in them; appointing the ſervants that were privy to the contrivance, to ſee them carried them out by night, and put aboard a ſhip that lay ready near at hand to tranſport them into Egypt. There was one Sabbion, who was look'd upon to be Alexandra's friend, and ſo mortal an enemy of Herod's, that he was ſtrongly ſuſpected to have been a party in the plot for the poiſoning of Antipater. A ſervant of Alexandra's, whoſe name was Eſop, making no doubt of Sabbion's being privy to the deſign, blabb'd the whole ſtory to him; and the other, laying hold of this occaſion for the redeeming of his credit with Herod, went and acquainted him with the whole intrigue; who let them go on without any noiſe, till they came to the point of execution, and then ſurpriz'd them in the very act of making their eſcape. Herod was yet ſo over gracious as to forgive her this attempt, not out of any motion of tenderneſs and generoſity, but for fear of Cleopatra's power with Anthony, in caſe he ſhould provoke her to a revenge; nay, ſo far was he from putting her to any extremity, that with a kind of oſtentation of magnanimity and good-nature, he rather out-did it the other way, by appearing more indulgent than in truth (all things conſider'd) it was poſſible for him to be. But after all this external fairneſs toward Alexandra the death of the young man ſome way or other was a thing reſolv'd upon; only it was to be a work of time to prevent ſuſpicion or diſcovery.

The feaſt of tabernacles now drawing on, (being one of the moſt celebrated and ſolemn feſtivals we have,) Herod diſpos'd himſelf to his good humour, and to rejoice and make merry with the people; but while this paſt, there fell out an unlucky circumſtance, that put him upon the execution of his murderous purpoſe, ſooner than he intended. Ariſtobulus was at this time enter'd into the eighteenth year of his age, a youth tall and lovely to admiration; and, in one word, the very picture of his grandfather; and as he was advancing toward the altar, in his pontifical robes, to officiate according to the law, he diſcharg'd his part with ſo wonderful a grace, having all the perſonal advantages of beauty and ſtature, and the dignity of a great ſoul in the very face of him, that the eyes and hearts of the ſpectators were all ſet upon him; inſomuch, that they could not forbear expreſſing the love, honour, and eſteem they had for him, in a thouſand good wiſhes, prayers, and acclamations, and thoſe indications of their joy and affection, accompanied alſo with large acknowledgments of the many obligations they had to that noble family. Now they never conſider'd that the magnifying of the one was a kind of derogating from the other, and that Herod's envy would underſtand it ſo, which effectually it did; and the jealouſy he contracted upon it, haſten'd the young man's ruin. Upon the breaking up of the feſtival, Herod took his part of a treat with Alexandra at Jericho, where he took Ariſtobulus aſide, as in point of complaiſance, and to bear him company in his little diverſions and pleaſures. The weather was too hot for any ſtirring exerciſe; ſo that they quickly gave over their play, and withdrew into the cool of the ſhade, by certain large fiſh-ponds there at hand, where ſeveral of their acquaintances and ſervants were bathing themſelves. Ariſtobulus was tempted by Herod to make one of the party, and ſo plunging into the pool for company, ſome of Herod's inſtruments that lay ready upon the catch, took the opportunity of ducking and dipping him ſo long, under a pretence of only ſport and diverſion, that in the end they kept him down, and drown'd him. This was the deplorable end of Ariſtobulus, in the eighteenth year of his age, and the firſt of his office, which was then immediately reſtor'd to Ananel. When this tragical diſaſter came to be known to the Women, never was ſo diſmal an alteration in the face of things; never ſo paſſionate a lamentation over the body of any perſon; nor ever ſo inconſolable a ſorrow. It was ſo publick a loſs, that the whole city was in tears for it, and not a family but had their part in it. But the chief mourner of all was Alexandra; and it was an aggravation of her calamity, that though ſhe was convinc'd of the malicious treachery of the fact, ſhe was yet glad to keep her tongue in her head for fear of a worſe miſchief. Such was the outrage of her deſpair, that ſhe was many times about to lay violent hands upon herſelf; but ſtill check'd her paſſion, in hope that if ſhe could but ſurvive the ſenſe of that barbarous and flagitious murder, without diſcovering what ſhe knew of the contriver of it, ſhe might yet live to the opportunity of a revenge; wherefore ſhe carried it fair in appearance, and without ſeeming to underſtand any thing of the matter;

Ariſtobulus drown'd in a pool by the practice of Herod.

An univerſal ſorrow for the loſs of Ariſtobulus.

Alexandra keeps her affliction to herſelf.

Herod himſelf in appearance the chief mourner.

A moſt expenſive and magnificent funeral.

ter; but Herod made it his buſineſs of all things in the world to poſſeſs people that he had no hand in it; and in his looks, words, and behaviour, acted the part of a mourner ſo well to the life, that any one would have thought his very heart had been breaking in good earneſt. And who knows at laſt yet, but betwixt humanity and conſcience, he might come to have ſomewhat of a true remorſe for his wickedneſs, in ſpilling the innocent blood of ſo lovely a perſon, in the prime of his youth and beauty; but his death was neceſſary, he thought, for his own ſecurity; beſide, that his main point was to keep himſelf clear of being ſuſpected of ſo baſe a crime. As to the matter of pomp and expence toward the ſolemnity of the funeral, there was nothing left undone either in the adorning of the hearſe, or in the embalming of the body, that might advance the magnificence of the ceremony; and this courſe he took, as the moſt likely way to contribute ſome mitigation and comfort to the grief of the women.

CHAP. IV.

Alexandra ſends Cleopatra the ſtory of the murder, who preſſes Anthony for juſtice upon the murderer. Anthony ſends for Herod, and Joſeph adminiſters in his abſence, with orders to put Mariamne to death, in caſe Anthony deſtroys Herod. Joſeph diſcovers the project at unawares. Herod values himſelf much upon Anthony's favour, and is jealous of Mariamne for Joſeph. Joſeph put to death, and Alexandra impriſon'd. Cleopatra governs Anthony at pleaſure. Her lewd practices.

Alexandra ſends Cleopatra the ſtory of the perfidious murder. Cleopatra preſſes Anthony for juſtice upon the murderer.

Anthony ſends for Herod to anſwer for himſelf.

Herod appears.

His uncle Joſeph adminiſters in his abſence, with orders, if Anthony put him to death, he ſhould immediately deſtroy Mariamne.

BUT there was no working upon the embitter'd ſpirit of Alexandra, by ſuch amuſements as theſe; neither was the rancour of her canker'd melancholy capable of any other relief than that of a revenge. With this proſpect in her head, ſhe ſent Cleopatra an account of Herod's perfidious practice upon the life of her miſerable ſon. Cleopatra, who had ever been ready and forward to ſerve her, contracted ſo generous a compaſſion for her upon this occaſion, that ſhe eſpouſed her intereſt as her own; preſſing and plying Anthony with perpetual importunities, to ſee juſtice done upon the author of ſo barbarous a murder. She laid before him the baſeneſs of the thing, and how diſhonourable it would be for him to ſuffer a king of his own making, and the uſurper of another man's right, to commit ſo horrid an outrage upon the lawful heir of the government, and to come off at laſt unpuniſh'd. Anthony was touch'd with theſe remonſtrances; and ſo coming to Laodicea, he ſent for Herod to clear himſelf about the death of Ariſtobulus; for he could not but have a horror for the action, even though Herod himſelf ſhould have been the doer of it. Herod was too conſcious to caſt himſelf voluntarily upon the merit of his cauſe, and then he conſider'd the hatred Cleopatra bore him, who was continually teizing Anthony againſt him; but at all hazards, however, he reſolv'd to appear, and in truth there was no avoiding it; ſo that committing the care of the government in his abſence to his uncle Joſeph, he gave him privately in charge, if Anthony ſhould put him to death, he ſhould immediately deſtroy Mariamne; for he doted upon his fair wife to that degree, that it was worſe than death to him to think of any other man's enjoying her when he ſhould be gone; beſide, that he look'd upon her excellencies as the ſources of his miſfortune. Anthony had long ſince profeſs'd a paſſion for her upon the very fame of her beauty. Having diſpatch'd his orders, he ſet out on his journey towards Anthony; but with a ſad and a foreboding heart.

Joſeph diſcovers the ſecret at unawares.

WHILE Joſeph was in the adminiſtration, he took care of his truſt, and made frequent viſits to Mariamne; partly upon buſineſs, and partly out of reſpect. Joſeph, as they were together, would frequently be taking occaſion to extol Herod, as the moſt tender uxorious huſband upon the face of the earth. The women ſhook their heads at it to ſee him ſo poſitive, Alexandra eſpecially; but Joſeph grew ſo over zealous upon it, to make good the character, that he betray'd a ſecret he was entruſted with, before he was aware; inſiſting upon it as an infallible argument of his affection, that as he found he could not live without her, ſo he was reſolv'd that death itſelf ſhould never part them. Now the women did not underſtand theſe words as an evidence of his love, but as an intimation of a tyrannical purpoſe he had taken up, in caſe of his own death, not to ſuffer them to ſurvive him.

THERE was at this time a rumour rais'd and ſpread about the town by ſome of the king's enemies, that Anthony had cauſed Herod to be put to the queſtion, and after that to death. The whole court was ſtartled at it, and the women above the reſt; inſomuch, that Alexandra put it to Joſeph to fly for protection to the Roman legion under Julius, that was then quarter'd without the city, and to take them along with him; for if there ſhould come to be any broils in the palace, the Romans would take care of them; or if ever Mariamne ſhould but come into the ſight of Anthony, he would deny her nothing that ſhe ſhould aſk him, though it were the kingdom itſelf, and all the royal privileges ſhe could pretend to.

Herod has more credit with Anthony than Cleopatra.

Herod boaſts of Anthony's favours.

WHILE this affair was under deliberation, letters came from Herod that quite contradicted the former intelligence; for Herod, it ſeems, was no ſooner come to Anthony, but by the force of preſents, and fair words, he brought him ſo far over to his intereſt, that Cleopatra had no longer any power with him to the diſadvantage of Herod; "For kings, "ſays Anthony, are not to be accountable "for their doings, they are no kings elſe; "for that's but the privilege of all crown'd "heads; and it would be well, ſays he, if "Cleopatra would not trouble herſelf ſo much "how other princes govern." Herod made oſtentation in his letters alſo, of the honours Anthony had done him; how he call'd him to his council, and to his ſolemn feaſts, in deſpite of all the calumnies of Cleopatra, that had a deſign upon the government herſelf, and did all ſhe could in the world to ruin him; but Anthony, he ſaid, was a prince of honour and juſtice, and that they might expect him back again in a ſhort time better eſtabliſh'd in the poſſeſſion of his kingdom, and in the aſſurance of Anthony's friendſhip, than ever; Cleopatra being quite taken off, by the acceptance of Cele-Syria, as a preſent from

Anthony, upon condition never to trouble him again about Judea.

THIS anſwer put an end to the deſign they had of ranging themſelves under the protection of the Romans, which was not kept ſo ſecret yet, but Herod had got intelligence of it; who, ſo ſoon as Anthony was advanced upon his expedition againſt the Parthians, returned to Jeruſalem, where his ſiſter Salome, and his mother inform'd him of the whole matter. Nay, and his ſiſter went ſo far, as to charge her own husband, Joſeph and Mariamne, with the privacy of a love intrigue together; but this was out of an old grudge to her, being a high-ſpirited woman, for reproaching her in a quarrel once about the meanneſs of her birth. This put Herod into ſo furious a tranſport of jealouſy and indignation, (for he lov'd Mariamne as he did his own ſoul,) that he had much ado to forbear laſhing out into open extravagancies, and contain himſelf within the compaſs of ſobriety and good diſcretion. But, upon ſecond thoughts, he took Mariamne aſide, and put her to the ſhrift about this familiarity with Joſeph. She purg'd herſelf by all that was poſſible for an innocent woman to ſay in her own defence, that ſhe was clear, not only as to Joſeph, but to the whole world, of any thing that did but look like criminal or diſhonourable in her converſation. The king, in fine, betwixt the power of his wife's charms, and that of his own infinite paſſion, ſoften'd by little and little, to ſuch a degree, that he not only acquitted her of the calumny, but acknowledg'd himſelf convinc'd of her unſpotted integrity, deſiring her pardon over and above, for the raſhneſs of his credulity, in giving any ſort of credit to ſo ſcandalous a rumour; intermixing all ſorts of tenderneſs in his diſcourſe. Theſe endearments, in concluſion, brought them to tears and embraces, (as it falls out commonly in theſe love encounters,) and the more diffident Mariamne appear'd of the good faith of Herod's affection, the more ſolicitous was he ſtill to confirm her in the aſſurance of it. "Yes, yes, ſays ſhe, a notable ſign of a loving husband indeed, to order the putting of his innocent wife to death, in caſe he ſhould happen to die himſelf." At theſe words he flung himſelf out of her arms in a rage; tearing his hair, and crying out like a mad man, "It is now as clear as the ſun, ſays he, that Joſeph has corrupted my wife; for nothing leſs than the power of ſuch a confidence could ever have extorted from him a ſecret that was committed to him with ſo much caution and truſt." In this impotency of paſſion he had it in his thought to ſtrike Mariamne to the heart; but the ſtrength of his old affection and kindneſs for her not being quite extinguiſhed, he overcame, though with ſome difficulty, that provocation. As for Joſeph, he commanded him immediately to be put to death, without ſo much as hearing him; and Alexandra at the ſame time to be impriſon'd, as the cauſe of all this miſchief.

Herod jealous of Mariamne for Joſeph.

Joſeph put to death, and Alexandra impriſon'd.

THERE were troubles about this time in Syria, promoted chiefly by the practices of Cleopatra, who had an abſolute power with Anthony, and employ'd it wholly to miſchief, inciting him perpetually againſt the great men of the country, till ſhe had worm'd them out of their governments, and then begg'd them for herſelf. Her avarice and ambition, in fine, were ſo inſatiable, that ſhe made a conſcience of nothing ſhe might get by. In the firſt place ſhe diſpatch'd her brother out of the way, a youth about fifteen years of age, and the next in ſucceſſion to the kingdom. She then prevail'd with Anthony to have her ſiſter Arſinoe taken off at Epheſus, in the temple of Diana, even at her very devotions; ſo that neither temples, ſepulchres, nor ſanctuaries, eſcap'd her, where there was money or ſpoil to be gotten by a ſacrilegious violation of them; but right or wrong, ſacred or prophane, all was a caſe to her, ſo ſhe might be a gainer by it. In one word, the treaſure of the whole world would have been too little to ſatisfy the expenſive pride and vanity of this voluptuous woman; ſo that being of this humour, it was no wonder to ſee her ſo preſſing upon Anthony to take from others, when it was all deſign'd for herſelf; and ſhe had no ſooner ſet foot into Syria with him, but ſhe fell to projecting immediately how to make herſelf miſtreſs of it. Lyſanias, the ſon of Ptolemy, was a friend, ſhe ſaid, to the Parthians, and ſo ſhe procured him to be put to death upon that account. She begg'd alſo of Anthony, Judea and Arabia, out of the hands of the kings who had them in poſſeſſion. Anthony was, in ſhort, ſo much at the command of this woman, as if ſhe had not only captivated, but bewitch'd him; yet there were ſome indignities ſo groſs, that he could not comply with them, without proclaiming himſelf the ſcandalous ſlave of an infamous woman. In few words, being loth to diſoblige his miſtreſs on the one hand, by denying her any thing, and as much aſham'd on the other, to publiſh himſelf for the weakeſt and meaneſt of mankind, in granting all ſhe aſk'd, he compounded the buſineſs by giving her ſome certain parts of both provinces, and all the cities from the river Eleutherus to Egypt, ſave only Tyre and Sidon, which had been always free; but this did not hinder her from purſuing Anthony ſtill, with violent importunities, to caſt them in over and above.

Cleopatra has now an abſolute power over Anthony.

The lewd practices of Cleopatra.

CHAP. V.

Cleopatra received with great honour by Herod at Apamia and Ptolemais. A luſtful ſhameleſs woman. Herod is for putting her to death, but his friends oppoſe it; ſo that he ſpeaks her fair, and carries her part of her way for Egypt. Anthony ſubdues Armenia, and compliments Cleopatra with priſoners and preſents. A tax of two hundred talents a year given to Cleopatra.

WHEN Cleopatra had ſettled her affairs, and ſeen Anthony as far as Euphrates, upon his expedition into Armenia, ſhe came back again, and took Apamia and Damaſcus in her way to Judea, where ſhe was honourably received by Herod, who treated with her for the revenue of that part of Arabia and Jericho that had been granted her; the latter being a place famous for balſam, which is the moſt precious of all gums, and likewiſe for the faireſt palm-trees in the world. Upon this occaſion ſhe ſet all her wits and arts at work, to engage Herod in an amour; and being a woman naturally luſtful and ſhameleſs, ſhe did

Cleopatra honourably received by Herod at Apamia and Ptolemais.

A woman luſtful and as ſhameleſs.

Herod is for putting Cleopatra to death; but his friends againſt it.

as good as meet him half way, toward the ſtriking up of a bargain; But love was the pretence all this while, though 'twas likely enough ſhe might have ſome farther treacherous deſign in it. Now Herod, who knew Cleopatra already for one of the ſpitefulleſt creatures living, was as good as fortify'd againſt her beforehand; but when he came to ſee the proſtituted impudence of her behaviour, it gave him ſuch a horror, that he reſolved, if ever it came to the point, directly to turn her off, and affront her. “The queſtion was now (and he conſulted his friends about it) whether it might not be his beſt courſe to make ſure of this vile woman while he had her; for it would be both a ſatisfaction to thoſe ſhe had abus'd heretofore, and a ſecurity to thoſe ſhe might otherwiſe abuſe hereafter: Nay, and Anthony himſelf would be the better for it too, for ſhe was the common enemy of all mankind, and would be falſe to him too, if ever he ſhould come to ſtand in need of her. Herod was abſolutely for taking her off; but thoſe about him, no leſs poſitive againſt it, as a thing below the dignity of a prince to run ſo great a hazard for. Wherefore they beſought him by all means to bethink himſelf, and to do nothing raſhly; for Anthony, they ſaid, would not bear it, let it be never ſo much to his advantage; beſide that the loſing of his miſtreſs by force, or ſecret practice, would but enhance the value he had for her before, and irritate him to a revenge. And then for the excuſing or palliating of a violence upon the perſon of a princeſs of her illuſtrious blood and quality, there would be no room for it: And let the benefit he might reap by her death be never ſo conſiderable, the outrage upon the honour and inclinations of Anthony would be unpardonable. They laid before him alſo the mortal confuſions that would inevitably follow, both in the kingdom, and in the royal family, upon the execution of what he had in his thought. As for the laſcivious importunities of the woman, there could be neither harm nor danger in rejecting them; and as to other matters, he had no more to do than to act according to the reaſon of the preſent ſtate of things.” His friends, in fine, betwixt the ſtrength of their arguments, and the credit of their counſels, brought Herod over to an acknowledgment of his miſtake, and ſo diverted him from his deſperate intent: Upon which change of mind, he complimented Cleopatra with rich preſents, and conducted her to Egypt.

Herod ſpeaks Cleopatra fair, and ſets her part of her way for Egypt.

Anthony ſubdues Armenia, and compliments Cleopatra with priſoners and preſents.

Armenia being now over-run by Anthony, he ſent Artabazes, the ſon of Tigranes, a priſoner into Egypt, with the princes, his ſons, and made a preſent of them to Cleopatra; together with all the valuable booty he had taken there. Artaxias, the eldeſt ſon of Artabazes, who fled out of the country at the breaking out of the war, ſucceeded to his father; but was afterward driven out again by Archilaus, and the emperor Nero, who put up Tigranes, the youngeſt brother of the family, into his place.

As to the revenue of the country that Anthony had given to Cleopatra, Herod made punctual payment of it; for he full well knew her temper, and how unſafe and dangerous it would be for him to do any thing whereby to incur her diſpleaſure, and provoke her hatred. The Arabians, conſidering that Herod had the levying of the tax, made due payment for ſome time, at the proportion of two * hundred talents a year: But this did not laſt long, for they fell off by degrees, till it fell in the end to leſs than half.

A tax of two hundred talents a year given to Cleopatra.

CHAP. VI.

Auguſtus and Anthony competitors for the empire. Herod marches with an army to join Anthony; who bids him fall upon the Arabians. A bloody battle, and the Jews get the better of it. The Arabians had another great army at Cana in Cele-Syria; and they routed that alſo: But Athenion falling upon the Jews afterward, when they were ſpent and weary, gave them a total overthrow.

Auguſtus and Anthony competitors for the empire.

Herod marches with an army to join Anthony. Anthony bids him fall rather upon the Arabians.

The Jews overthrow the Arabians in a bloody battle. The Arabians with another great army at Cana in Cele-Syria.

HEROD would certainly have reveng'd himſelf by a war upon the Arabians for this contempt and breach of faith, if the civil broils of the Romans had not prevented him; for the battle of Actium was now drawing on, which in all likelihood would put an end to the competition that was then a-foot betwixt Auguſtus and Anthony, for the empire. This happen'd in the 187th Olympiad. Herod having been now a long time (by the favour and bounty of Anthony) the maſter of a rich and populous country in peace and plenty, endued with men, money, corn, cattle, &c. in abundance, he levy'd a powerful army out of hand, and march'd with it toward the aſſiſtance of his patron; but Anthony telling Herod that he had no need of it himſelf, appointed him rather to march back with it againſt the Arabians, whom he look'd upon to be a falſe and a faithleſs people. Now this was tranſacted by the counſel and direction of Cleopatra, who apprehended it would be to her intereſt to deſtroy the Jews and the Arabians by their ſwords: Herod, upon this order, drew off his army back again, and ſoon after fell into Arabia with a formidable body of horſe and foot; taking his march toward Diaſpolis; where the Arabians having intelligence of his motions, were ready to encounter him. The two armies engaged, and after a bloody battle, the Jews carry'd the day. A while after this, they got together another great army at Cana in Cele-Syria. Herod, upon notice of their march, drew the greater part of his troops that way too; propoſing to encamp and fortify, and their to wait the firſt fair opportunity of attacking the enemy. But the ſoldiers were ſo animated with their former ſucceſs, and ſo well aſſur'd of the reſolution, ſtate and condition of their army, that expectation they cry'd, was but ſo much time loſt, and nothing would ſerve them but they muſt fall on immediately. Nay, ſuch was their impatience, that there was no keeping them in order without it. The king was ſo well pleas'd with the preſſing forwardneſs and alacrity of his men, that he reſolv'd not to diſcourage their ardour by any longer delays: So he put himſelf immediately at the head of his army with ſword in hand; gave the word of command to march and fall on, and only to act after his example. They advanced upon this, with ſo much fierceneſs and bravery, that the Arabians were diſmay'd at the very ſight of it, before ever it came to the ſhock. They made ſome little ſhew however of a faint reſiſtance upon the firſt encounter; but preſently gave way, and finding they were not able to abide the impreſſion, the greater part of them fled.

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* Two hundred Jewiſh talents weighed twenty two thouſand eight hundred and twelve pounds ſix ounces; and their value in ſilver amounted to ſixty eight thouſand four hundred thirty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings; and in gold, to one million ninety five thouſand pounds of Engliſh money.

The Jews put them to the rout.

This rout, in ſhort, had totally ruined the Arabians, if Athenion, Cleopatra's general in that quarter, had not taken advantage of that diſorder. This Athenion had a mortal averſion to Herod, and ſtood in a kind of neutrality, but with his men in order, and drawn up, attending the iſſue of the battle. If the Arabians had got the better of it, Athenion would have been quiet; but finding them to be worſted, and the Jews not only ſpent and wearied out with the action, but careleſs alſo and ſecure in the confidence of a certain victory, Athenion, with a conſiderable body of the natives, took the Jews off their guard, and attack'd them by ſurprize, diſperſing them without much difficulty; and in the purſuit over bogs and crags, which the Jews were not acquainted with, did great execution. Upon this defeat the Arabians took heart; rallied and re-inforced the battle, following the chace with ſo terrible a ſlaughter, that but a very ſmall party of this great body got off. The king finding the caſe deſperate, and his troops overborn with numbers, poſted away with all poſſible ſpeed for relief; but before he could bring it up, the Jews camp was taken and pillag'd; ſo that here was a victory gain'd beyond all hope or imagination, and a powerful enemy deſtroy'd, both in one, by the means of an unexpected ſurprize. Herod was forced after this diſaſter, to betake himſelf to depredations and incurſions upon the Arabians, and to encamp in the faſtneſſes of the mountains, without daring to expoſe his army to the fate of a battle; but this was not time utterly loſt, however, for the keeping his men in breath and exerciſe, and inuring them to all the duties of military diſcipline, he put them in condition to atone in ſome degree for the honour they had loſt.

Athenion falls upon the Jews, tir'd and careleſs, and gives them a total overthrow.

CHAP. VII.

A dreadful earthquake in Judea. The Jews ſue for a peace, and the Arabians put their ambaſſadors to death.

A dreadful earthquake in Judea.

IN the ſeventh year of the reign of Herod, and the year of the famous battle of Actium, there happen'd in Judea the moſt dreadful earthquake that ever had been heard of. It devour'd a great number of their cattle; and there periſh'd ten thouſand men in their towns, by the ruins of the houſes that were overturn'd; but the ſoldiers in the open air eſcap'd better, becauſe there was nothing over their heads to fall upon them. It is not to be imagin'd how proud and inſolent the Arabians grew upon the news of this calamity; which, how dreadful ſoever in the truth, was yet further aggravated in the report; for they computed upon it that Judea was totally depopulated, their cities and their people ſwallow'd up, and the nation no longer in condition to make head againſt them. In this diſtreſs they ſent their ambaſſadors to the Arabians to ſue for peace; who not only ſeized and put them to death, but ſoon after advanced with an army againſt them. The Jews were ſo diſpirited under the ſenſe of the deplorable and hopeleſs ſtate of their affairs, that they gave all for loſt, publick and private, without either minding what became of the government, or daring to ſtand their ground upon the approach of the enemy. The king did all that was poſſible to ſupport and encourage them in this abandon'd deſperation, by courting and cajoling them into a neceſſary reſolution of defending themſelves. There were ſome, even of the more generous ſort of his people, that while the wound was freſh and green, were not to be dealt withal by counſel or reaſon; but Herod, having brought them to a more tractable temper, by this frank way of proceeding, deliver'd what he had to ſay by way of comfort and encouragement to the army, in words to this effect:

The Jews ſue for a peace, and the Arabians put their ambaſſadors to death.

CHAP. VIII.

Herod's ſpeech to the army, with a ſtate of the war, and of the caſe. The Jews take courage, and beat the Arabians out of the field. The Arabians in a miſerable diſtreſs for want of water; and they deliver up themſelves to Herod for protection.

Herod's ſpeech to the army.

“YOU cannot be ignorant, ſays he, my brave fellow companions and ſoldiers, of the difficulties and misfortunes we have encounter'd of late, to our very great diſappointment; and in truth, it is no wonder to ſee, even the greateſt reſolutions ſtagger'd at it; but conſidering that the war is inevitably brought home to our doors, and that there is nothing as yet has befallen us, but may in ſome degree be repair'd by valour and conduct, I look upon it to be my part to raiſe and enliven your ſpirits, and to lay before you the means of recovering your primitive virtue.

The ſtate of the war, and of the caſe.

“To begin with the war; you are to conſider firſt, the juſtice of it, and then the moſt injurious provocations to it; two of the moſt powerful impulſes in nature to men of honour and courage. I ſhall then ſhew you that our misfortunes are not ſo hopeleſs and inſuperable as they may appear to be. To ſpeak in the firſt place to the firſt article; that is to ſay, the juſtice of the cauſe, be yourſelves the judges and the witneſſes of what I am about to ſay. As to the Arabians, you know them very well to be an impious and a barbarous generation of people, without either truth or honeſty; and that they lie under this character wherever they have to do. But they have been ſo to us in a tranſcendant manner, as if we had been ſingled out for the mark of their avarice and envy, above all others. To paſs over their ingratitude for other obligations, what was it but my intereſt with Anthony that prevented their falling under the yoke of Cleopatra? And it was for my ſake again,

“ that Anthony was otherwiſe ſo eaſy to them, out of a tenderneſs he had, not to do any thing that I might take ill; and ſo for the portions of land out of both provinces, that Cleopatra obtained from Anthony, what was it but my induſtry there alſo that ſetled the whole matter; partly by the preſents I made him at my own coſt, and partly the * two hundred talents I undertook to pay myſelf, and two hundred more that I gave ſecurity for? Notwithſtanding that ſeveral parcels of the land that pay their parts toward this tribute, and are at preſent in their poſſeſſion, do of right belong to the Jews, who in equity ought to pay no tribute at all, eſpecially upon the account of the Arabians that ſtand indebted to us, even for their very preſervation. But it ſeems more unreaſonable yet, for a nation that enjoy their liberty by our favour, as they have confeſs'd it over and over with a thouſand thanks, to refuſe us a juſt debt now at laſt, in a time of amity and peace, and to violate that faith to their friends, which has hitherto been held ſacred even among enemies. But theſe are a ſort of people worſe than the reſt of mankind, who underſtand no honeſty but profit, and account nothing a crime that's done for gain. What is there more in our caſe now, than the unqueſtionable liberty of calling a faithleſs enemy to an account by a juſt war? Now this is but according to the will and precept of God himſelf, who gives us both command and authority to right thoſe who ſuffer wrongfully under the power of violence and oppreſſion, eſpecially in a ſtate of hoſtility, not only juſt, but neceſſary; as what could be more horrid, or a greater affront to human ſociety, even in the judgment of both Greeks and Barbarians, than that execrable outrage of theirs upon the perſons of our ambaſſadors, a miniſterial order of men, whoſe character is every where held ſacred and inviolable, and with the Jews as much as any other; for what are the angels and the meſſengers of God, from whom we have received the knowledge of his bleſſed will and commandments, but a glorious ſort of ambaſſadors? And it is by this way of mediation that we are brought to the knowledge of our duty to our maker, and to the means of living peaceably one with another. Judge now, if any thing can be more inhuman, than to deſtroy the only competent proviſion God hath given us for the well-being and quiet of mankind, and to cut off thoſe neceſſary miniſters in the very execution of their office. How can theſe people now ever expect either to proſper in war, or to be happy in peace, after ſuch an uſurpation upon the natural equity and common privileges of human ſociety? For my own part, I cannot find that they have one word to ſay for themſelves; if it ſhall be ſuggeſted, that we have juſtice and equity on our ſide, but they a ſtronger human force and power on theirs. This is a way of arguing not to be admitted by people that have been better taught, and who know whereever juſtice is, God is; and that numbers and ſtrength can never prevail againſt him.

“ But extraordinary caſes apart: let us reaſon the matter a little upon the ſquare, and ſet force againſt force. In the firſt battle we were too hard for them; and in the ſecond they preſently gave way and fled before us, upon the very firſt ſhock. When we were abſolute maſters of the field, Athenion fell upon us, contrary both to law and honour; for there was no war declar'd. Will you give this action the name of valour, or of perfidy; or make any thing more of it than a ſucceſsful piece of injuſtice? That is not a time to ſink in our courage, when we have ſo much ground for hope. Why ſhould we be afraid now of thoſe that we have always beaten whenever we had to do with them, upon fair and honourable terms? men that never pretended to a victory but by fraud and foul play. But put the caſe now that they were valiant indeed, that very conſideration ſhould be a ſpur to men of honour to encounter them; for there's no reputation to be gotten by the baffling of a ſcoundrel; but it is the glory of one brave man to overcome another. If any of you ſhould be ſtagger'd at the thought of our domeſtic broils, or the judgment perhaps of our late earthquake, 'tis a main point that the Arabians will find themſelves mightily miſtaken in the opinion of, and in reckoning upon the calamity to be much greater than it was; neither is there the leaſt colour of reaſon in the world, why any thing ſhould diſcourage us, becauſe it emboldens them; and they have no ground in nature for their confidence, but that they take us to be broken-hearted, and deſponding; ſo that we have no more to do to humble their inſolence, than generouſly to bear up againſt our own misfortunes; and the more conſiderable we make ourſelves, the leſs conſiderable we ſhall find the enemy. Neither are we ſo deſpicable as we are ſuppos'd to be; for our diſappointment has nothing in it that looks like a fatality; but we are to reckon upon it among the common chances of war. If God brought this evil upon us, it is as certain that he remov'd it from us too, according to his merciful method of puniſhing ſinners, without deſtroying them; but for a more convincing argument of God's approbation of our proceeding in this war, do but obſerve what a ſignal evidence he has been pleas'd to give us in favour of it. What clearer manifeſtation of God's diſtinguiſhing goodneſs toward you could you deſire, than that when ſo many thouſands of other people up and down the province, were taken away by this devouring earthquake, not one ſoldier ſuffer'd in it; and who knows, if the whole nation had been engag'd in the ſame cauſe, but the piety of it might poſſibly have averted the judgment? Keep this providence in your thought, with this further comfort and aſſurance, that you have the Almighty for your protector; and take this along with you too, that you have right on your ſides, and a moſt impious generation of men to deal withal; a people faithleſs to friends and allies, private and publick; bold only

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* See the value of two hundred Jewiſh talents in page 380. of this book.

“ in ſacrilegious and unmanly murders, and
“ not the heart to look a reſolute enemy in
“ the face.”

The Jews take courage, and beat the Arabians out of the field.

THIS harangue of Herod's ſet the Jews on fire to be in action; ſo that making uſe of the opportunity, he ſacrificed in form, and march'd away immediately toward the Arabians beyond Jordan, where he encamp'd. There was a caſtle betwixt the two armies, which both parties, it ſeems, had an eye upon, as a place of great advantage, in caſe either of decamping, or of a battle. The firſt point in diſpute was the gaining of this poſt, which began in a skirmiſh at a diſtance, with darts and launces; but drawing nearer one another by degrees, it came in the end to a cloſe engagement, with loſs of men on both ſides, till in the concluſion the Arabians turn'd their backs, and quitted the field. This ſucceſs put the Jews in ſuch heart, finding the Arabians ſo cow'd, that they puſh'd them to their very trenches, where for a while they made a ſhow in a diſorderly way, of ſome ſort of reſiſtance; but it was ſo faint, that there was not to be ſeen either in their looks or actions, the leaſt hope of prevailing. They fought it however after their way, partly encourag'd by their numbers, and partly forced upon it by the inevitable neceſſity of either fighting or dying, till at laſt, after a long conteſt, and a great deal of blood ſpilt, they were put to a total rout; and with ſo terrible a ſlaughter, that betwixt thoſe that fell by the enemy's ſwords and their own, and thoſe that were trod to death in the crowd, they wanted five thouſand of their number; the reſt making away to their camp, but with a miſerable proſpect before them; for they had neither proviſions nor water to ſubſiſt upon. And in this deplorable condition the Jews coop'd them up ſo cloſe, that there was no room left either for relief or eſcape.

Their miſerable diſtreſs for want of water.

IN this extremity they ſent out a requeſt to Herod by their deputies, that he would either grant them a peace, or but the charity of cold water to quench their parching thirſt; but Herod was ſo bent upon his revenge, that he would not ſo much as hear of any thing of ambaſſadors or preſents from them, nor gratify them in any thing whatſoever they deſir'd. Within the compaſs of five days after this, a matter of four thouſand of them came out, and offer'd themſelves to captivity and chains, to avoid the more inſupportable calamity of a raging drought. On the ſixth day all the reſt made a ſally by conſent, and attack'd the beſiegers, chuſing rather a preſent certainty of death, than to expoſe themſelves with infamy to the lingring torment of it. In this deſperation they iſſued out of their camp, but without either ſpirits or ſtrength anſwerable to the pretence of ſuch an action; only they ſought their death as the only eaſe their condition was capable of. There fell ſeven thouſand of them upon the firſt encounter; and this overthrow taught them to their coſt, that Herod was a great captain, and not to be treated at that rate, and thereupon they deliver'd themſelves up to his protection.

They deliver up themſelves to Herod's protection.

CHAP. IX.

Herod puff'd up with a cheap victory. Anthony defeated at Actium. Herod is for taking Hyrcanus out of the way; a ſoft eaſy prince. Alexandra, an aſpiring turbulent woman, writes to Malchus to meet her with a party at the lake of Aſphaltitis. Doſitheus ſhews Herod the letter; and after that the anſwer. Hyrcanus is examin'd upon it, and put to death. The whole ſtory thought to be a contrivance of Herod's. The hiſtory of Hyrcanus. Herod goes preſently to Ceſar, and commits his government to his brother Pheroras; leaves his relations in Maſſada, and his wife in Alexandrion; Joſeph and Sohemus their keepers.

Herod puffed up with this victory.

THIS victory elevated Herod to ſuch a degree of vanity in his own thoughts, and of reputation in the world for a great man at arms, that he returned home in the full poſſeſſion of his uttermoſt wiſhes; but in the very rapture of this imaginary eſtabliſhment of his fortune, he had the mortification to receive the ſad and woful news of Anthony's being defeated at Actium by Auguſtus, upon which he gave himſelf up for a loſt man; and it was not his thought alone neither, but friends and foes were all of the ſame opinion, and that Auguſtus would never forgive any man that had been ſo great a friend to Anthony. The former were ſo plain with him, as not to diſguiſe the apprehenſion they had of his ruin; the other, under a pretence of condoling with him, were nevertheleſs heartily glad at the hopeful proſpect they had of better things. It ran in Herod's head, that Hyrcanus being the only ſurviving branch of the family, it would be much for his intereſt to have him taken out of the way, whatever might become of himſelf, with a reſpect to Ceſar; for whether he eſcap'd his diſpleaſure, or fell under it, he did not think it ſafe to have ſo fair a pretender betwixt himſelf and the government; beſide that, on the other hand, he gratified his end by cutting him off from the ſucceſſion. While he was caſting about in his thoughts what to do, the very family of Hyrcanus furniſh'd him with an occaſion to bring him to a reſolution. This ſame Hyrcanus he knew to be a man of a ſoft eaſy nature; one that had ever been averſe to buſineſs, leaving all things to chance, and a perſon content under all conditions; but his daughter Alexandra, on the contrary, was a woman of an aſpiring turbulent temper; impotent in her paſſions, and manifeſtly over-joy'd in the hope ſhe had of a change. This woman was ſtill preſſing and tampering with her father, to bethink himſelf of ſome way to deliver his family from the oppreſſions and perſecutions of Herod, and to provide in time for his own ſecurity, in the proſpect and contemplation of his better fortune. Her advice was, that he ſhould write to Malchus, at that time governor of Arabia, deſiring him, if there ſhould be occaſion, to receive him into his protection; for if it ſhould be Herod's hap to fall under the diſpleaſure of Ceſar, he could not fail of being reſtor'd to his dignity, having an indiſputable right of title, and the good-will of the people, clearly on his ſide.

Anthony's defeat at Actium.

Herod is for taking Hyrcanus out of the way.

Hyrcanus a ſoft eaſy prince.

Alexandra of an aſpiring turbulent ſpirit.

Hyrcanus for a good while would not give ear to her perſuaſions; but being plied day and night to the ſame tune with hopeful encouragements on the one ſide, and the treacherous practices of Herod on the other, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be over-born in the end, by the importunity of a woman; and ſo wrote to the Arabian, and committed the charge of the letter to one Doſitheus, in ſubſtance to this purpoſe: That he would ſend him a party of horſemen to the lake Aſphaltitis, about three * hundred furlongs from Jeruſalem. This letter was the rather entruſted to Doſitheus, as a confident both of Hyrcanus and Alexandra; and in regard that he was look'd upon as an enemy to Herod; not only for the putting of his kinſman Joſeph to death, but for the ſake of his brothers that were diſpatch'd ſome time before by Anthony at Tyre. But all this was not enough yet to keep Doſitheus true to his truſt; ſo that he rather choſe to make an intereſt with the preſent king, and went and ſhewed him the letter, who gave him thanks for the good office; deſiring only one thing farther of him, which was, that he ſhould make it up again and ſeal it, and ſo carry it forward to Malchus, and receive his anſwer; for it would much concern him, he ſaid, to ſee how the other behav'd himſelf upon it. Doſitheus acquitted himſelf punctually of his commiſſion, and brought back with him the Arabian's anſwer, which was to this effect: "That he was ready to entertain himſelf and his family; and that if he brought the whole party of the Jews along with him, that were in that intereſt, they ſhould be all welcome; and that he would ſend him a convoy for their ſafety; and, in fine, that he was ready to ſerve him to all manner of purpoſes." Herod, upon the receipt of this letter, called Hyrcanus to him, and aſk'd him the queſtion, whether he held any intelligence with Malchus or not, who ſaid, None at all; and thereupon Herod produc'd the letter, had it read publickly, and order'd Hyrcanus to be put to death. This is the ſtory as we find it in Herod's commentaries, though 'tis reported ſeveral ways. Some will have it, that he was put to death for a conſpiracy, and not for the crime that is here ſuggeſted; and write, "That Herod put it to Hyrcanus once at an entertainment, and without any ſhew of ſuſpicion; whether he had received any letters from Malchus. He ſaid, yes indeed he had; but they were only letters of courſe and common civility. Herod went then a little farther with him, and aſk'd if he had never receiv'd any preſents from him. He ſaid yes he had; but they were only four horſes for his pleaſure." The king would have this to be treaſon and corruption, and had him preſently taken away for it, and executed. Many are of opinion after all this yet, that he died innocent, and upon very good grounds too; for he was known to be a man of the moſt mild diſpoſition that ever was heard of; ſo modeſt and temperate, that he was not guilty of one raſh action in the whole courſe of his life; no, not ſo much as in the liberties of his youth, or the exerciſe of his authority; for he govern'd altogether by the advice of Antipater, the father of Herod. He was now upward of eighty years of age; and not ignorant that Herod was ſafe in the eſtabliſhment of his power, and himſelf on the wrong ſide of Euphrates, having left his friends behind him, and all this in ſubmiſſion to his dominion. Now for Hyrcanus to attempt a thing in appearance ſo impracticable, and otherwiſe ſo contrary to his genius and inclination, no mortal can pretend to believe, or that there was any thing more in the whole ſtory than a mere practice and contrivance of Herod's.

Doſitheus ſhews it to Herod, carries it forward,

and brings Herod this anſwer.

Herod examines Hyrcanus, and ſhews him the letter.

Hyrcanus put to death upon it.

The whole ſtory ſuſpected for a practice of Herod's.

This was the end of Hyrcanus, after a ſtrange variety of fortune in a long and a troubleſome life. He was advanced to the pontificate in the reign of his mother Alexandra; upon whoſe deceaſe, after nine years execution of his office, he ſucceeded to the government. In three months after this he was driven out by his brother Ariſtobulus; but reſtor'd after that, by Pompey, to the poſſeſſion of all his dignities, which he enjoy'd for the ſpace of forty years. He was once again then dethron'd by Antigonus; had his ears cut off, and carried away priſoner to the Parthians. He had not been there long, but he was ſet at liberty, and came back again; promiſing himſelf mighty matters from the friendſhip of Herod, who was ſo far from anſwering his expectations, that on the contrary, after ſo many turns and croſſes of a vexatious fortune, he cauſed him to be put to an infamous death in the extremity of his old age. He was, in fine, a man of eminent candor, juſtice, and moderation; but a lover of his eaſe, and ſo conſcious to himſelf of his own inſufficiency for the offices of a publick adminiſtration, that for the moſt part he entruſted the charge into other hands. This facility of Hyrcanus was the making of Antipater's and Herod's fortunes, and it was ſo order'd, that this goodneſs of his, without any colour of law, or equity, coſt him his life.

The hiſtory of Hyrcanus.

So ſoon as Herod had made ſure of Hyrcanus, he went his way preſently to Ceſar, but without any thought of favour from him, toward a man that had ſo heartily eſpouſed the cauſe of Anthony. He had a ſtrong ſuſpicion of Alexandra; and not knowing what advantage ſhe might make of his abſence, toward the ſtirring up of the people to a rebellion, he lodg'd the government in the hands of his brother Pheroras; diſpoſing of his mother Cypris, with the ſiſter, and other relations, into the caſtle of Maſſada, appointing his brother, in caſe any miſchief ſhould befal him, to maintain his poſt, and continue the adminiſtration in his own name. As to his wife Mariamne, he placed her in Alexandrion, with her mother Alexandra, there being ſo great a feud betwixt his wife, his mother, and his ſiſter, that there could be no thought of their living quietly together. He put the government of the fort into the hands of a couple of try'd and truſty friends, Joſeph his treaſurer, and Sohemus an Iturean, under a pretext of doing honour to theſe princeſſes; but with private order over and above, ſo ſoon as ever they ſhould come to be certainly inform'd of any violence upon his perſon, immediately to deſtroy them both; and to the uttermoſt of their power, ſecure the government to his ſons, and to his brother.

Herod goes away preſently to Ceſar.

He commits his government to his brother Pheroras; leaves his relations in Maſſada, and his wife in Alexandrion.

Joſeph and Sohemus their keepers.

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* Three hundred furlongs were about ſeventy four miles and a half Engliſh meaſure.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

A generous ſpeech of Herod's to Ceſar; which is extremely well receiv'd, and he himſelf reſettled in his government. Herod intercedes for Alexander; but Auguſtus had bound himſelf up by a vow: So that nothing could be done in it. He waits upon Ceſar at Ptolemais, where he had a moſt magnificent reception.

SO ſoon as Herod had given all neceſſary orders, he haſten'd away to Rhodes to find out Ceſar there. Upon his arrival, he took off his crown, and laid it aſide; but for the reſt of his royal robes, he kept them without ſhifting them. Upon Ceſar's admitting him to his audience, he gave a noble teſtimony of the greatneſs of his mind; and without any ſubmiſſion, excuſes, or ſupplications, as is common in ſuch caſes, he made a frank report of matter of fact, without the formality of any crouching preface, or apology.

A frank and a generous ſpeech of Herod to Ceſar.

“I am not come hither, great Ceſar, ſays he, to diſown the ſacredneſs of a friendſhip I have ever had for Anthony, and I ſhall take a farther freedom to declare, that he ſhould have been maſter of the world, if I could have made him ſo. 'Tis true, I was not perſonally in the laſt battle with him; for my commiſſion call'd me away againſt the Arabians; but at the ſame time, I ſerv'd him to the uttermoſt of my power with money and proviſions; and I was ſorry I could do no more too; for ſuch was the tenderneſs I had for Anthony, and ſuch my obligations to him, that I reckon'd my life as much a debt to him; and it was effectually as much at his devotion, as my fortune: But ſince I could not be with him at Actium, I muſt yet juſtify myſelf, that I had ſtill the ſame affection for his perſon and cauſe, after that fatal day, that I had before: Neither did I ſo much as waver, at this change of fortune, toward the changing of my party. Nay, in thoſe occaſions, when I could not aſſiſt him with my arms, I never fail'd to ſerve him with my advice, which was to cut off Cleopatra in time, and ſeize her kingdom into his own hands, as the only courſe in nature to preſerve him. And if he had taken this precaution, I dare appeal to Ceſar himſelf, whether he would not have thought it reaſonable to have treated with him at this inſtant upon fairer terms; but he choſe rather to go another way to work; and for want of conſideration, advanced your intereſt inſtead of his own. Now if you ſhall think the worſe of me for taking part with Anthony, becauſe you were his profeſs'd enemy, this ſhall not hinder me yet from owning and juſtifying the ſervices I have done him, and the reſpect I have ever had for him. But if you ſhall be pleas'd now to conſider the quality, the friendſhip, abſtracted from the circumſtances of the perſon, you will find in the faith and gratitude of the caſe, ſomewhat perhaps that may encourage you to make trial of it yourſelf; for whether it be to Ceſar, or to Anthony, the dignity of the character will be ſtill the ſame.”

Ceſar treats him with a ſingular reſpect;

THESE words of Herod's were deliver'd with an air ſo generous, and accompany'd with ſo moving a grace, that Auguſtus, who had in him naturally a greatneſs and benignity of mind, was not able to reſiſt the charms of his very defence: Inſomuch, that treating him with ſingular inſtances of humanity and eſteem, he bad him take up his crown again, and be the ſame friend for the future to himſelf, that he had formerly been to Anthony; giving alſo to underſtand that * Capidius had made him ſenſible of the good offices Herod had done him in the matter of the gladiators. When Herod came to find theſe fair words follow'd with anſwerable effects; as the re-inſtating of him in his kingdom, with a decree of the ſenate, to ſecure him the poſſeſſion of it; and all this done by the ſpecial favour and procurement of Ceſar, which was a felicity ſo much beyond Herod's expectation, that nothing could be more ſurprizing to him. Upon this eſtabliſhment, he attended Auguſtus into Egypt, treating himſelf and his friends upon the way with a magnificence of pomp and preſents, ſuitable to the perſon and the obligation; and every way anſwerable to the largeneſs of his heart. He did what he could with Ceſar on the behalf of Alexander, a friend of Anthony's, toward the gaining of his pardon; but Auguſtus having ty'd himſelf up by a ſolemn vow not to ſpare him, his requeſt could not be granted.

and ſettles him in his government by a decree of the ſenate.

Herod intercedes for Alexander; but he's under a vow not to ſpare him.

THE Jews, that upon this turn, gave Herod for loſt, were in ſuch an amazement at his coming back greater than he went out, that they look'd upon him as a perſon under the care of a peculiar providence, that turn'd all his perils and diſgraces to his advantage.

Herod waits upon Ceſar at Ptolemais, and treats him with all magnificence and ſplendour.

WHEN Ceſar was now upon his return out of Egypt, Herod went out to meet him at Ptolemais, where he treated him with an incredible ſtate and expence; and not only himſelf, but his whole army too, whom he ſupply'd with all manner of neceſſaries. Upon this occaſion, Ceſar took him, in a friendly way of familiarity, with him; inſomuch that they two rode together commonly, while their troops were drawing out. Herod, having at hand a train of a hundred and fifty perſons, richly habited, and perfectly well inſtructed in the province that was committed to their charge, it was their buſineſs to attend the ſervice of Ceſar and his friends in their paſſage, and to provide, that neither himſelf nor his army ſhould want either wine or water, let the ways be never ſo dry and barren: Which gave him a mighty reputation among the ſoldiers. He preſented Ceſar, in fine, with eight † hundred talents, and gave ſo univerſal a ſatisfaction, that they paid a greater veneration to the dignity of his mind than to that of his crown. Upon this generoſity of behaviour, in the improvement of ſo ſignal an opportunity to ſhew himſelf; and afterward, the ſame manner of reſpect over again to divers others of the eminent Romans, in their paſſage out of Egypt: All people gave him the character of the moſt illuſtrious prince living.

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* Caſaubon ſhews that the true reading is Q. Didius, or Bentidius, and that inſtead of μονάρχας in the original, it ſhould be μονομάχους. See Exercit. 1. Ann. DCCXXIV. See the wars of the Jews, l. 1. c. 15.

† Eight hundred Jewiſh talents weighed ninety one thouſand two hundred and fifty pounds; and their value in ſilver amounted to two hundred ſeventy three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty pounds; and in gold, to four millions three hundred and eighty thouſand pounds Engliſh money.

CHAP. XI.

Herod's family in a wretched diſorder; his wife and mother priſoners. His order to Joſeph about deſtroying Mariamne, ran in her head. Sohemus, the women's keeper, reveals the plot to Mariamne: Whoſe heart being ſet againſt her husband, makes him raging mad; and the mother and ſiſter enflame it. The death of Anthony and Cleopatra. Herod poſts away to Auguſtus in Egypt, and finds himſelf more in Ceſar's favour than ever. Herod an unhappy man ſtill, in all his glory. Mariamne, a woman of ſingular honour and virtue. Herod courts Mariamne, and ſhe deſpiſes him. A plot upon her life. Herod puts Sohemus to death. Mariamne try'd alſo, ſentenc'd and executed. Mariamne's conſtancy to the laſt. Herod's horror of conſcience. A raging plague in Jeruſalem. Herod under a judicial diſtemper. Alexandra contrives the getting of ſome ſtrong forts into her hands: She is diſcover'd and executed. Herod's outrageous cruelties. Coſtobarus and others charged with a conſpiracy againſt Herod, and all deſtroy'd. A plot upon Herod in the theatre, diſcover'd by a ſpy. The conſpirators own the plot. They are put to death, and the informer torn to pieces. A diſcovery extorted by torments. Herod fortifies Samaria.

Herod's family in great diſorder. His wife and mother-in-law no better than priſoners.

HEROD at his return to his kingdom, in the very height of all his glory, found a diſorder'd family, and his wife and mother-in-law highly incenſed againſt him; for they look'd upon themſelves, (and not without reaſon) rather as priſoners in that caſtle, than as there depoſited for the ſecurity of their perſons; and it was no ſmall mortification to them alſo to conſider, that they had not the command there of any thing in the world. Mariamne was ſtrongly poſſeſs'd with an opinion that all her husband's countenances of love to her, were only diſguiſe and pretext for his own convenience. But the thing at laſt that ſhe took moſt heinouſly, was her husband's reſolution not to ſuffer her to ſurvive him in caſe of his death. She could not forget the bloody order her husband had given to Joſeph: So that ſhe had no other way of ſafety left her, unleſs ſhe could ſweeten her keepers; Sohemus eſpecially, for her life was manifeſtly in his hands. He ſtood his integrity a while at the beginning, and kept true to his truſt; but upon the women's plying him with little favours, and fair words, he gave way by little and little; and in the end, blabs the whole ſtory of Herod's inſtructions; which he thought he might do with the more ſafety, ſince he took it for granted, Herod would never return home with the ſame power he was inveſted with when he went out; and therefore he argued with himſelf thus: "As there is no danger of him, ſays he, on the one hand, ſo I ſhall be ſure of the princeſſes to be my friends on the other; and by this means ſecure myſelf againſt all chances: Or put the caſe, ſays he again at worſt, and that Herod ſhould ſucceed in every thing to his wiſh, he has, to my knowledge, ſo doting a paſſion for Mariamne, that he will never do any thing without her." Upon theſe conſiderations, he diſcloſed the whole ſecret. Now the thought of theſe repeated practices, one after another upon the life of Mariamne, gave her ſuch a diſguſt for her husband, that ſhe made it her daily prayer he might never come alive back again; ſuch was the dread and horror ſhe had at the very thought of living with him: And this was no more than ſhe openly own'd a while after, when ſhe could diſguiſe the matter no longer.

Herod's order to Joſeph for deſtroying Mariamne runs in her head. The women makes fair with Sohemus their keeper.

Sohemus diſcovers the plot upon Mariamne's life, and turns her heart againſt her husband.

HEROD was ſo elated with the new and unexpected honours and preferments conſer'd upon him, that he thought the time long (as he had reaſon) till he brought Mariamne the firſt tidings of it himſelf; which he did with all the tenderneſſes of kiſſes and embraces, as the woman of the world he had the greateſt value for. But while he was amplifying upon the ſtory of his good fortunes, his wife receiv'd him with an air of careleſneſs and indifferency all the while, giving no heed to what he ſaid. The ſlight indeed was a little too open; but ſhe being a woman of candor and ſincerity, gave to underſtand in her countenance, that Herod's good news and careſſes were rather troubleſome to her, than agreeable. So that he was no longer tormented with a jealouſy, but it was now come to a demonſtrative certainty of what he fear'd; for his wife's averſion to him was by this time ſo manifeſt, that what with indignation to ſee his love ſo deſpis'd, and what with the confuſion he was in betwixt the tranſports of his rage, and his affection, ſuch was his diſtraction under the violence of theſe two extremes, that he was as it were torn to pieces by different paſſions, while his tenderneſs drew him this way, and his reſentments hurry'd him that: So that he could not gratify the one without giving offence to the other. But the thing he moſt of all dreaded was this, leſt in taking a preſent revenge upon his wife, he might draw a worſe miſchief upon his own head in the conſequence, when he ſhould come to find afterward that he could not live without her.

Herod himſelf carries his wife the firſt tidings of his preferment.

Mariamne makes him a cold and a careleſs return.

This indifference made Herod raging mad.

WHILE Herod was labouring in this reſtleſs anxiety of thought how to behave himſelf toward Mariamne, his mother and ſiſter could not have wiſh'd for a fairer opportunity of blowing the coal, and of interpoſing by calumnies and other ill offices, to inflame the outrageous jealous humour of her husband againſt her. They ply'd him, in ſhort, with ſuch ſuggeſtions, as though he could not abſolutely reject, yet neither could he ſo thoroughly believe them as irrevocably to deſtroy a perſon he had ſo great a kindneſs for upon the credit of that evidence. Herod however became every day more and more uneaſy; and by degrees harſher to her: And as Mariamne on the other hand made no difficulty of diſcovering her diſcontents, ſo Herod's extreme affection came by little and little to be tranſported into an embitter'd hatred: Inſomuch that he might probably have put her to extremities out of hand, if it had not been for the news juſt at that inſtant of the death of Anthony and Cleopatra, and of Ceſar's being at that time in the poſſeſſion of Egypt. Upon this intelligence, Herod haſten'd away to Auguſtus; leaving things at this paſs in his family,

The mother and ſiſter inflame that rage.

The death of Anthony and Cleopatra. Herod poſts away to Auguſtus in Egypt.

Sohemus has the ſame commiſſion about Mariamne as before.

Herod more in Ceſar's favour than ever.

ly, and recommending Mariamne to Sohemus over again, with acknowledgments of his former care and fidelity, and the grant of a command in Judea for a gratification. Upon this congreſs in Egypt, Ceſar treated Herod at another rate of freedom and confidence than before, and with divers inſtances of a ſingular eſteem and reſpect; as he preſented him with the four hundred Gauls that had been of Cleopatra's guards; putting him into poſſeſſion of that part of the country that Anthony had beſtow'd upon Cleopatra; with the additional government of Gadara, Hippen, and Samaria; and toward the ſea, of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and the tower of Straton, which was no ſmall acceſſion of power and ſplendor to his royal ſtate.

Herod returns to Jeruſalem; a miſerable man in all his glory.

Mariamne a woman of honour and virtue, but humourous.

When he had waited upon Ceſar as far as Antioch, he went back again to Jeruſalem, where he found himſelf as miſerable at home, as he had been fortunate abroad; and that the dazzling ſatisfactions of a crown were not ſufficient to balance the mortifications of an unhappy marriage, eſpecially being a match on which he placed his chief felicity, and thought would be the greateſt bleſſing of his life; for no mortal ever doated upon a woman as he did upon Mariamne, and with an honourable paſſion too; not but that ſhe was a perſon poſſeſs'd all this while to the higheſt degree of a ſcrupulous chaſtity; but inclin'd by fits to a peeviſhneſs of temper, whereby ſhe forgot all reſpect for her husband's patience, authority, and power, even to the treating of him ſometimes in a contumelious and reproachful manner; but he bore every thing temperately and calmly, notwithſtanding ſhe frequently carried her provocations ſo high as to upbraid his mother and ſiſter at every turn, with the meanneſs of their families; and this ſo publickly too, that the fewd it rais'd among the women was implacable; beſide, that it kept up the malevolent humour of calumnies and ſcandals.

Herod takes Mariamne into his cloſet. She treats his dalliances with ſcorn, and upbraids him with the death of her father and brother.

A plot upon Mariamne's life, betwixt Salome and the butler.

Herod in a fit of jealouſy puts Sohemus to death, and tries Mariamne for her life, before a court of his own creatures.

Mariamne receives ſentence, and at the inſtance of Salome is put to death.

These jealouſies continued for a whole year after Herod's coming back from Ceſar, and increaſed daily, till in the end this following contrivance was put in execution. The king took an occaſion once in the heat of the day to retire into his cloſet to repoſe himſelf, where a kind fit taking him, he call'd for Mariamne; ſhe went in to him, and upon his careſſing of her, made no other return to all his dalliances, importunities, and prayers, than that of a contemptuous ſcornful repulſe; inveighing againſt him at the ſame time with bitterneſs for the death of her father and brother. Herod was ſo incenſed with the indignity of this affront, that ſtarting up in a rage, he could ſcarce forbear laying violent hands upon her. His ſiſter hearing a diſturbance, kept the butler in readineſs to diſcharge himſelf of a commiſſion that ſhe had given him ſome time before; which was to go to the king with a ſtory, how Mariamne had been tampering with him to aſſiſt her in the preparing of a love potion for him; directing him, if the king ſhould ask what was in it, he ſhould only ſay, that it was of Mariamne's ordering; and for the ingredients, that he knew nothing of them, his part being only to preſent it; but in caſe the king made no further enquiry, he ſhould hold his tongue, and there would be no hurt done. The butler having his inſtructions at his fingers ends, did every thing according to his order, and ſo addreſſing himſelf to Herod with a face of gravity and buſineſs, he gave him to underſtand, that Mariamne had been tempting him with money and rewards to provide a philtre for him. The butler finding the king to be ſtartled at it, told him further, that having ſuch a potion offer'd him, and not knowing what might be in it, he thought it the ſafeſt way, both for his majeſty and for himſelf, to wait upon him with this information. Herod was ſufficiently exaſperated already; but the ſurprize of this diſcourſe made him directly outrageous; ſo that he order'd immediately the putting of a particular confident of Mariamne's to the torture, taking for granted that there was not any thing, little or great, that ſhe would do without his privity. As to the points he was queſtion'd upon, there was nothing to be extorted from him; but letting fall ſome words in the anguiſh of his pains, hinting that it was ſomewhat Sohemus had told Mariamne, that made her ſo uneaſy, Herod burſt out into an exclamation while the words were yet betwixt his lips; "That Sohemus, who had ever been ſo faithful a ſubject, and a patriot to his prince and country, would never have betray'd ſuch a ſecret as this was, but in the confidence and endearments of a laſcivious embrace." In this very inſtant he appointed Sohemus to be ſeiz'd and put to death; ſummoning his wife to anſwer for herſelf in a court of juſtice, before a cabal of his own creatures for her judges. The charge exhibited againſt her was a pretended conſpiracy to poiſon the king. Herod was fiercer and fouler upon her, both in words and in actions, than ſtood with the dignity of a tribunal of juſtice; and perceiving how he ſtood affected, they all pronounced her guilty after his example. But yet, the ſentence notwithſtanding, neither Herod himſelf, nor the people about him, were of opinion for precipitating the execution, but rather to keep her in a priſon, than to take away her life; only Salome and her faction ſtickled violently for the diſpatching her out of hand, and the king was the more eaſily prevail'd upon to agree to it, for fear of a revolt, the danger of which they ſuggeſted, when the people ſhould underſtand that the queen was yet living. This was the pretence that brought Mariamne to her end.

Alexandra's heart fails her to a moſt ſcandalous degree.

Alexandra, after this proceeding upon her daughter, might reaſonably enough expect that her own turn ſhould be next; ſo that for fear of the worſt, ſhe abandon'd her reputation to ſave her life; and fell ſo low, that her behaviour was become a ſcandal to her character. She was ſo over zealous to purge herſelf of any confederacy with her daughter, that ſhe made it her buſineſs to blacken her in all companies, as the moſt wicked and ungrateful of women, and to celebrate the juſtice of rewarding her according to her deſert, for ſo barbarous a practice upon ſo indulgent a husband; nay, her hypocriſy was ſo groſs, and ſtrain'd ſo high, that every body look'd upon it as ridiculous in the forced affectation of ſo many extravagant outrages; as flying in the face of her daughter, and the like: but Mariamne ſtill, as they were leading her to her execution, paſs'd by all theſe intemperances, without one word of reply, or the leaſt ſign of perturbation, more than in her countenance, for the ſhameful part her mother had in ſo extravagant and frantick a ſcene. She demeaned herſelf all the way, in ſhort, with a ſerene conſtancy of ſpirit, and without ſo much as changing colour upon the approach or apprehenſion of death. She died, in fine, as great as ſhe liv'd, firm and fearleſs, to her laſt gaſp.

Mariamne's conſtancy to the laſt.

This was the end of that virtuous generous princeſs, a lady without exception, had ſhe not been of a temper too perverſe and high-ſpirited. The charms of her beauty, the graces of her perſon, and the agreeable majeſty of her converſation, were not only ſuperior to the excellencies of the reſt of her ſex, but even beyond expreſſion too upon the compariſon. Now theſe advantageous gifts and qualities were in a great meaſure the very cauſe of her misfortune, in the uneaſy life ſhe led with her husband; for he ador'd her like a goddeſs; denying her and croſſing her in nothing; ſhe did what ſhe liſted, and took what liberty ſhe pleas'd; nay, greater perhaps than ſhe ſhould have done, in the frequent reproaches ſhe caſt upon him, for the death of her relations. By this heedleſs way of an inconſiderate freedom ſhe made herſelf hateful to her husband's mother and ſiſter, and in concluſion to himſelf too, whom ſhe thought ſhe could never have loſt.

The horrors of Herod's conſcience.

The paſſion Herod had for Mariamne in her life-time (which we have ſpoken of before) was become much more unruly and importunate, now ſhe was dead and gone; for he did not love his wife at the common rate of other husbands, but to ſuch a violent exceſs, over and above the tie of conjugal affection, that he grew rather fonder and fonder of her, the worſe ſhe us'd him. In his reflections now upon what he had done, he broke out not only into unkindly, but unmanly exclamations, with Mariamne's name ſtill in his mouth, and her blood crying for vengeance. In the agony of this horror, he did all that was to be done by wine, company, feaſting, and variety of other entertainments, to divert his melancholy; but when he ſaw all would not do, he threw up the care of his government, and intirely abandoning himſelf to grief, he fell by degrees to be light-headed, and talk idly; and in his raving fits, he would frequently be calling for Mariamne to be brought to him; his fancy running upon her as if ſhe were yet alive. While he was in this diſtemper, there broke out a terrible raging plague in Jeruſalem, that from the higheſt to the loweſt ſwept away all ſorts of people, and every body look'd upon it as a juſt judgment for the murder of the innocent queen. The king growing worſe and worſe, withdrew himſelf into a ſolitary retreat out of the way, and had it given out, that he was gone a hunting. He had not been long in this retirement, but he fell into ſo deſperate an illneſs, with a violent inflammation and a deadly pain in the head, that he ſcarce knew what he did. The common methods of remedy they found did him more hurt than good; inſomuch, that his caſe, in one word, was little leſs than deſperate; ſo that conſidering the difficulty of the diſeaſe, the condition of the patient, and that there was no place for any regular courſe of preſcription, his phyſicians found it to no purpoſe to tamper any further with him, and ſo gave him over to be his own doctor; bidding him call for what he had a mind to, and committing the event to providence. This was at Samaria, now called ebaſte.

A raging plague in Jeruſalem.

Herod viſited with a judicial diſtemper.

Alexandra contrives the getting of ſome ſtrong forts into her hand.

When Alexandra, who was then at Jeruſalem, came to underſtand Herod's condition, ſhe ſet her wits at work how ſhe might get ſome of the ſtrong forts into her hand; and ſhe had an eye upon two of them above the reſt; the one joining cloſe to the temple, the other in the city; conſidering that whoever is poſſeſs'd of theſe towers, may command the whole country and people: For the Jews will rather part with their lives than with their religion; and as they cannot live without their daily ſacrifices, ſo whoever commands theſe turrets have it at choice, whether they ſhall have any ſacrifices or no. Alexandra, in purſuance of her deſign, apply'd herſelf to the governors of theſe forts after this manner: "You well "know ſays ſhe, that the king is at this preſent in a miſerable extremity; and therefore "pray be pleaſed to deliver theſe two fortreſſes into the poſſeſſion of the king's wife's "mother, and the children of Herod and Mariamne; for otherwiſe the ſucceſſion may "come to be tranſported into another family; "and in caſe of his recovery, the government "cannot be lodg'd in ſafer hands than thoſe "of his neareſt relations." They could not be prevail'd upon to take this for a reaſonable requeſt; partly out of a ſenſe of duty to their truſt, but principally out of the hatred they bore to Alexandra, beſide the ſcruple they made of prejudging and pronouncing upon the king's life, with whom they had entertain'd a friendſhip of long ſtanding; and one of them, whoſe name was Achiab, being Herod's own nephew. The firſt thing Achiab did after this propoſal, was to ſend Herod word of it, who commanded her immediately to be put to death.

She moves it to the government.

Achiab ſends Herod word of the propoſal; and ſhe is immediately put to death.

This fit of ſickneſs wrought ſuch a wonderful effect upon Herod's body and mind (for with much ado he got over it at laſt) that his temper became ſo outrageous and bloody after his recovery, that every trifle put him upon the moſt inhuman extremities; and friend or foe was all alike to him, if they fell in his way. As for inſtance; there were Coſtobarus, Lyſimachus, Antipater, otherwiſe called Gadia, and Doſitheus, who ſuffer'd upon theſe pretexts following. Coſtobarus was one of the greateſt men in Idumea, and of a family whoſe anceſtors had formerly officiated as prieſts of Coze, a deity that they had in great veneration, till they came in the days of Hyrcanus to embrace the worſhip of the Jews. Herod was no ſooner advanced to his kingdom, but he gave this Coſtobarus the commands of Idumea and Gaza, with his ſiſter Salome to wife, whoſe husband Joſeph, he himſelf (as we have ſaid elſewhere) had cauſed to be ſlain. This was a promotion ſo much beyond any hope or pretence of Coſtobarus, that he grew proud and inſolent upon it, to the degree even of diſputing the authority of his maſter; looking upon it as an unworthy ſubmiſſion for the Idumeans to own themſelves the ſubjects of the Jews, in conſequence of embracing their ceremonies and worſhip. He ſent, upon this, an embaſſy to Cleopatra; minding her that Idumea had been ſtill under the adminiſtration of her forefathers, and that ſhe ſhould do well to make

Herod's outrageous cruelties.

Idumea and Gaza given to Coſtobarus

her application to Anthony for the command; profeſſing himſelf likewiſe to be at her devotion. Now he did not propoſe this addreſs out of any deſire he had to have Cleopatra for his miſtreſs; but to the end that by the weakening of Herod, he might the more eaſily ſeize the government of Idumea to himſelf: For he had two fair encouragements to the hope of ſucceeding in this enterprize; that is to ſay, the honour of his extraction, and mighty ſums of money which he had amaſs'd without any ſcruple of either honeſty or conſcience, provided he might but gain his end; and after all this, his ambition was as notorious as his avarice. Cleopatra try'd her intereſt with Anthony for Idumea, but it would not do; and this coming to Herod's ear, Coſtobarus had loſt his life for it, if the mother and the ſiſter had not interceded for him; but he had his pardon granted him at laſt, upon condition never to be truſted again. There was a falling out afterwards betwixt Coſtobarus and Salome, and the wife ſent her husband a bill of divorce, though directly againſt the cuſtom and practice of the country, and a manifeſt uſurpation of the man's privilege, who has a right to diſcharge the woman, and ſhe not to marry again, without the leave of her former husband. Salome's will however paſs'd for a law, and ſo ſhe left him, and betook herſelf to her brother, with this compliment, that her duty to him was dearer to her than that to her husband, and that ſhe came to tell him that Coſtobarus, with Lyſimachus, Antipater, and Doſitheus, were in conſpiracy againſt him: enforcing the credit of her information with an inſtance of his kindneſs to the ſons of Babas, whom he had now kept twelve years under his protection. This was ſo ſurprizing a truth, that it made an impreſſion upon him more than ordinary; for he had taken up a reſolution long ſince of having them diſpatch'd out of the world, as the known enemies of his intereſt; but ſome obſtacle or other ſtill prevented, and put it out of his head. Now the ground of the offence was this:

A falling out betwixt Coſtobarus and Salome his wife.

Salome charges Coſtabarus and Lyſimachus, Antipater and Doſitheus with a conſpiracy againſt Herod.

When Herod was before Jeruſalem, in the time of Antigonus, the people were ſo tir'd out with ſtreights and difficulties of the ſiege, that the greater part of them were for opening the gates, and admitting Herod into the town. The ſons of Babas being men of credit and authority in the place, and friends to Antigonus, were abſolutely for ſtanding it out, and maintaining the government in the royal line. Upon taking the city ſoon after, Herod gave Coſtobarus in charge to have an eye upon all the paſſages about the town, and not to ſuffer one creature to eſcape that was of the contrary faction. The ſons of Babas were generally taken notice of to be the darlings of the people, and conſequently the fitteſt inſtruments to be made uſe of in caſe of any attempt upon another change. Coſtobarus play'd his own game in ſaving them, and had them ſecretly convey'd away into a place of ſafety according to his order. Herod was not ſo dull of apprehenſion but that he ſuſpected the matter at that very inſtant, and queſtion'd him upon it; but the other diſcharg'd himſelf upon his oath, that he knew not what was become of them. The king upon this, publiſh'd a proclamation for the detecting of them, with a promiſe of reward to the diſcoverer, uſing all ways of enquiry; but no confeſſion yet: for after the firſt denial there was no retracting; ſo that the concealment was now become a point of prudence, and neceſſity, as well as of kindneſs. But now, the whole intrigue being laid open by the help of Salome, the king ſent immediately to their places of concealment, and had them all cut to pieces, with their accomplices and abettors, and the whole houſe of Hyrcanus by that inroad totally extinguiſh'd: ſo that from this time forward, the king did what he pleas'd without oppoſition or controul.

The ſons of Babas.

Coſtobarus charg'd with entertaining the ſons of Babas.

Salome makes the diſcovery, and they are all cut to pieces, with the houſe of Hyrcanus.

Herod changes old laws and cuſtoms for foreign inventions and innovations.

Herod was no ſooner ſettled in the eſtabliſhment of an abſolute power, but he fell off by little and little from the wholeſome laws and government of our forefathers that kept the people formerly in the awe and practice of their duty; introducing foreign inventions and innovations inſtead of them. As for inſtance; he inſtituted the ſpectacle of wreſtling-matches, to be celebrated every fifth year in honour of Auguſtus: erecting a theatre in Jeruſalem on purpoſe to receive them. He built a ſtately amphitheatre alſo, without the walls of the city; which two fabricks were of a wonderful magnificence and expence: but to the Jews, who were never accuſtomed to the vanity of ſuch games and ſhews, they were of no uſe or ſatisfaction at all. Now for the greater glory of theſe entertainments, he cauſed them to be notified by proclamations far and near, with large promiſes of rewards to the victors. By this means, he drew in competitors at all ſorts of exerciſes, and from all quarters in abundance, and the moſt eminent maſters alſo in their ſeveral profeſſions: Not only wreſtlers, but muſicians vocal and inſtrumental, mimicks, charioteers, ſome for two horſes, others for four; horſe-racers, &c. It was the king's care, in fine, that nothing ſhould be wanting that might contribute to the pleaſure, ornament, or curioſity of the main deſign. The theatre was dreſs'd up round with titles, trophies, and devices, to Ceſar's honour, and in memory of his triumphs; the whole work being ſet out and illuſtrated with gold and ſilver, and beautify'd with coſtly hangings, rich habits, and precious ſtones. For the greater variety of the diverſion, he had a proviſion alſo of lions, tygers, and ſuch other wild beaſts as had any thing in them extraordinary, either for fierceneſs and vigour, or for any thing ſingular in their kind. Theſe beaſts of prey were turn'd looſe, ſome time one upon another, other whiles to encounter condemn'd criminals.

Now this was a ſpectacle that foreigners were mightily pleas'd with; but the Jews, on the contrary, had a horror for it, as an ignoble cruelty, and not only a violation of their laws, but a corruption of their manners: for what can be more unmanly, than to take delight in the brutal entertainment of ſacrificing men to beaſts, and to ſpill human blood in ſport; beſide the folly and madneſs of changing good old cuſtoms for bad new ones? The Jews lay, in ſhort, under a general diſſatiſfaction; but nothing gave a greater diſguſt to them, than the trophies, which they look'd upon to be the images of men cover'd with arms, and conſequently a flat contradiction to the inſtitutions of their country. They were ſo bold and extravagant in their averſion to theſe trophies, that Herod did not think it ſafe to deal with them by force, but choſe rather to try if he could bring them by gentle methods and reaſoning to a ſight of the vanity of their ſuperſtition; but this was ſo far from convincing them, that they cry'd out with one voice againſt the indignity of his proceeding. "They could bear any thing elſe, (they ſaid) but to bring images into the city, (for ſo they call'd the trophies) or to ſubmit to the guilt of ſo abominable a wickedneſs; that was a thing they would never give way to." Herod, finding the people's abhorrence of theſe ſights to riſe higher and higher every day, and that they were not to be pacify'd by downright authority or perſuaſion, he took ſome of the chief of the ſcandalized party along with him to the theatre; ſhew'd them the trophies, and asked their opinion of them, and what they took them to be: ſo they all cry'd out that "they were the images of men." Herod, upon this, cauſed them to be ſtript and undreſs'd, and finding only certain ſtumps of wood under the covering, the fierce indignation they had conceiv'd from a ſtrong preſumption of their being images, was turn'd into ridicule; and upon the quieting of this tumult, the greater part of them was prevail'd upon to allow and concur with every thing elſe: but there were ſome yet that perſiſted in the abhorrence they had for the admittance of foreign cuſtoms, for fear of the pernicious changes of ſtate they might probably draw after them; reckoning themſelves obliged, at what hazard ſoever, to aſſert their tottering diſcipline, and not to ſuffer Herod, under the name of a king, to act the part of an enemy, and break in upon their conſciences and liberties with unlawful impoſitions.

The people were ſo enflam'd with this diſcourſe, that ten citizens enter'd immediately upon it into a conſpiracy againſt the perſon of the king, in defiance of all dangers whatſoever that might attend the enterprize; and there was one blind man among the reſt, ſo tranſported at the ſtory of this uſurpation and oppreſſion, that tho' he was not in a condition to act any thing for the common good, he offer'd himſelf yet to bear a part with his companions in their ſufferings for it, let it be what it would; and this generous encouragement did not a little ſettle them in their determination. Having laid their heads together upon this matter, they put daggers under their coats, and went to the theatre, with a full reſolution to ſtab the king himſelf, if they could come at him, as they hop'd they ſhould; or however to make ſuch havock of his guards, that they promiſ'd themſelves this comfort at worſt, in caſe of a miſcarriage, that their death would make him odious, and that the precedent of their bravery, in vindication of their religion and diſcipline, would be an incitement to others hereafter to follow their example.

A plot upon Herod in the theatre.

As Herod was juſt entering the theatre, one of his ſpies made to him a diſcovery of the whole intrigue; whereupon being conſcious to himſelf of the invidious hatred he lay under, he withdrew to his palace, whether he ſummon'd the conſpirators, every man by his name. Being now as good as taken in the fact, and without any poſſibility of eſcaping, they ſtood the ſhock with an invincible courage; owning and juſtifying the whole matter charg'd upon them. This they did with an undaunted conſtancy of mind and behaviour, producing the very daggers that were to have done the execution. "They were not engag'd, (they ſaid,) in any criminal combination to gratify any paſſion or intereſt; but in a ſacred league for the common good, and the defence of their laws, which all true patriots and profeſſors were bound to maintain with their lives." After this undaunted and glorious declaration, they were hurry'd away, and put to death by moſt exquiſite torments. Neither did that execrable wretch the informer long out-live his treaſon; for he was ſet upon, butcher'd, and torn to pieces; and his body thrown to the dogs. This too was done in the ſight of a great many ſpectators, yet not one man detected that had a hand in the exploit: till in the end a diſcovery was extorted by dint of torment from ſome certain women who happen'd to be preſent at the committing of the fact; whereupon the actors in it, and their whole families, were all immediately put to death; the common people all this while, ſtanding firm in the maintenance and vindication of their ordinances and cuſtoms. When Herod came to conſider of the danger of theſe mutinous diſpoſitions, and to find that the people were not to be kept in order but by main force, it highly concern'd him, he thought, to do all he could in time toward the preventing of a revolt. Now having two forts in the city already; his palace in the one, and the other (Antonia) which ſerved for a guard to the temple, he fortify'd Samaria alſo (otherwiſe called Sebaſte) for a third, which was conveniently ſituated to keep the whole country in obedience. It was about a day's journey from Jeruſalem, and commodiouſly enough ſeated for the quelling of broils in the city. There was likewiſe another ſtrong hold that lay very opportunely for his purpoſe, formerly known by the name of Straton's tower; but at that time it had obtain'd the name of Cæſarea. He built a caſtle alſo in the great plain, which he made a horſe quarter, and ſo Gabala in Galilee, and Eſthmonitis in Peræa. Theſe fortifications were ſo advantageouſly poſted up and down in the country, that it was impoſſible for the people to enter into any plot or practice againſt the ſtate, but his ſoldiers there in gariſon would be upon them preſently; being ever at hand, and in readineſs, either to obviate miſchief, or to cruſh it. He made it his firſt buſineſs to ſettle affairs in Samaria, as a place naturally ſtrong and proper for his purpoſe. To this end he drew a great body of troops into the city, both foreign and domeſtick, partly for the temple's ſake, which he propounded to build there, and partly for the reputation of the work, but principally for his own ſafety; which, under this pretext of magnificence, was abundantly provided for. He changed the name of the town of Samaria to that of Sebaſte, as is ſaid already; and divided among the inhabitants the country about it; by which means, the lands being fruitful, they became quickly rich and eaſy. He ſurrounded it with a thick ſubſtantial wall; and enlarged it in ſuch a proportion, that it was reckon'd in the firſt

A ſpy diſcovers the conſpiracy.

Herod ſends for the conſpirators by name.

They own the plot, and ſhew the very daggers.

They are put to death.

The informer himſelf torn to pieces

A diſcovery extorted by torments.

Herod fortifies Samaria, alias Sebaſte, &c.

firſt rank of famous cities. It was twenty * furlongs in circumference, leaving a furlong † and a half of ground in the middle, which he reſerv'd for a temple; and accordingly erected one, which, for the magnificence both of the dimenſions and expence, and all varieties of curioſity and ornament, was not inferior to any other fabrick whatſoever. He went on likewiſe every day more and more improving other parts of the city at the ſame rate, depending upon the advantages of the place for his ſecurity, and gratifying his ambition in the proſpect of tranſmitting to poſterity ſo laſting a monument of his greatneſs and glory.

CHAP. XII.

Judea viſited with dreadful calamities: As, a blaſting drought, famine, plague, and other diſeaſes. Herod's wiſdom in providing for the people. He erects a glorious palace. Jeſus depos'd from the pontificate, and Simon the ſon of Boethus advanced. Herod builds a caſtle: The deſcription of it. The character of Herod. He builds cities alſo, and temples.

Judea viſited with miſerable calamities.

A blaſting drought, a famine, plaugues and other diſeaſes

IN this year, which was the thirteenth of Herod's reign, Judea was viſited with miſerable calamities, whether by divine vengeance, or according to the ſtated courſe of natural providences, is not to be determin'd. The firſt judgment was a long and a blaſting drought, which was follow'd with ſuch a ſterility, that the earth was parch'd up and brought forth nothing at all. The want of food, and the neceſſitated change of diet, brought on plagues and diſeaſes, and a long train of other innumerable diſorders ſucceſſively one after another. And it was a farther aggravation of their extreme miſery, that the ſick were in a manner abandon'd, and left without the comfort of either help, food, or remedy. And with all this, they dy'd ſo faſt, that the ſurvivors gave one another over, without ſo much as looking after them, in the deſpair of doing them any good. The laſt year's ſtores being all ſpent, and no recruits appearing, the caſe was deſparate, and their ſtarving wants pinch'd them every day more than other; for one ſeaſon was already loſt and gone, and the earth ſtill barren, without any hope of relief. Theſe extremities however, in the mean time, ſet all people's wits at work how to provide for themſelves, under their preſent deplorable circumſtances.

Herod's wonderful wiſdom in providing for the people.

A grant for exportation of corn out of Egypt.

An equal diſtribution among the people.

Such, in fine, was the general diſtreſs, that the revenue even of Herod himſelf, how large ſoever, was not ſufficient to maintain him, for his rents and cuſtoms were all ſunk; his old ſtock of treaſure expended upon buildings and fortifications; together with an univerſal deſolation, upon all accounts; the outrageous hatred and clamour of the people over and above, which, in all caſes of popular diſcontents, never fail of caſting the blame upon the government. His thoughts were not idle yet upon the main, how to obviate theſe difficulties; but the particular means of doing it was the queſtion. As for his neighbours that were in the ſame condition with himſelf, there was no ſupply of proviſions to be expected that way: And for matter of monies to procure neceſſaries, his ſtock was exhauſted, and he had not enough remaining to anſwer the charge. But ſomewhat or other was to be done however in this extremity of a common cauſe. So that the king, upon bethinking himſelf, melted down all his plate, curioſities, and other ornamental furniture, and veſſels of gold and ſilver, to the ſervices of his own table; put the whole maſs into one ſum of money, and ſent it away into Egypt, where Petronius was at that time governor, by a commiſſion from Ceſar. Petronius was quite tir'd out with a multitude of applications and importunities of people under the ſame neceſſities; but yet out of a particular affection he had for Herod, and conſequently for his intereſt and people, he gave him, in preference to all others, a grant for the exportation of corn, and aſſiſted him all he could in the very price and carriage, which turn'd exceedingly to the account of Herod, and his deſigns. For upon the importing of this relief, he did not only redeem his reputation among thoſe that before had a very ill opinion of him, but made himſelf famous by his care and conduct for a prince of a truly royal wiſdom and virtue. The firſt thing he did after the importation of this ſuccour, was, to make an equal diſtribution of it in proportion to the number and condition of thoſe that were to receive it; as he provided for the ſending of it to thoſe that could not fetch it, and appointed bakers to aſſiſt thoſe that either through age, infirmity, or any other impediment could not make their bread themſelves; taking care likewiſe in all other reſpects that they might not want any thing, either for the filling of their bellies, or the keeping of them warm; ſupplying them alſo with garments and coverings againſt the ſeverity of the winter ſeaſon, as well as with victuals, in the great ſcarcity of ſheep and wool. So ſoon as he had competently provided for his own people, he extended his charity in the next place to the aſſiſtance of his neighbours the Syrians, whom he furniſhed with a quantity of ſeed-corn for the next ſeaſon, which came to them in the very nick of their occaſions for it; and yielded ſo prodigious an increaſe upon the following crop, that he ſent fifty thouſand men, which he himſelf had preſerv'd from ſtarving, to help them in with their harveſt. By this foreſight and induſtry of Herod's, matters were ſo well re-eſtabliſh'd (even when all was given for loſt) that every thing ſucceeded to his wiſh, both at home and abroad, wherever he had to do; for no man ever ſought to him in vain, whether ſtrangers or citizens, whom he did not relieve according to his dignity: Inſomuch, that upon a clear account it appear'd that he had expended ‡ ten thouſand côres of wheat to ſtrangers, reckoning every côre at ten Attic Medimni: And fourſcore thouſand côres upon his own people.

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* Twenty furlongs or ſtadia, according to Calmet's tables, were equivalent to two miles and an half and thirty paces, Engliſh meaſure.

† A furlong and an half, according to the ſame author, was juſt nine hundred and ninety Engliſh feet, that is, three hundred and thirty yards.

‡ A Côre or Chomer, according to Calmet, contained the quantity of ſix hundred and five Engliſh pints; ten thouſand therefore muſt amount to ſix millions fifty thouſand pints: and fourſcore thouſand Côres to forty eight millions four hundred thouſand Engliſh pints.

THIS ſeaſonable and effectual generoſity and goodneſs of the king ſo endear'd the hearts and ſouls of the people, that all paſt unkindneſſes and miſgovernments were freely forgiven and forgotten, and not one word more of his encroachments upon their laws and diſcipline; reckoning his generous care and liberality upon this occaſion, as an ample atonement for all his former miſdeeds. Neither was his character leſs venerable abroad than at home; for it ſo fell out, that his miſfortunes in the one place enhanced his reputation in the other, for upon this inſtance of his compaſſionate humanity toward ſtrangers in diſtreſs, people made a judgment of him from what they now found him, and not from what he had been.

Herod erects a glorious palace.

MUCH about this time he made Auguſtus a preſent of five hundred choice men out of his own guards, which ſerv'd under * Ælius Gallus in the Arabian war with much honour. The ſtate of Judea being now compos'd, Herod began to erect a large and ſpacious palace, in the upper part of Jeruſalem, with rooms large enough for a great receipt of people; finiſhed with ſeats and other ornaments of gold and marble curiouſly wrought, and bearing the names of the perſons they were deſign'd for; one inſcribed Ceſar's apartment, another Agrippa's.

Jeſus depos'd from the pontificate. Herod advances Simon the ſon of Boethus, and marries his daughter.

WHILE Herod was intent upon this building, he happened to fall in love, and marry a ſecond wife, to reſtrain himſelf from the looſe liberties of wandering amours. The caſe, in ſhort, was this: there was one Simon, a citizen of Jeruſalem, the ſon of † Boethus, an Alexandrian, and a prieſt of a noble family; this Simon had a daughter of ſo exquiſite a beauty, that ſhe became the talk and admiration of all that ſaw her. Herod was firſt ſtruck with the fame of this lady, and then enamour'd upon the ſight of her; but yet reſolving to make no tyrannical uſe of his power, he only propounded the honourable way of taking her to his bed as his lawful wife. It was a match, in truth, below his quality, but not inconſiderable neither, to the degree of deſpicable; ſo that in ſome ſort to balance this inequality, and to indulge his paſſion, both in one, he thought it proper to confer ſome eminent dignity upon Simon, in order to qualify him for the honour he intended him. To this end he depoſed Jeſus ‡ the ſon Phabes from the Pontificate; advanced Simon in his ſtead, and then marry'd his daughter.

Herod builds a caſtle in memory of a victory over Antigonus.

A deſcription of the building and place.

SO ſoon as the nuptial ſolemnities were over, he built a glorious caſtle upon the place where he formerly defeated the Jews in the war he had with Antigonus. This fort was a matter of ſixty || furlongs from Jeruſalem; naturally ſtrong by the ſituation, and capable of being made impregnable. The hill riſes in a gentle aſcent, as if it had been artificial; the figure of it round, and the caſtle encompaſs'd with ſeveral towers; and two hundred ſtone ſteps up to it; the lodgings in it rich and ſtately, and the whole ſtructure beautiful and firm. At the bottom of this mount, there are ſeveral buildings worth the ſeeing in many reſpects, and particularly for the famous aqueducts, that with infinite difficulty and charge, were brought thither from a vaſt way off. The plain about it was cover'd with houſes, to the proportion of a conſiderable city: the caſtle from above overlooking it like a citadel, both for command and protection.

The character of Herod.

Herod having by this time ſettled his matters to his mind, he reckon'd himſelf out of danger of any further commotions and tumults. He kept his people in order, partly by awe and fear, and partly by love and intereſt; for he was a prince of a moſt inflexible ſeverity where a criminal was to be puniſh'd, and of as unbounded a liberality, where the common good of the ſubject requir'd it. He kept himſelf upon ſuch a guard, and every thing in ſuch a poſture of ſecurity, as if it were to ſhew that the prince and the people are to ſtand and fall together. He was courteous and eaſy, indifferently to all men, to ſtrangers as well as others, and upon occaſion moſt munificently generous to the great ones; for he had the heart of an emperor. By this means he gain'd a general love and eſteem, to the great advantage of his affairs and deſigns. But this ambitious affectation of ingratiating himſelf with Auguſtus and the noblemen of Rome, inveigled him away by little and little from the diſcipline and cuſtoms of our forefathers, into the erecting of cities and temples to the honour of his patrons. This was not done, 'tis true, in the very land of Judea itſelf; for the Jews would never have born an abomination ſo expreſly forbidden, as the worſhiping of images and idols, after the manner of the Greeks: ſo that he built theſe cities only upon the borders of the province, and not within the juriſdiction of it; excuſing himſelf upon the whole, that what he did was not any act of his own, but purely in obedience to the higher powers. He got the good-will of Ceſar and the Romans however, by the pretence of renouncing the diſcipline and the principles he was brought up in, for their ſakes: but all this apart, the thing he aim'd at was his own advantage, the making of himſelf glorious to poſterity, by theſe everlaſting memorials of magnificence and bounty.

Herod builds cities and temples to the honour of his patrons.

CHAP. XIII.

Straton's tower, (or Cæſarea,) a port as large as the Pyræum, betwixt Joppa and Dora; with the model of a mole built there by Herod. A temple dedicated to Ceſar. A ſtone theatre, and a ſpacious amphitheatre; the whole work finiſh'd in twelve years. Alexander and Ariſtobulus ſent to Ceſar; who grants to Herod three provinces, and the liberty of chuſing which Son he pleaſes for his ſucceſſor. The Trachonites a kind of free-booters, and Zenodorus goes ſhares with them. A deſcription of their dens, and their manner of living. Herod has a commiſſion to ſuppreſs them. A complaint againſt Zenodorus; and Zenodorus complains of Herod. Herod defends himſelf. The Deſperation of the Gadarens. The death of

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* In the verſion of Rufinus, or Epiphanius Scholaſticus, 'tis Eliſæus, and not Ælius Gallus.

† In the antient verſion 'tis Buzus. ‡ In the antient verſion, the ſon of Boethus.

|| Sixty furlongs amounted to ſeven Engliſh miles and an half, and ninety paces.

Zenodorus. Ceſar's bounty to Herod. He makes Pheroras a tetrarch in Judea, and erects a temple to Auguſtus. Herod's arts of making himſelf popular. His kindneſſes to the Phariſees and Eſſenes. A ſtrange prediction of Manahem, an Eſſene.

Of Straton's tower, or Ceſarea.

A port as large as the Pyræeum.

The ſituation betwixt Joppa and Dora.

The model of a mole built there by Herod.

A temple dedicated to Ceſar, and thence call'd Ceſarea.

THERE was a certain place by the ſea-ſide, formerly called Straton's tower, which Herod look'd upon as a very commodious tract of ground to raiſe a city upon. He drew his model; ſet people to work upon't, and finiſh'd it. The buildings were all of marble; private houſes as well as palaces; but his maſter-piece was the port, which he made as large as the Pyræeum, and a ſafe ſtation againſt all winds and weathers; to ſay nothing of other conveniences. This work was the more wonderful, becauſe all the materials for it were brought thither at a prodigious expence from afar off. This city ſtands in Phœnicia upon the paſs into Egypt, between Joppa and Dora; two wretched ſea towns, where there's no riding in the harbours with a ſouth-weſt wind; for it bears ſo furiouſly upon the ſhore, that merchant-men are forc'd to keep off at ſea many times for fear of being driven a ground. To encounter theſe difficulties of the place, Herod order'd a mole to be made in the form of a half-moon, and large enough for a royal navy to ride in. He directed alſo prodigious ſtones to be let down there in twenty fathom water; ſtones of fifty foot in length, eighteen foot over, and nine foot deep; ſome greater, ſome leſs. This mole was two hundred foot in extent; the one half of it to break the ſetting of the ſea; the other half ſerv'd for the foundation of a ſtone-wall fortify'd with terrets; calling the largeſt and the faireſt of them by the name of the tower of Druſus, from Druſus the ſon-in-law of Auguſtus, who dy'd young. There were ſeveral arched vaults alſo that ſerv'd for ſeamens-cabins. There was likewiſe a key or landing-place, with a large walk upon it around the port, as a place of pleaſure to take the air in. This port opens to the northward, which is the cleareſt quarter of the heavens. On the left hand of the entrance into it, there was a terret erected upon a large platform, with a ſloping bank to ſhoot off the waſhing of the ſea; and on the right hand were two ſtone-pillars over againſt the tower, and both of a height. The houſes about the port, were all uniformly built, of the moſt excellent ſort of marble. Upon a mount in the middle, ſtood a temple dedicated to Ceſar, which was of great uſe to the mariners, for a famous ſea-mark. There were in this temple two ſtatues or images; the one of Rome, and the other of Ceſar: and from hence the city took the name of Ceſarea, which was no leſs celebrated for the materials than for the workmanſhip. The contrivance of the vaults and common-ſhores was wonderful too, being laid at equal diſtances one from another, and ſo diſcharging themſelves into the ſea. Only there was one conveyance that went croſs all the reſt; and as it carry'd off all the filth and naſtineſs of the town, ſo it made way for the tides to enter and waſh the paſſages, and to make all ſweet and clean. Herod built alſo a ſtone-theatre; and upon the ſouth ſide of the harbour, a ſpacious amphitheatre, with a goodly proſpect to the ſea-ward. He ſpared, in ſhort, for neither money nor pains; and in a matter of twelve years this work was brought to perfection.

A ſtone-theatre, and a ſpacious amphitheatre. The work of 12 years.

Alexander and Ariſtobulus ſent on a complement to Ceſar.

Ceſar grants Herod three provinces, and which ſon he pleaſes for his ſucceſſor.

AFTER the finiſhing of theſe two cities, Sebaſte and Ceſarea, Herod diſpatch'd away his two ſons, Alexander and Ariſtobulus, to pay their reſpects to Ceſar. Pollio, that was Herod's particular friend, provided lodgings for them; which was more than needed, for Auguſtus had given order for the entertaining of them in his own palace. He received them, in fine, with wonderful humanity, and after the additional bounty of confering upon Herod the three provinces of Trachon, Batanæa and Auranitis, he gave him his choice likewiſe, which of his ſons he would appoint for his ſucceſſor to the kingdom of Judea. The buſineſs was this:

The trachonites a kind of free-booters.

The people complain to Varro of Zenodorus.

The dens of theſe thieves, and their manner of living.

Herod has a commiſſion to ſuppreſs them.

Zenodorus complains to Ceſar of Herod, but in vain.

ONE Zenodorus had taken to farm the lands of Lyſanias, and not contenting himſelf with the lawful advantage of his bargain, went ſhares with the free-booters in Trachon; a ſort of men that live in a great meaſure upon the ſpoil they take from the people of Damaſcus. The ſuffering part of the country, upon theſe outrages, apply'd themſelves to * Varro, who was at that time governor of the province, for a letter of complaint to Ceſar againſt Zenodorus; whoſe anſwer was, that he would have thoſe thieves driven out of their lurking holes, and the care and command of that province committed to Herod, to keep the Trachonites in order for the future. Now they had neither towns, houſes, nor poſſeſſions, but liv'd like beaſts in dens and caves; and furniſhed with ſuch a proportion of water and proviſion, that it would be a hard matter either to come at them, or to ſtarve them: beſide that making a livelihood of the trade, they would be loth to leave it. The entrance into their hiding-places was ſo narrow, that there was no paſſing for above one at a time; but the receptacle within was large beyond imagination; and the roof overhead plain and flat. Take it altogether, it is but one ſharp and almoſt impaſſable rock: full of difficulties and turnings, and no finding the right way into it without a guide. In few words, theſe are a people that ſtick at nothing; and rather than not keep their hands in uſe, rob one another. So ſoon as ever Herod enter'd into the poſſeſſion of his new province, he took his conductors and inſtruments along with him; and hunting them out of their retreats, ſet the neighbourhood at quiet. But Zenodorus was ſo irritated, whether out of vexation for the loſs of his commiſſion, or out of envy at Herod's having it, that he poſted away to Rome with an accuſation in his mouth againſt Herod, but could do no good on't.

The Gadarens complain of him too: And the Arabians.

WHILE matters were in this ſtate, Auguſtus ſent Agrippa into Aſia, to take upon him the command of the tranſmarine provinces there. He was Herod's ſingular friend and old acquaintance; ſo that he met him upon the way at Mitylene, and then went back again to Judea. He was no ſooner arriv'd, but the Gadarens accoſted him preſently with grievous complaints againſt Herod; whereupon, without ſo much as giving them the hearing, he ſent to the king himſelf in chains.

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* See Caſaubon's Exercit. 1. n. 82.

Zenodorus alſo, and upon what grounds.

Zenodorus ſets the Gadarens againſt Herod.

Zenodorus makes a vow to remove him.

The charge againſt Herod.

Herod defends himſelf.

Divers of the Gadarens make themſelves away, when they cannot gain a point.

Zenodorus dies of a dyſentery at Antioch.

Ceſar's bounty to Herod.

Ceſar makes Pheroras a tetrach in Judea.

Herod erects a temple to Auguſtus.

The Arabians at the ſame time began to ſhew their diſaffection and enmity, upon the ſcore of an ancient grudge they had to him, and truly the pretence ſeem'd to have ſomewhat in it. Zenodorus, (the Perſon beforementioned) finding his affairs in a ſinking condition, came to an agreement with theſe Arabians, for ſo much of his eſtate in the province of Auranitis, as they were to pay him fifty * talents a year rent for. Now this happening to fall within Ceſar's grant to Herod, the Arabians would not ſubmit to it; but conteſting the matter, one while by force, another while by law, they engaged alſo a party of indigent ſoldiers in the controverſy; who, according to the practice of other miſerable people in the world, were willing to mend their own fortunes upon the ruins of other men. Herod knew well enough what they were a-doing; but thought it good diſcretion yet to deal with them by fair means, rather than to uſe ſeverities, for fear of creating new troubles. In the ſeventeenth year of Herod's reign, Ceſar came into Syria, where he was entertain'd immediately with outrageous exclamations of the Gadarens againſt Herod, as a moſt inſupportable tyrant and oppreſſor, and this chiefly at the inſtance and inſtigation of Zenodorus, who it ſeems had bound himſelf by an oath never to give over the proſecution till they ſhould be quit of Herod, and under the dominion once again of Auguſtus. This confident undertaking of Zenodorus made them ſtill bolder and louder; eſpecially finding thoſe priſoners that were deliver'd up to Herod by Agrippa, to continue unpuniſh'd. Now Herod, how inexorable ſoever, towards offenders of his own party, was yet of all men living, perhaps the eaſieſt and the moſt remiſs in the caſe of injuries receiv'd from ſtrangers. The miſdemeanors charg'd upon him, were rapine, oppreſſion, the violating and the demoliſhing of temples, and the like; and Herod on the other hand, offer'd himſelf as frankly to his juſtification. Ceſar treated him nevertheleſs reſpectfully for the clamorous importunities of the multitude, though for the firſt day there paſs'd ſome diſcourſe upon it; but there the debate fell, and put an end to the queſtion. It was ſo evident, by this time to the Gadarens, how Ceſar and his friend ſtood affected, that giving for granted it would be their fate upon the cloſe of the matter, to be deliver'd up to Herod, ſome of them cut their own throats the very next night; others broke their necks down precipices, and ſome again drown'd themſelves for fear of being put to tortures: and Ceſar taking this execution upon themſelves, for a ſelf-condemnation, acquitted Herod without any more ado. And there was yet another ſingular piece of providence attended him; which was the death of Zenodorus by a violent dyſentery at Antioch in Syria; whereupon Ceſar beſtow'd upon Herod a very conſiderable eſtate belonging to him, that lay betwixt Galilee and Trachonitis, compriſing Ulatha, † Panium, and the borders thereabouts; giving him alſo a ſovereign command over the governors of Syria, and appointing every thing to be done according to his direction and order. Herod was now advanced to ſuch a height of eſteem and good fortune, that as Ceſar and Agrippa were the two ſupreme adminiſtrators in the whole empire, ſo Ceſar was the man whom above all the reſt of the world, Ceſar lov'd next to Agrippa, and Agrippa next to Ceſar. By virtue of this intereſt, Herod obtained a tetrarch's commiſſion in Judea from Auguſtus for his brother Pheroras; upon whom he beſtow'd the revenue of a hundred talents, || out of his proper income, that he might have ſomething to truſt to in caſe of any deſperate miſfortune, without being forced to a dependance upon his children. After this, he waited upon Ceſar till he ſaw him embark'd, and then went back again; erecting to the honour of Auguſtus, and upon the ground of Zenodorus, a moſt glorious temple of white marble, near the cave that they call'd Panias, which is at the bottom of a mountain, famous for being the ſource of the river Jordan. The cavern is prodigiouſly deep, and ſprings of water in it perpetually bubbling; and the mountain above is as eminent for a pleaſant proſpect, but more remarkable ſtill for this temple of Ceſar's, than for all the reſt.

He makes himſelf popular, to atone for his apoſtaſy from religion and good manners.

His car
preven
mults.

The king took an occaſion at this time to ingratiate himſelf with his people, by eaſing them of a third part of their taxes, under pretence of a tenderneſs for their ſufferings by the diſtreſs of the famine; but in effect to ſweeten ill humours: for they were ſo diſguſted at many things the king did to the ſcandal of religion, and good manners, that every body reflected upon him for it; ſo that he was fain to make uſe of other ways yet to keep his ſubjects quiet, by tying up every man to his own beſineſs; prohibiting cabals, clubs, and other publick meetings; planting ſpies upon all companies; and officers every where at hand, to take into cuſtody all offenders againſt theſe orders; as there were ſeveral committed to the fort Hyrcania, publickly as well as privately, and there puniſh'd with the utmoſt rigour. The very roads, ſtreets, paſſes and avenues, were all beſet and way-laid; all meetings, upon what account ſoever, watch'd and obſerv'd: Nay, ſuch was the care he took, that he would many times ſteal out by night himſelf in a diſguiſe among the common people, to liſten what the multitude ſaid of him. Wherever he met with any man that was bitter and malicious, he had no mercy of him, and for the moderate ſort, he put them to an oath of allegiance, and ſo diſmiſs'd them. By this means he brought the majority out of fear to compliance with him; and for thoſe that had the courage to ſtand upon their terms, and to diſpute the point, he never fail'd of ſome device or other to remove them out of the way. This oath was put to Pollio the

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* Fifty Jewiſh talents weighed five thouſand ſeven hundred and three pounds, and their value in ſilver amounted to ſeventeen thouſand one hundred and nine pounds, ſeven ſhillings, and ſix pence; and in gold to two hundred ſeventy three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty pounds, Engliſh money.

† Al. Paneas. See Harduin's Nummi illuſtrati. p. 112.

|| An hundred Jewiſh talents weighed eleven thouſand four hundred and ſix pounds, three ounces; and their value in ſilver amounted to thirty four thouſand, two hundred and eighteen pounds, and in gold to five hundred forty ſeven thouſand, five hundred pounds of our money.

Phariſee, and to Sameas, with their diſciples, as well as to the reſt; but they refuſing it, Herod out of the reverence he had for Pollio, preſs'd them no farther to the taking of it. And he was as kind to the Eſſenes too, a ſect ſomewhat like the Pythagoreans among the Greeks. We have ſpoken a great deal of them elſewhere already: but it will not be amiſs however to ſay ſomewhat farther in this place; and how Herod came to have ſo tender an eſteem for theſe people.

Herod's kindneſs for the Phariſees and Eſſenes.

The Prediction of one Manahem an Eſſene.

There was one Manahem, an Eſſene, who over and above the virtue and the character of an exemplary probity of life, was likewiſe endu'd with the ſpirit of prophecy. This perſon, upon the ſight of Herod, among his ſchool-fellows, when he was a boy, greeted him with a ſalutation of hail king of the Jews. The boy, to correct his miſtake, ſaid, he was not of a family to be a king, and told him, that when he ſaluted him by that title, he either did not know him, or meant to banter him. “Yes, yes, (ſays Manahem) ſmiling upon him, and laying his hand gently upon his ſhoulder, you are to be a king, and you ſhall rule happily; for it is the pleaſure of God that it ſhall be ſo: but keep theſe words of Manahem in mind now, which will give you to underſtand the inſtability of your fortune. It will be your duty to govern with juſtice, conſcience and equity; but I have a ſecret impulſe, which tells me, that you will never manage your authority by theſe meaſures. You will have no regard either to the laws of God or man; though in all other reſpects a fortunate perſon, and worthy of immortal honour. Depend upon it, that God will at laſt chaſtiſe you, and bring you to your end by a moſt deplorable judgment”.

Herod gave little heed to theſe words, as a matter that never enter'd into his thought; but when he came afterward to the throne, and to the higheſt pitch of his glory, he ſent for Manahem, and ask'd him, how long he thought he ſhould reign: Manahem returning an uncertain anſwer, Herod put it to him again, whether he thought he ſhould reign ten years. Yes, yes, ſays Manahem, and twenty, and thirty: and there he ſtopt, leaving the preciſe period undetermin'd; but Herod reſting ſatisfy'd with what he had heard, took a friendly leave of him, and from that time forward had a great eſteem for the Eſſenes. This may poſſibly appear incredible; but the reader may conſider that we have many inſtances of good men, to whom Almighty God has been pleaſed to reveal his ſecret purpoſes and counſels.

CHAP. XIV.

Herod propoſes the building of a temple: the old one not to be touch'd till the new one is provided for. Herod prepares the materials, and enters upon the work. The front of the temple; the galleriest; be temple-walls; Baris or the tower; the fort Antonia; a plan of the temple, or the firſt encloſure. Another encloſure. The middle encloſure. The whole perfected in eighteen months. The dedication of the temple. A privy paſſage from fort to fort.

After ſo many great and glorious actions, and the finiſhing of ſo many magnificent and pompous buildings, Herod bethought himſelf in the eighteenth year of his reign, of erecting a temple to the holy God, in all reſpects larger and more ſtately than the former, and a work that he made account would redound more to the honour of his name and memory, (as in truth it did) than all he had ever done before; but yet leſt the people ſhould ſtumble at the difficulty of the undertaking, he call'd them together, to try what might be done by reaſon and diſcourſe, to the removing of that obſtacle out of the way.

Herod propoſes the erecting of a temple, with a ſalvo to all objections.

“It would be time loſt, (ſays he) my friends and countrymen, to give you the hiſtory of my doings ſince I came to the crown; wherefore let it ſuffice that I have more attended to your benefit and ſecurity than to my own particular reputation. You know very well what care I have taken for you in your greateſt extremities, and without any regard to my own profit; and you know likewiſe that you yourſelves have had the greateſt ſhare in the advantage of all the mighty works, which by God's bleſſing and aſſiſtance I have brought to perfection: inſomuch, that Judea is in a better ſtate at this day than ever it was: wherefore, as I was ſaying, there will be no need of running into the particulars of the cities, caſtles, palaces, &c. that I have either built, fortify'd, or repair'd in Judea, and the tributary provinces. But the ſhort ſum of my preſent buſineſs, is matter of worſhip and religion, and what concerns the reputation of your country. You ſhall do well to obſerve, that this temple that was erected by our fore-fathers, at their return from Babylon, wants ſixty * cubits of the height of Solomon's; and this was no fault of our anceſtors neither: for it was by no orders of theirs that it came not up to the proportion of the firſt; being raiſed according to the expreſs model of Cyrus, and Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, under whoſe dominion they then liv'd, as afterward under the Macedonians: ſo that they had it not in their power to advance that monument of their piety and zeal up to the meaſures of the original. But ſince God hath been now pleas'd in his gracious Providence, to put the government into my hands, and at the ſame time to furniſh me with all neceſſary means for the accompliſhing of my end; as peace, leiſure, ready money, large revenues, and which is more than all the reſt, the friendſhip of the Romans, maſters of the whole world: it ſhall be my care and buſineſs now to ſupply thoſe defects, which was not poſſible for our predeceſſors under their circumſtances to prevent; and to do that right, in fine, to the glory of God, which we have hitherto been

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* Sixty Jewiſh cubits amounted to upwards of one hundred and nine Engliſh feet, that is, thirty ſix yards and a foot.

“ ſhort in, with all due reverence to his holy ‘ name, and with a gratitude ſuitable to the “ mercies we have receiv'd”.

The old temple not to be touch'd till the new one is provided for.

The people were ſo ſurpris'd at this unexpected diſcourſe and declaration, that it gave them no perplexity to think what the iſſue would be; beſide the anxious dread they had of having the old temple pull'd down, before they were ſure of another in the place of it; which, in truth, they deſpair'd of, as an enterprize next to impracticable. This put them to a nonplus, whether to approve or diſapprove of the deſign; but the king finding what it was they ſtuck at, bad them reſt ſatisfy'd, that the old temple ſhould ſtand firm and untouch'd, till all the materials for the new one ſhould be prepar'd; and he was as good as his word.

Herod prepares the materials, and enters upon the work.

He provided a hundred carriages for ſtones and other neceſſaries; ten thouſand artiſts in all handicrafts, the beſt of every ſort that were to be gotten. A thouſand prieſts that [*] underſtood maſons and carpenters work, to overlook them, who he furniſhed with ſacerdotal robes and veſtments at his own charge. The artificers, ſtones, timber, and all the preparatory materials being now in readineſs, the firſt work they ſet upon was the clearing of the old foundation, and the laying of a new one; upon which baſis they raiſed the ſuperſtructure of a temple a [†] hundred cubits in length, and a hundred and twenty in height; but the odd twenty cubits ſinking afterwards, it fell ſo much ſhort of the firſt deſign; which our anceſtors in the days of Nero, had ſome thought of ſupplying. The whole fabrick was made of durable white ſtone, five and twenty [‡] cubits long, eight in height, and twelve over.

The front of the temple.

The front of this wonderful pile had the reſemblance of a palace; much higher in the middle than on the ſides, and looking with ſuch a proſpect into the fields, as was very agreeable to thoſe that either liv'd directly over againſt it, or were travelling towards it: and this view extended ſeveral furlongs into the country. [**] The porch was a curioſity anſwerable to the artifice of the reſt; the upper part of it ſet out with variety of rich tapeſtry, and delicate purple flowers, with pillars interwoven, and a golden vine creeping and twining about them; the branches of it laden with cluſters of grapes that hung dangling down from the corniſhes: a piece of maſtery, no leſs valuable for the skill than the matter.

The galleries.

Round about the temple were large galleries, not inferior to the reſt of the work in magnificence; but much exceeding all that ever was before them for grace and beauty. Two of theſe galleries were ſupported by two ſtrong walls; a work of as ſingular an excellency as any we have ſeen yet.

The temple walls.

There was a ſteep rocky hillock, but with a gentle deſcent, to the eaſtward of the city, which Solomon, a long time before, by God's ſpecial direction, encompaſs'd with a wall, and the lower part of it was ſurrounded with another wall, and a deep valley under it toward the ſouth. This wall was compacted of mighty ſtones cramped together with irons, including the whole, and reaching down to the bottom of the hill. The form of the work was ſquare, and conſidering the depth and the magnitude of it, an incomparable piece. The vaſt bigneſs of theſe ſtones was beſt ſeen on the outſide, being jointed within, one into another, to keep them firm againſt all Weathers.

When this wall was run up to the top, the ſpace betwixt that and the hill was all fill'd up till it came to a level, and then four galleries, reckoning every gallery to be a furlong [††] over. There was alſo within the ſquare, another ſtone wall, carry'd round the top of the hill, with a double porch to the eaſtward, facing the portal of the temple, that ſtands in the middle. This portal was glorioſly adorn'd by the royal bounty of ſeveral princes; and round about the temple itſelf, were the ſpoils and trophies that had been taken from the Barbarians, which Herod dedicated over again, with the addition of others of later date, that he himſelf had taken from the Arabians.

Baris, or the tower.

Upon one of the angles on the north-ſide, ſtood a ſtrong well-fortify'd building, the work of ſome of the Aſamonæans, a family that for a long time executed the authority both of prince and high-prieſt. They call'd this Place Baris, or the tower, and there they kept the pontifical habits, which, according to cuſtom, were never to be taken out, but when the high-prieſt was juſt about to officiate. Herod apply'd it alſo to the ſame uſe; but after his death, it came to be locg'd in the hands of the Romans: and there it reſted till the time of Tiberius; in whoſe reign, Vitellius being made governor of Syria, and going to take poſſeſſion of his command, was ſo honourably treated at Jeruſalem, that in acknowledgment of their affection and reſpect, he prevail'd with Ceſar in behalf of the Jews, and at their earneſt requeſt, that they might have the keeping of the ſacred Depoſitum, or the Stola ſacerdotalis, to themſelves. This petition being granted, it continued in their cuſtody till after the death of king Agrippa: at which time Caſſius Longinus, the governor of Syria, and Cuſpius Fadus, lieutenant of Judea, order'd the depoſiting of the holy habits in the fort Antonia: inſiſting upon it, that they ought to be ſtill in the power of the Romans, as they were formerly. Hereupon they ſent away their deputies immediately to Claudius Ceſar to ſollicit this affair. The young king Agrippa, happening to be then at Rome, begg'd of Ceſar the charge of theſe habits, which was forthwith granted him, and orders ſent to Vitellius to deliver them. The ſacred robes were formerly kept under the ſeal of the high-prieſt and the treaſurer of the temple; who upon the eve of their ſolemn feſtivals, apply'd themſelves ſtill to the commander in chief of the fort for the Romans; ſhew'd him their ſeal, and took out the ſtole; and then when the holy-office was over, carry'd it back again to the ſame place, and there in the preſence of the governor, ſealed it up and left it. I ſhould not have been ſo particular in this point, but for the many changes that have happen'd in this proceeding. This fort was a place of great ſtrength already; but Herod ſtill fortify'd it more and more, and in ſo doing he fortify'd the temple alſo; giving it the name at laſt of Antonia, in honour of his great friend Anthony once emperor of the Romans.

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[*] See Cotelerius's notes upon the 2d Vol. of his Monumenta Eccleſ. Gr. p. 545.

[†] An hundred cubits amounted to ſomething more than one hundred and eighty two Engliſh feet, that is, ſixty yards and two feet; and an hundred and twenty to ſomething more than ſeventy two yards; twenty cubits being full thirty ſix feet.

[‡] Five and twenty cubits were ſomething more than forty five Engliſh feet, that is, fifteen yards. Eight cubits were ſomething more than fourteen feet, that is, four yards and two feet: And twelve cubits were upwards of twenty one feet, that is, ſeven yards.

[**] See Selden de jure naturæ & gentium l. iii. c. 8.

[††] A furlong was the eighth part of a mile, that is, one hundred twenty five geometrical paces, or ſix hundred ſixty ſeven and a half of our feet, which make two hundred twenty two yards, one foot and an half.

The fort Antonia.

A plan of the temple, or the firſt encloſure.

On the weſt-ſide of the wall there were four gates: one led to the court, croſs a valley that lay betwixt; two to the ſuburbs, and the laſt to the city: with a deſcent of a great many ſteps down to the valley, and an aſcent on the other ſide of as many ſteps up to the top. The city ſtood juſt over againſt the temple, with the appearance of a theatre, bounded toward the ſouth with a deep valley. In the middle of that ſquare was another gate juſt equi-diſtant from the two angles, with a triple ſtately gallery, ſtretching from the eaſt-ſide of the valley to the weſt; which was the uttermoſt length the place would bear. There was never any thing under the ſun more remarkable than this ſpectacle: for the valley was of ſo prodigious a depth, and the height of the building over it ſo ſtupendious, that it turn'd a body's eyes and brain to look down from the top to the bottom of it. Theſe galleries reſted upon four rows of pillars equally diſtant one from another; and a ſtone wall wrought up betwixt thoſe of the fourth rank. The pillars themſelves were as much about as three men could fathom; ſeven and twenty foot in length, and upon a double baſe. The number of them was one hundred and ſixty two in the whole; the chapiters fair and curious to a miracle; and the ſculpture Corinthian work. Between theſe four rows of pillars were three galleries, two of them alike; that is to ſay, thirty foot broad a-piece, upward of fifty in height, and a furlong in length; but that in the middle was half as broad again as the other, and twice as high. In the wainſcoting, there was a great variety of curious figures. The roof of the middle gallery, was ſupported with ſtone-work, ſo delicately wrought and cemented together, that it look'd like one entire ſtone.

Another encloſure.

This may ſerve for a deſcription of the firſt encloſure, and there was another not far off with a ſtone wall, and a few ſteps up to it, with a partition of ſtone, and an inſcription upon it; prohibiting any ſtrangers to enter there upon pain of death. This inward encloſure had three gates toward the ſouth and north, of an equal diſtance one from the other: and to the eaſtward, another much larger, where men that were purify'd had admittance with their wives; but the women were not permitted to paſs any further.

The middle encloſure.

There was another place in the middle betwixt the other two, where it was lawful only for the prieſts to enter; and that was it where the temple was erected, and before it the altar, where they offer'd up their ſacrifices. Now Herod durſt not preſume to enter into that place himſelf, becauſe not being a prieſt, he ſtood prohibited by the law: ſo that he committed the care of this part of the holy work to the prieſts themſelves; which they finiſh'd in eighteen months, when he himſelf had been eight years a finiſhing the reſt.

The work finiſhed in eighteen months.

The People were overjoy'd to ſee ſo great a work over in ſo ſhort a time, giving God thanks for his bleſſing on this undertaking, and extolling the king to the heavens, for the zeal he had ſhewn to God's holy worſhip. The reſtoration of the temple was now celebrated with an univerſal joy, a ſacrifice of three hundred oxen upon the king's account, and ſo for the reſt in proportion; which amounted to a number in the whole hardly to be computed. And the ſolemnity was as much beyond expectation too; for the dedication of the temple, and the anniverſary of Herod's coming to the crown, falling out upon the ſame day, doubled the ſolemnity. Among other of his temple works, the vault muſt not be forgotten, that Herod cauſed to be carry'd under ground from the fort Antonia to the eaſt-gate of the temple, where he erected another fort; this vault being deſign'd for a private and ſafe retreat, either for himſelf or his ſucceſſors, in caſe of any ſeditious practice againſt the government. There goes a tradition, that it never rain'd in the day-time all the while this temple was a building, but only in the night, out of a divine care (as it was intrepreted) not to interrupt the progreſs of the work. This ſtory hath been handed down to us from father to ſon, and it conſiſts well enough with the methods of God's providence, where his worſhip is concern'd. But let this ſuffice as to the reſtoration of the temple.

The dedication of the temple.

A privy paſſage of communication from fort to fort.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK XVI.

From the Year of the World 3955 to 3961.

CHAP. I.

A law againſt houſe-breakers. The People murmur at it. Herod takes a journey to Rome. Ceſar entertains him very graciouſly; and reſtores him his two ſons. Herod takes them back with him to Jeruſalem. Salome and other accomplices ſtartled at it. Herod not to be wrought upon by calumnies.

A law againſt houſe-breakers.

The people murmur at it.

Herod takes a journey to Rome.

Ceſar graciouſly receives him, and reſtores him his two ſons.

Herod takes his ſons back to Jeruſalem.

Salome and her accomplices ſtartled at it.

THE king taking it for a duty belonging to his office, to ſee juſtice done indifferently in every part of the common-wealth, and private as well as publick, made a new law for the puniſhing of houſe-breakers, to this effect: "That all offenders in that kind ſhould be ſold for ſlaves, to any that would purchaſe them;" without exception, even to ſtrangers. Now the people did not take this ſo much for an animadverſion upon the malefactor, as for an encroachment upon the laws and cuſtoms of the nation; for the ſubjecting of people to the impoſitions of men, that liv'd by other rules and meaſures, does not ſo much hurt to the criminal in the penalty, as to religion itſelf in the example: and therefore, "our antient laws have made a good proviſion in the caſe, by condemning the felon to a four-fold reſtitution, if he be worth it; or if inſolvent, to be ſold, but not to ſtrangers, nor into perpetual ſlavery; and at the end of ſeven years to be diſcharg'd." The conſtruction, in fine, that they made of this new law, was, that it was unkingly, tyrannical and unjuſt; and a deliberate contempt upon the eſtabliſh'd practice and diſcipline. For which reaſon, every one took the liberty to utter the moſt bitter invectives againſt the king. Much about this time Herod took a voyage into Italy, to make his court to the emperor, and to look after his ſons there, whom he found every way accompliſh'd, in the underſtanding both of letters and buſineſs. Ceſar treated him with ſingular humanity and honour, and deliver'd the young princes back to their father, much improv'd to what they were when he receiv'd them. They were well made, tall and graceful, and had ſomething ſo taking in their converſation and behaviour, that diſcover'd the xcellency of their minds was not inferior in proportion to the agreeableneſs of their perſons: and taking all together, there appear'd ſomewhat of a royal dignity in whatever they did. When Herod had paid his compliment, he took leave of Ceſar, and went back with his charge; where they were no ſooner arriv'd, but all people were gazing upon them with joy and admiration. This did not pleaſe Salome the king's ſiſter, nor any of her accomplices in the ruin of Mariamne; for they looked upon them with jealouſy and envy in their hearts, and as inſtruments that Providence had preſerv'd, and rais'd up to revenge the death of their mother. Fill'd with theſe invidious reflections, they made it their buſineſs to aſperſe them by ſpreading ſcandalous calumnies and ſuggeſtions. "The ſons, (they ſaid) would never endure the converſation of their father, after the dipping his hands in the innocent blood of their mother." They found, in ſhort, that there was no way to work upon the father againſt the ſons, but by ſlanderous inſinuations; and that was the courſe, therefore, they reſolved to put in practice. They did not however think it prudent to talk at this rate to the king himſelf; but they left the poiſon to work rather in wandering hints and rumours among the people, making no doubt, but ſome way or other it would come to the king's ear at laſt, and probably create in him ſuch an averſion to his ſons, as would utterly deſtroy the natural affection of a father.

Herod not to be mov'd by calumnies.

CHAP. II.

Herod marries Ariſtobulus to Berenice, and Alexander to Glaphyra. Agrippa gives Herod a viſit.

THIS conſpiracy of Salome and her confederates had wrought nothing as yet upon the confidence and paternal affection of Herod towards his ſons; but he continu'd to treat them with all poſſible kindneſs, honour and reſpect, and without any ſuſpicion or reſerve. The firſt thing he did was to match them into princely families; Ariſtobulus to Berenice the daughter of Salome; and Alexander to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus king of Cappadocia.

Herod marries Ariſtobulus to Berenice, and Alexander to Glaphyra.

BEING given to underſtand by this time, that Marcus Agrippa was gone back again out of Italy into Aſia, he went over to him, and gave him a generous and friendly invitation to come and viſit him in his kingdom. The favour being accepted, there was nothing wanting in Herod's part that might contribute to Agrippa's welcome and ſatisfaction. He ſhew'd him all the glorious cities and palaces that he had lately built, or repair'd; carrying him to Sebaſte, the port of Ceſarea, and the forts of Alexandrion, Herodion, Hyrcania, &c. where he treated Agrippa and his friends with all the ſplendor and magnificence imaginable. After this tour, he conducted him to Jeruſalem, where he was received by the whole multitude with the joy, pomp, and acclamations of a ſolemn feſtival. Agrippa, to crown the work, dedicating to God the ſacrifice of a Hecatomb, and feaſting the people. He was ſo well pleaſed with his journey, and his entertainment, that he would fain have ſtaid longer; but winter coming on, and thoſe ſeas being dangerous, he embark'd with his troops for Ionia, laden with honours and preſents.

Agrippa gives Herod a viſit.

CHAP. III.

Herod takes ſhipping for Lesbos; but is forced by contrary winds upon Chios. He finds out Agrippa at Sinope, a city of Pontus. The greeting of the two princes; who paſs together to Samos. The good offices Herod did Agrippa by the way.

WHEN Herod had paſs'd the winter at home, he took another voyage upon the opening of the ſpring to find out Agrippa; who according to his intelligence was gone with an army toward the Boſphorus. Herod took ſhipping for Lesbos, where he ſuppoſed he might meet with him; but after he had paſs'd Rhodes and Coos, he was driven by a north wind upon the iſle of Chios, where he was forc'd to lie by for ſome days. Here he received the compliments of a great many viſitants whom at their return home he diſmiſs'd with royal preſents; and taking notice of ſeveral publick buildings that lay yet in ruins ever ſince the Mithridatick war, for want of money to repair them, he gave them credit for a ſum ſufficient to do the work, with an expreſs charge immediately to ſet about it, and finiſh it the firſt thing they did.

Herod takes ſhipping for Lesbos, in hope to find Agrippa there; driven by contrary winds upon the Chios.

He repairs the buildings that were ruin'd by Mithridates.

THE wind coming now about, Herod ſet ſail, firſt to Mitylene, then to Byzantium; and hearing that Agrippa had already paſs'd the Cyanean rocks, he made after him with all the ſpeed he could, and join'd him at Sinope, a city of Pontus, Agrippa little dreaming of ſuch a friend, and ſuch a fleet ſo near him. His coming, in ſhort, was ſo ſeaſonable, and the greeting of the two princes reciprocally ſo tender and hearty, that nothing could be more demonſtrative of an honourable faith and friendſhip, than for one prince to poſtpone his own buſineſs, and upon ſuch an urgent occaſion too, for the ſervice of another. So that Herod and Agrippa were, in effect, all one, in their arms, labours, hazards, and counſels: and they were both as one in their delights and pleaſures too: in difficulties, out of kindneſs; and in their diverſions, out of reſpect. When Agrippa had diſpatch'd what he came for in Pontus, he took his way back again over land, and ſo they paſs'd through Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and the greater Phrygia, to Epheſus, and thence by ſea to Samos. Herod's magnificence and generoſity was remarkable by the many good offices he did upon the way; as well by the power he had with Agrippa, as by large donatives and charities, at his own expence wherever there was occaſion for it. There was hardly a town they paſs'd, but Herod prevail'd with Agrippa for ſomewhat or other in their favour: upon whoſe mediation nothing was deny'd. Agrippa, 'tis true, was in his own diſpoſition a friend, even to mankind, where he could oblige any one man without wronging another; but it was not amiſs yet, to have ſuch a remembrancer and interceſſer as Herod was, ready at hand; over and above the natural biaſs of ſo friendly an inclination. At the inſtance of Herod, Agrippa pardon'd the Ilienſians, againſt whom he was highly provoked. He paid an arrear for the people of Chios, that they had incurr'd to the emperor; procured them privileges; and in one word, he did all the good he could wherever he came.

He finds out Agrippa at Sinope, a city of Pontus. The tender greeting of the two princes.

Herod and Agrippa both at one.

They paſs together to Samos.

The good offices Herod did by the way.

CHAP. IV.

The Jews in Ionia complain of the natives. Agrippa gives them a hearing, and aſſigns them council: Nicolaus being entertain'd for the Jews. The grievances complain'd of. Several decrees of the ſenate in favour of the Jews. They argue upon Ceſar's merit, and Agrippa declares for them.

UPON their coming into Ionia, there was a mighty concourſe of Jews of that

The Jews in Ionia complain againſt the natives.

province gotten together upon that occaſion, with complaints againſt the natives for breaking in upon them in the exerciſe of their laws and worſhip; their officers dragging them from their meetings to their courts of juſtice; and putting a ſtop to the holy treaſure that ſhould be ſent to Jeruſalem; forcing them to bear arms and pay publick duties out of their bare ſubſiſtence-money; contrary to common faith, and to the liberties and exemptions granted them by the Romans. Herod laid hold of this opportunity of doing the Jews a ſervice, and ſo prevail'd with Agrippa to grant the plaintiffs a hearing; aſſigning them one Nicolaus, a particular friend of his, for their council. There was a court call'd upon this occaſion, Agrippa himſelf being preſent, together with a bench of honourable Romans, ſeveral princes, and other great men; the advocate opening the cauſe after this manner:

Agrippa grants them a hearing, and aſſigns them council.

Nicolaus of council for the Jews.

“Whither, moſt illuſtrious Agrippa, ſhould the miſerable and oppreſſed fly for ſanctuary and relief, but to thoſe princes that are able to protect and to relieve them? this is the caſe of your humble ſupplicants; and we muſt preſume to appeal from your authority to your juſtice, in a full confidence of your royal goodneſs; for we have nothing more to deſire at preſent, than the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of what you yourſelves have granted us already, and which our fellow-ſubjects are now endeavouring to take from us. If the favours we enjoy be great, we doubt not but you will now think us as worthy to keep them, as you found us before to receive them. If the benefit be ſmall, it reflects upon your honour to imagine that you are not able to make it good: neither is this a greater injury to us, than it is an indignity to yourſelves in the contempt of your judgment, and in the diſappointment of your pious intentions. If it were put to theſe very people, whether they would rather part with their lives, or with their laws, cuſtoms, diſcipline, ſacrifices, feſtivals, &c. in honour of their Gods, I think, with ſubmiſſion, one may ſafely anſwer for them, that they would chuſe the former. It is a common thing to take up arms for religion: and what is the great bleſſing of the peace and freedom the world enjoys under the Roman empire, but that every honeſt man may live and worſhip after his own way? what pretence is there for people to impoſe that upon others, which they will not ſubmit to themſelves? as if it were not all one whether we hinder another man from doing his duty, or neglect our own. It is a thing farther to be conſider'd that there is no city, people or nation extant, that does not depend upon the adminiſtration, and the power of Rome, for all the happineſs they can pretend to? will any thing now but a madman, reckon it his intereſt to fruſtrate your bounties, when every man living, ſome way or other ſhall be a loſer by it? our enemies are not aware of it, that while they labour to invalidate our rights, they deſtroy their own: for why ſhould the ſame conceſſions be good to them, and void to us; and that ineſtimable privilege among the reſt, of living at eaſe and liberty, under the protection of the Roman emperors, while ſeveral other nations lie groaning in a ſtate of ſervitude at the mercy of rigorous kings? neither is ours, at the beſt, a condition to be envy'd; for as to other matters, we deſire nothing more than a common ſhare of advantage with the reſt of our fellow-ſubjects; provided we may but be allow'd to worſhip God after the manner of our foreſathers: which, as it is innocent in itſelf on the one hand; ſo it is for the ſervice of thoſe that permit it, on the other: for God does not only love thoſe that worſhip him themſelves, but thoſe alſo that encourage the worſhip of him in others. What is there in our way of holy offices that any ſober man can take offence at? or in truth, that is not in all reſpects agreeable to piety and juſtice? we make no difficulty of owning the rules and precepts of our lives and profeſſion. The ſeventh day is a day of reſt from all our labours, and a day that we ſet apart for the ſtudy of the law, as a diſcipline that much conduces to the rectifying of our manners. Now theſe cuſtoms of ours are not only blameleſs in themſelves, even upon the ſtricteſt examination of them, but venerable even for their antiquity; (all cavils to the contrary notwithſtanding) ſo that there can be no place of controverting the authority of laws that have ſtood the teſt of ſo many ages. The injuries we complain of are theſe. They ſacrilegiouſly make ſeizure of monies dedicated to holy uſes: they impoſe taxes upon people that ought in right to pay none. They hurry them up and down to courts of juſtice and other common attendances, upon our days of ſolemnity and religious worſhip: and for no other end, but to turn out piety and devotion to ſcorn: and theſe practices they know in their hearts to be all unwarrantable and cauſeleſs. Your wiſdom conſults indifferently the common welfare of all your people, in the promoting of peace, and the preventing of feuds. It is againſt theſe injuries, moſt excellent Agrippa, that we crave to be relieved, and that we may be allow'd the ſame liberty hereafter in our lives and converſations, that we have enjoy'd heretofore; and that our adverſaries may have no more advantage over us than we pretend to over them. We take this to be a juſtice, not only in the reaſon of the thing, but in the right which your goodneſs has given us to it by declaring in our favour; to which purpoſe, there are at this day to be ſeen in the capitol ſeveral decrees of the ſenate in tables of braſs, for the perpetual memory of the thing. Theſe monumental records were undoubtedly grounded upon the experiment of our faith and loyalty to the ſtate; beſide that the obligation would be yet ſacred and inviolable, even without any antecedent merit on our part; for your generous goodneſs hath been ever ſo far from leſſening or revoking the bounties you have once beſtow'd (and that not only to us, but to all mortals) that it hath been your practice, rather to amplify and enlarge them, even beyond all thought and expectation, as I could give inſtances abundantly, if my time would bear it. But not to value ourſelves too much upon our own ſervices, let our royal maſter's good offices

The grievances complain'd of.

Several decrees of the ſenate in favour of the Jews.

The council argues upon Herod's merit.

“ ſpeak for us. Where did he ever fail, to the uttermoſt of his power, to oblige your nation? Has not his faith and zeal for your intereſt been try'd over and over? Has he not made the advancing of your honour his buſineſs and his ſtudy? Were your affairs ever in any difficulty, and he not eſpouſe them as his own? ſo that if it were but for our king's ſake, we might pretend to ſome ſort of conſideration. We muſt not forget the ſervices of his father Antipater neither, nor the enforcement of two thouſand auxiliaries that he brought to Ceſar in Egypt, where his behaviour was ſo ſignally brave, and ſo much to the advantage of the empire, that he had the reputation of being not inferior to any man living, either at ſea or at land, for conduct and courage. We might appeal to the glorious preſents that Ceſar made him, or rather to the letters recommendatory that he wrote to the ſenate in his favour upon this occaſion, by which he obtained for him the privilege of a citizen of Rome, with other additional honours. This ſingle argument, great prince, might be ſufficient, even of itſelf, to evince that thoſe favours were at firſt well beſtow'd, which we are now imploring may be confirm'd; beſide that conſidering the preſent league of friendſhip betwixt yourſelf and our royal ſovereign, we do rather hope for an augmentation of your bounty, than fear any abatement of it. I might enlarge upon your holy vows and ſacrifices at Jeruſalem, the ſplendor of your entertainments, and the ſatiſfaction you were pleaſed to own in the reciprocal exchange of offices of hoſpitality and reſpect, which were all evident proofs of an affectionate tenderneſs, and an amicable underſtanding betwixt the Jews and the Romans, confirm'd and ratified under the very roof of the king himſelf. Now our final requeſt to the majeſty of Agrippa, and in the preſence of the king of the Jews too, is only this; that we may reap the fruits of your own bounty, without being depriv'd of it by the fraudulent malice of others.”

To this diſcourſe of Nicolaus none of the Greeks made any reply; for it was not a judicial trial of right, but a petitionary complaint only, to get the grievance remov'd. They could not deny the fact; but the Jews, they ſaid, were ſtrangers, and would be a burden to them, who inſiſted upon it on the other hand, that they were no ſtrangers, but a people that liv'd in their own way, without offence to God or man.

Agrippa declares for the Jews, confirming their claims, and aſſuring them of protection.

When Agrippa came to underſtand how they were oppreſs'd, he declar'd himſelf in their favour, as well for the juſtice of their cauſe, as out of the reſpect he bore to Herod; and that he thought their deſires ſo reaſonable, that if they had been much larger, he ſhould have complied with them, ſo far at leaſt as would have conſiſted with his duty to the ſtate of Rome. “But ſince I find them ſo moderate, ſays he, in their demands, as to content themſelves with the ratification of what is already confer'd upon them, I do here pronounce a confirmation of the claim they make to theſe privileges; and take it further upon myſelf, that ſo long as they keep themſelves within the bounds of their diſcipline and profeſſion, they ſhall have no more trouble of this kind for the future.” With theſe words he diſmiſs'd the convention, and upon the breaking of it up, Herod gave Agrippa infinite thanks in the name of the whole nation; and ſo with an interchange of mutual endearments and embraces betwixt the two princes, they both left Lesbos.

CHAP. V.

Herod embarks for Ceſarea. He calls an aſſembly at Jeruſalem, and tells the people what hath been done for them in Aſia.

Herod embarks for Ceſarea. He calls an aſſembly at Jeruſalem, and tells the people what had been done for them in Aſia.

HEROD, upon parting, put to ſea with a fair wind for Ceſarea, where he arriv'd; from whence in a few days afterwards he came to Jeruſalem, where he aſſembled the Jews immediately, ſtrangers as well as citizens, and gave them an account of his expedition, and the great ſervices he had done their friends in Aſia, where they were at that time free and eaſy in their perſons and in their religion. He did not forget to mind them neither, how they had proſper'd under his government; and that he had no other intereſt in what he did, but the well-being of his ſubjects. And for a further inſtance of his goodneſs, he did at the ſame time diſcharge them of a fourth part of their tribute. Theſe fair words, as they were attended with ſuitable effects, chear'd the hearts of the people, and ſent them away with acclamations in their mouths, and the wiſhes of all glory and proſperity to the king.

CHAP. VI.

Salome's plot upon the two princes. Two factions countermining one another. Artificial calumnies. Salome and Pheroras irritate Herod againſt his own ſon. Herod treats Antipater as his next ſucceſſor. Antipater endeavours to ſupplant his brothers. Herod open and credulous, and the brothers unwary. Herod's revenge upon Alexander and Ariſtobulus. The mother of Antipater ſent for to court. Antipater waits upon Agrippa to Rome.

Salome's plot and practice upon the two princes,

WHILE theſe things were a doing abroad, malicious heart-burnings and animoſities were fomented at home by the practice of Salome upon the two young princes, whom ſhe hated mortally; and taking courage from the ſucceſs of her calumnies upon the mother, ſhe proceeded with the greater confidence in her deſign upon the ſons, and with this view too, not to leave one alive that might be in a condition to revenge the blood of that innocent lady; and the deſign was not carried on without ſome ſort of colour neither; for the young men did not behave themſelves ſo reſpectfully toward their father as they ſhould have done; partly out of an indignation for the violence committed upon the perſon of their mother, and partly out of an ambition to get the rule into their own hands. The factions were now at work, betwixt reviving old grudges and creating new ones. The ſons rail'd in downright ſcurrility at Salome and Pheroras; and they on the other ſide as ſpitefully, but more ſlyly undermin'd the brothers; ſo that though

Who were not ſo wary as they ſhould have been.

Two factions countermining one another.

there was no love loſt, they had different ways yet of expreſſing their hatred; for the princes either in heat of youth, or in conſideration of their education and quality, made no ſcruple openly to ſhew and expreſs their reſentment.

Artificial calumnies againſt the two brothers.

But the other made way to the execution of their malice by artifice and diſguiſe, provoking the young men to extravagancies of language, on purpoſe to enſnare them. "They took it for an honour, they ſaid, to be the ſons of ſuch a mother;" inſiſting upon it ſtill, that ſhe was baſely murder'd. Now theſe words were a ſufficient ground for a calumnious jealouſy to work upon; for they would bear the conſtruction of deliberating upon a revenge with their own hands. This was now become the talk of the whole town; and while every body elſe pitied the young men for the dangerous liberties they took of talking at that deſperate rate, Salome made her advantage of their indiſcretions, and improv'd them to her own ends. They would be ſaying commonly in the heat of their impatience for the loſs of their mother, "That next to the miſerable fate of that unhappy princeſs, they look'd upon their own circumſtances to be the moſt deplorable of all others, in the neceſſity of cohabiting with the murderers, and in ſome meaſure becoming partakers of the crime, by communicating with their company."

Salome and Pheroras caution Herod againſt his own ſons, and inſinuate a conſpiracy againſt the father's life.

Herod's abſence all this while was a great advantage to the managers of this intrigue. But ſoon after his return now, and the harangue that I told you of, Salome and Pheroras were preſently at work upon him, with cautions and inſinuations of the danger he was in from his own ſons, and how they made their publick boaſts that the murderers of their mother ſhould never eſcape ſcot free. To this they added a feign'd ſtory of Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia; and how they depended upon his intereſt with Ceſar to aſſiſt them in the proſecution of their father. This wrought the more ſenſibly upon Herod, becauſe he heard the ſame things over and over again from ſeveral hands. Upon this occaſion he could not but call to mind the miſeries he had already endured by factions in his family, even to the depriving him of his beloved friends, and the deareſt wife in nature. Tormented with theſe reflections, and taking the meaſure of things to come, by things paſt, the proſpect before him was ſo confounding, that he had no longer the uſe of his reaſon. He was, in ſhort, fortunate abroad, beyond all thought or imagination, and no leſs wretched at home; inſomuch, that conſidering both extremes, it may be a queſtion whether the glory of his proſperous condition in the world was ſufficient to balance the calamities he ſuffer'd in the diſorders of his family; and whether he might not have been a happier man in a private ſtate betwixt both.

While he was now caſting about what meaſures to take, he bethought himſelf of taking another ſon he had, that he brought up privately into his family, and there to entertain him with honour and reſpect; propoſing by this means to take down the inſolent ambition of his ſons; his name was Antipater. Now Herod had no thought at firſt of putting the government into this young man's hand (as out of an over-fondneſs afterward he did) but he betook himſelf to this expedient by way of trial, to ſee if he could by theſe means put a check upon the inſolencies of Mariamne's children, and bring them to better reaſon, when they ſhould find that let, them do what they would, the government ſhould not want a ſucceſſor.

Herod treats Antipater as his next ſucceſſor.

In this contemplation Herod treated Antipater with a countenance of authority and truſt, and as the next pretender to the crown; making no doubt all this while of reducing his other ſons by this method, within the bounds of modeſty and duty. But it fell out quite otherwiſe; for they reſented it as an affront; ſo that inſtead of a curb, it prov'd a provocation.

Antipater endeavours to ſupplant his brothers. Herod is open and credulous.

Antipater being highly advanc'd in his father's affections, and ſo much beyond his expectation too, reſolv'd to maintain his ground, and not be out-rival'd by either of his brothers; to which end he labour'd with all his might by tales and calumnies to render them odious to their father, who was in truth ſo credulous and open to thoſe ill offices and impreſſions, that he eaſily gain'd his point to his own wiſh, and wrought him into an averſion that grew every day more implacable than other. His heart was ſo ſet upon this project, that he ſcarce thought of any thing elſe. However, that he might not ſeem to have any hand in the accuſation of his brothers, he guarded againſt uttering any diſreſpectful language againſt them; for he manag'd his deſign by ſuch other inſtruments as he knew the king would give credit to, and as he might ſafely depend upon himſelf. Antipater was now look'd upon as the riſing ſon, and court made to him accordingly, as the ready way to preferment; his party covering the whole practice ſtill with a pretended zeal for the ſervice of Herod.

The brothers unwary and paſſionate.

The confidents of this ſecret being all true to the plot, made advantage of the young mens impotences in heat and paſſion, who laid themſelves now opener than before; breaking out by fits into tears and exclamations, fierce remonſtrances of the intolerable wrongs and affronts that they endur'd; calling out in the bitterneſs of their hearts upon the ghoſt of their innocent mother, and charging their father, in plain terms, with manifeſt injuſtice. Now all theſe intemperances were watch'd and obſerv'd by the accomplices of Antipater, and then carried to Herod, with improvements and additions, to widen the breach.

Herod revenges himſelf upon Alexander and Ariſtobulus, by being kind to Antipater. The mother of Antipater ſent for to court.

Theſe incendiaries had ſo exaſperated the king, that he reveng'd himſelf upon Alexander and Ariſtobulus, by heaping more and more honours and favours upon Antipater; who, in the concluſion, ſo far prevail'd upon Herod, that he got his mother ſent for to court, and recommendatory letters to Ceſar for himſelf, much to his credit and advantage. And finally, upon Agrippa's return to Rome, after ten years adminiſtration in Aſia, Herod made a voyage by ſea, to compliment him upon the way, and took only Antipater, of all his ſons, along with him, together with many rich preſents; and upon parting, he begg'd the favour of Agrippa, that his ſon might wait upon him to Rome, and be there introduc'd by him to Ceſar. This was to ſhew that all was done now by Antipater, to the excluſion of his two brothers.

Antipater waits upon Agrippa to Rome.

CHAP. VII.

Herod appeals to Ceſar in the caſe of his ſons. The tender and generous behaviour of the brothers.

Antipater's journey to Rome much to his honour and advantage.

Herod appeals to Ceſar in the caſe of his ſons.

THIS voyage of Antipater to Rome, eſpecially accompanied with his father's letters and commendations to all his friends there, turn'd exceedingly to his honour and advantage. The only thing that troubled him was, that being now out of the way, he could not ſo conveniently impoſe upon his father with calumnies againſt his brothers, as when he was at his elbow, which gave him not a little trouble, for fear he might poſſibly come to change his mind, and be brought over to terms of more moderation toward the children of Mariamne. This thought was ſtill uppermoſt in his head; but he purſued his firſt point ſtill; and what he could not now do by word of mouth, he ſupplied by ſpiteful letters to keep up the evil humour, upon the pretext of being wonderfully in pain for his father's ſafety, when he was, in truth, working his way all this while by under-hand practices to poſſeſs himſelf of the government, having already tranſported Herod to ſuch a degree of diſpleaſure, that his ſons had not in the world a greater enemy. But this unnatural rigour was not yet without ſome intervals of reluctancy; ſo that for fear of doing any raſh thing in his anger, eſpecially in the caſe of a father and his children, he took up a reſolution of another journey to Rome, and there openly to exhibit an accuſation againſt his ſons to Ceſar; but miſſing him at Rome, he follow'd him to Aquileia; where Herod, upon an application to him for leave to bring an unhappy cauſe before him, produced his two ſons, and charg'd them not only with inſolence, but an attempt to poiſon him; aggravating the malice and the horror of the wickedneſs to the degree of a conſpiracy againſt the crown and dignity of their father; and all this, notwithſtanding the licence Ceſar had given him to leave the ſucceſſion to which of the ſons he pleas'd, or to him of the two that he ſhould find moſt dutiful; nay, and in caſe of their failing of the ſovereignty themſelves, they would be content even with the ſingle death of their father, though with the uttermoſt peril of their own lives in the procuring of it; ſo inhuman, ſays he, and ſo impious is the rancour that is ſettled in the minds of theſe young men; adding how long he had born theſe indignities; which he was now at laſt enforced even againſt duty and good manners, to obtrude upon Ceſar's ear and patience. But what have I done, ſays he, to deſerve this? whom have I wrong'd? or with what face ſhall any man pretend to diſpoſſeſs a prince ſo long ſettled in the exerciſe of a power acquired by ſo many hazards? or to bar him the liberty of deviſing it, at death, to him that ſhall by his faithful piety beſt deſerve it? This would be reaſonable, if it were but to provoke a generous emulation, and to make virtue the way to honour, eſpecially when 'tis againſt religion and nature, ſo much as to entertain ſo leud a thought; for whoever wiſhes himſelf on his father's throne, wiſhes the other dead, in regard that the one cannot ſucceed, while the other's living. Can they pretend, ſays he, that ever I was wanting to them in any office becoming a gracious prince, or an indulgent father, either in matter of ſtate, retinue, curioſities, or the like? Have I not match'd them to princeſſes of the firſt quality? Ariſtobulus to the daughter of my own ſiſter, and Alexander to the daughter of king Archelaus; nay, which is more than all the reſt, when I might have puniſh'd them by my own authority, I have rather appealed to Ceſar, the common patron and benefactor of us all; and ſetting aſide the authority of a prince, and of a father, over theſe treacherous violaters of their duty, I have now ſet myſelf upon a level with my ſubjects and children, to be determin'd by Ceſar, only with this requeſt to his imperial majeſty, that ſo enormous a wickedneſs may not paſs unpuniſh'd, and I myſelf ſtand condemn'd to ſpend the remainder of my days in a reſtleſs anxiety of apprehenſion. Theſe wretches deſerve certainly never to ſee the light again, after ſo audacious an affront, upon the moſt ſacred rights of ſociety and human nature.

The tender and generous behaviour of the brothers.

WHEN Herod had deliver'd his charge (and with warmth enough too) the young princes that could not forbear weeping all the while he was a ſpeaking, burſt out into a flood of tears, upon the finiſhing of his diſcourſe; not as conſcious of any crime, but out of an honourable ſenſe of piety to ſee their father their accuſer; with this proſpect before them, that they muſt either conteſt the cauſe, or abandon their own integrity; the former being undecent, and the other unſafe. In this heſitation and ſuſpence, they betook themſelves to ſighs and tears, without one word ſpeaking; and this ſilence, they were afraid, would be taken for guilt, when in truth it was only want of practice and aſſurance, being unwonted to ſpeak before ſuch an auditory. Ceſar made a right judgment of the matter, and ſo did the whole aſſembly; who were all mov'd, to the higheſt degree of tenderneſs and compaſſion, and the accuſer himſelf among the reſt.

CHAP. VIII.

Alexander's addreſs and defence. The two brothers clear'd. Herod preſents Auguſtus; and Auguſtus preſents Herod in return. Herod goes back with his ſons to Judea, and meets Archelaus at Eleuſa. He calls a council at Jeruſalem, and declares his ſucceſſor.

IT was by this time evident, that Ceſar and Herod were both tenderly affected to theſe unfortunate princes; inſomuch that ſeveral there preſent wept in pity for them. So ſoon as they came to take notice of this favourable diſpoſition, Alexander, the elder of the two, addreſs'd himſelf to his father upon the ſubject of their charge as follows:

Alexander's addreſs and defence.

" Sir, we cannot but take it for a clear evi-
" dence of your good intentions toward us,
" that you have brought us to this place before
" ſo great and juſt a judge, and ſo gracious a
" prince, for the deciſion of our cauſe, with-
" out employing either your regal or paternal
" power over your own children and people.
" But in transferring us to Rome, and by way
" of an appeal to Ceſar too, it is given mani-
" feſtly to underſtand that you have a deſire
" and purpoſe to preſerve us; for men do not

uſe to carry thoſe to temples and altars, whom they intend to deſtroy. But yet after all this, for an aggravation of our miſfortune, we are conſcious to ourſelves that we are not worthy to live, had we been guilty of any thing that look's like diſloyalty or ingratitude toward ſo good a father; and we had much rather die innocent, than ſurvive the ſcandal of ſuch a ſuſpicion. If providence ſhall enable us to defend the truth, the proof of our innocence will be a much greater comfort to us than the deliverance of our perſons; but if calumny ſhould prevail, a life under thoſe infamous circumſtances would be worſe than a thouſand deaths. The pretext of an ambitious deſign upon the government, is well enough accommodated to the intemperate heats of young men; and the inſtance of our unfortunate mother furniſhes more colour for it. But whoſe caſe, I beſeech you, Sir, may not this be as well as ours; and why may not the children of all other princes under our circumſtances, be charged with the ſame deſign, if ſuſpicion ſhall paſs for a proof? For here is only an invidious accuſation, without the leaſt ſhadow of any evidence of preſumption, or ſo much as a probability to ſupport it. Why is not the poiſon itſelf, or the accomplices and the inſtruments of the practice produced? Where are the conſpirators, the conſpiracy, the bribery, or the defamatory letters? But the whole ſtory, in fine, is invention and ſlander, without any countenance to give it credit. A divided court, 'tis true, is a great misfortune; but the hope of preferment, which you are pleaſed to call the reward of virtue, proves an incentive many times to all ſorts of wickedneſs; nay, we inſiſt ſo far upon our integrity, that we defy the whole earth to diſprove us. As for ſcandals, there's no refuting them, where the ear is open to the calumny, and deaf to the defence. If we have talk'd at large, it was not meant againſt yourſelf, Sir, (which would have ill-becom'd us) but againſt your tale-bearers. If we have paſſionately lamented the loſs of our dear mother, it was not purely for the death itſelf, but out of a zeal to the honour of her memory, which we found blaſted where ſhe leaſt deſerv'd it. And to what end again ſhould we aſpire to the government in the life-time of our father? for if we do already enjoy the honours belonging to the royal family, (as effectually we do) what have we farther to ſtruggle for? Or if we are at preſent debarr'd of our right, may we not yet preſume to wiſh and hope for't? Can it be imagin'd that ever the murderers, in ſuch an inſtance as this, ſhould ſet up for ſucceſſors, when ſea and land, after ſo flagitious a villany, would conſpire to ruin them? How would it conſiſt with the piety of the ſubjects, or with the religion of the country, to ſet up parricides for kings, and to ſee the holy temple that you yourſelf erected to the great God, prophaned by the baſeſt of aſſaſſins? Or, all other conſiderations apart, how ſhould any man think to deſtroy Herod, the emperor yet living, and not fall under the power and juſtice of Ceſar? We are not ſuch fools and profligates as we are ſaid to be, but the misfortune of our family, rather than the ſcandal. Now if there appears nothing againſt us, upon any colourable pretence, where is the ground of the accuſation that expoſes us for ſuch impious wretches? As to the death of our mother, 'tis a conſideration to make us rather cautious than outrageous. We might multiply words endleſly; but there's no need of excuſing a thing that never was done; wherefore we have only this now to beg of the mighty Ceſar, and at preſent our ſovereign judge, that if you can, Sir, in your conſcience, diſcharge us of any farther ſuſpicion for the future, we may be allow'd to live, how miſerable ſoever; for what can be more grievous than to lie under the imputation, even though falſely, of the moſt horrid of crimes! But if you go on ſuſpecting us, the torments of our own thoughts will do our buſineſs, without your help; for we are not ſo fond of life, as to think of preſerving it to the trouble of him from whom we receiv'd it."

The accuſation was ſo extravagant, that Ceſar gave no great credence to it from the very beginning; but when he came to reflect upon the honeſty and frankneſs of Alexander's defence, and the change of countenance he obſerv'd in Herod, he was more and more confirm'd in an opinion that the young princes had been traduc'd. The whole court, in ſhort, was mightily in pain for them, and not without hard thoughts of the king himſelf, for ſo raſh and violent a proſecution; ſo that what with the nonſenſe of the ſtory, and the trouble they were in to ſeethe lives of two ſuch lovely youths in danger, they reſolv'd, one and all, to do them the beſt offices they could, eſpecially after ſo ſober a reply to ſo provoking a charge; the princes ſtill continuing in the ſame poſture of modeſty and ſadneſs, with down-caſt eyes, waiting for the iſſue, which was not altogether hopeleſs in the concluſion; for the king himſelf diſcover'd a kind of conſcious confuſion in his looks; as who ſhould ſay, what temerity have I been guilty of to bring ſuch a cauſe as this in debate before Ceſar, without better proof! Ceſar took notice of all theſe things; and after a ſhort pauſe of deliberation, deliver'd himſelf to this effect: "That the ſons were in ſome ſort to blame to give their father any cauſe of jealouſy; but that, upon the main, he acquitted them ſo far, that he pronounced them innocent; deſiring Herod at the ſame time to forgive and forget, without any farther diſtruſt, and ſo to make a final end of the controverſy, as being a moſt unreaſonable thing for a father to encourage ill offices againſt his own children; telling him farther, that things would mend in time, and all breaches be intirely made up, if they could but once come to a mutual confidence, and a fair underſtanding one with another." After this declaration of himſelf, upon that occaſion, he beckon'd to the brothers to come forward, and as they were advancing with tears in their eyes, and ſubmiſſion in their hearts, and upon the very point of caſting themſelves at their father's feet, the king with infinite tenderneſs took them into his arms, one after the other, and prevented them. The ſurprize of this unexpected encounter drew tears of joy from the

The two brothers clear'd.

the whole company; after which greeting, and the payment of their dutiful acknowledgments to Auguſtus, Herod and his two ſons went their way together, taking Antipater along with them; the moſt joy'd man in the world, as he pretended, at this reconciliation.

Herod preſents Auguſtus, and Auguſtus preſents Herod in return.

Some few days after this, Herod, while Auguſtus was treating the people with ſpectacles and doles, made Ceſar a preſent of three * hundred talents; who in requital beſtow'd upon him one moiety of the profits of the mines of Cyprus, and the diſpoſition of the other, with ſeveral honourable bounties and commiſſions, over and above. He gave him liberty alſo to appoint which of his ſons he pleas'd for his ſucceſſor; or otherwiſe to divide the government betwixt them, which he lik'd beſt. Now Ceſar finding him ready to comply, put only this bar upon him, that he ſhould not reſign the government in his own life-time, but keep his kingdom in his power as well as his children.

Herod goes back with his ſons to Judea.

He meets Archelaus at Eleuſa.

He calls a council at Jeruſalem, and declares his ſucceſſor.

This was the poſture of affairs when Herod returned with his three ſons for Judea. The people at Trachonitis, a conſiderable part of that kingdom, had in his abſence revolted, it ſeems; but by the vigilance and good government of the officers he had left behind him, they were reduced to their duty. As Herod and his ſons were upon their voyage, coming to Eleuſa, a city of Cilicia, now called Sebaſte, they found there Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia; who was even overjoy'd to ſee Herod and his ſons ſo well reconciled, and to underſtand that his ſon-in-law Alexander had acquitted himſelf upon his trial with ſo much honour. Archelaus, in fine, received Herod with all humanity imaginable; and ſo after a reciprocal exchange of endearments and preſents, the two kings parted. Herod immediately upon his arrival at Jeruſalem, called the people together into the temple, and there entertain'd them with an account of his expedition: and when he had run thro' the hiſtory of the honours Ceſar had done him, and other paſſages that he had a mind they ſhould know, he turn'd his diſcourſe at laſt to his ſons, with a particular recommendation of peace and unity, as well to the court as to the common people; "declaring to them in form, that he appointed his ſons to be his ſucceſſors; Antipater, in the firſt place; and after him, Alexander and Ariſtobulus in their order. But during my life, (ſays he) you are to own no other lord and maſter than myſelf. I ſpeak this to my family with my officers and people of all ſorts, whether military or civil. Make this the meaſure of your allegiance, as ever you hope for one happy hour. I ſhall grow in years, 'tis true, but that will be rather an advantage than an incapacity; for age brings experience, and experience teaches men wiſdom, which can only fit a man for the functions of government; eſpecially accompany'd with other neceſſary circumſtances for a political adminiſtration." With theſe words he finiſh'd his ſpeech, and diſcharg'd the aſſembly. Some were well enough pleas'd with it, others as much the contrary; for upon the caſting of this bone of emulation among the ſons, matters look'd already toward a change.

CHAP. IX.

Ceſarea finiſhed. The ſolemnity of the dedication. The Certamen Quinquennale. Herod builds Capharſaba, Cypron, Phaſael, &c. Rebuilds the temple of the Pythian Apollo, and ſettles an annuity for the olympick games. The character of Herod.

Ceſarea finiſh'd. The dedication of it celebrated with all manner of plays, ſpectacles, and games.

The Certamen Quinquennale.

THE city of Ceſarea was now finiſh'd, in the tenth year from the laying of its foundation, in the 28th of Herod's reign, and and in the Olympiad one hundred ninety two. The dedication of it was celebrated with all the magnificence and ſplendor imaginable: maſters procur'd from all parts, and the beſt that could be gotten too in all faculties and exerciſes; as muſicians, wreſtlers, ſwordſmen, and the like; and theſe in their ſeveral profeſſions, to play their prizes. They had their horſe-races alſo, and ſeveral ſorts of wild beaſts, with all other varieties of ſpectacle and entertainment that were in vogue, either at Rome or elſewhere. This ſolemnity was inſtituted to the honour of Ceſar, under the appellation of Certamen Quinquennale; and the ceremony to be exhibited every fifth year. It was a prodigious charge that the king was at for the furniſhing of this pompous ſhew, in curioſities from all quarters far and near; beſide what Julia, the wife of Ceſar contributed toward it upon her own account, and in expenſive rarities out of Italy, computed at about five † hundred talents upon the whole: over and above the vaſt multitudes of people that flock'd thither upon this occaſion, and divers embaſſadors from abroad out of a compliment to Herod, which were all entertain'd, treated and diverted at the king's coſt, with ſpectacles by day, and ſumptuous feaſting and jollities by night, to the infinite reputation of his character for a generous and a magnanimous prince. He made it all his buſineſs, in fine, to out-do himſelf, and by the ſplendor of every ſucceeding action, to darken the glory of the former: inſomuch that both Ceſar and Agrippa had been often heard to ſay, that he deſerved the government both of Syria and Egypt, to be added to his province; for that the command and revenue of Judea was too narrow for his ſoul.

Herod builds Capharſaba, Cypron, Phaſael, &c.

When the ſolemnity of this feſtival was over, he ſet himſelf to the building of another city, upon a plain call'd Capharſaba, a ſpot of ground that was moſt deliciouſly provided with wood and water; a pleaſant river about it, and a grove with a delicate plantation of curious trees near the place. He gave this town the name of Antipatris, from Antipater his father: and he built after this a caſtle beyond Jericho, which he call'd Cypris, from the name of his mother; a ſweet delightful ſeat well built and fortify'd: not forgetting his beloved brother all this while; to the honour of whoſe memory he dedicated ſeveral glorious and monumental ſtructures; as in the firſt place a tower in the city itſelf, not inferior for ſtrength and largeneſs to the Alexandrian Pharos, to which he gave the name of Phaſael; after which he erected a town upon the north-ſide of the valley of Jericho, which he called by the ſame name. By this means, the country round about, that was before abandon'd, came to be peopled again, and was called the Province of the Phaſaelites.

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* Three hundred talents weighed thirty four thouſand two hundred and eighteen pounds, nine ounces; and their value in ſilver amounted to one hundred two thouſand, ſix hundred and fifty ſix pounds, five ſhillings; and in gold to one million, ſix hundred forty two thouſand, five hundred pounds, Engliſh money.

† Five hundred talents weighed fifty ſeven thouſand thirty one pounds, three ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to an hundred ſeventy one thouſand, ninety three pounds, fifteen ſhillings; and in gold to two millions, ſeven hundred thirty ſeven thouſand, five hundred pounds of our money.

It would be endleſs to run through the hiſtory of all his bounties in Syria, Greece, and, in truth, wherever he came, by giving his aſſiſtance to ſome; advancing publick works for others; and ſupplying monies elſewhere, for the perfecting of what ſome had begun, and could not go thorough with.

He rebuilds the temple of the Pythian Apollo.

But to come to the moſt magnificent and illuſtrious of all his undertakings, there was the temple of the Pythian Apollo at Rhodes, that he rebuilt upon his own particular account, conferring a great many talents of free gift, on the Rhodians for the building of ſo many ſhips. Another vaſt ſum he gave for the repairing and finiſhing of ſeveral publick edifices in the city of Nicopolis, which was erected by Ceſar, near Actium. He built two galleries in Antioch (which is the largeſt city of Syria) that went quite croſs the town, with a walk betwixt them. Theſe galleries were gloriouſly adorn'd, and the ſtreets pav'd with a ſmooth poliſh'd ſtone, both for the ornament of the place, and for the convenience of the inhabitants.

and ſettles an annuity for the Olympian games.

He ſet apart alſo a yearly allowance out of his own revenue toward the maintenance of the olympick games, which began now to ſink in their reputation, for want of a maintenance to bear the charge of ſacrifices and pompous expences, ſuitable to ſuch a meeting: by which munificence he got the name of a perpetual maſter of the revels.

The character of Herod.

But after all this, there never was any man perhaps made up of ſo many ſeeming contradictions. Take him in the general, for his liberality and the external appearance of a diſpoſition to do good to all men, one would have concluded him the beſt-natur'd perſon under the ſun: but then to conſider, on the other hand, the extreme rigour and injuſtice of his practices, even upon his neareſt relations, as well as upon his ſubjects at large, it is not to be deny'd but that he was harſh and inexorable, without either pity or ſhame. Now upon this view, a body would take him to be a man divided within himſelf; but I am rather of opinion that he was uniform and ſteddy to the ſame meaſure and principle. As he was greedy of honour, and a perſon wholly abandon'd to that impotent vanity, he was conſequently magnificent, in order to the compaſſing of his end; and according to the proſpect he had either of a glorious life or of an honourable memory. This made him profuſe beyond his fortune, and burdenſome to his ſubjects; for there was no ſupplying of his extravagant expences by fair and warrantable means. He was then ſenſible of the ill-will he had drawn upon himſelf by his oppreſſion, and of the difficulty of allaying thoſe ſeditious diſcontents: which he ſaw was a thing not to be done, without either retrenching his diſburſements, or ſhortening his revenue. So that he had no way left now, but to improve the people's ſpite to his own benefit; which he did, firſt by provoking men beyond all patience, and then treating them as the worſt of enemies for murmuring: and this was the courſe he took, without diſtinction of perſons, whether friends or relations; being reſolved to aſſert his dignity in all caſes whatſoever. But he gave to underſtand by the honours he paid to others, as to Ceſar and Agrippa, and the reſt of his illuſtrious friends, what he expected to himſelf; and that he intended the one ſhould be exemplary to the other. This was enough to ſhew the bent and biaſs of his inclination. Now Herod's way of doing homage to ſuperiors was no precedent for the Jews to follow; but a flat contradiction to their laws and practice; being train'd up to principles of obedience for conſcience, without any regard to intereſt or power. This reſtraint was exceedingly to their loſs, for they might otherwiſe have inſinuated themſelves by the pompous dedications of temples and ſtatues, into the good graces of the king; and with other ſuch like flatteries have gratify'd the vanity of an ambitious man. This, in fine, do I take to be the true reaſon of Herod's exceſſive generoſity and bounty toward ſtrangers; and no leſs, of his inexorable cruelty toward his own ſubjects.

CHAP. X.

The Greeks petition Ceſar againſt the Jews. Ceſar confirms them in their privileges. Several decrees highly in their favour.

The Greeks petition Ceſar againſt the Jews.

THE Jews of Aſia and thoſe of Cyrene in Africa, were at this time ſo ill treated by the Greeks, and without any end or or meaſure, upon a pretence that they carry'd their money out of the country, and were in other reſpects a grievance to them, that having a grant from former kings, of free privileges and immunities, in common with the reſt of the citizens, and the natives themſelves, they ſent their ambaſſadors, upon this occaſion, with a petitionary complaint and appeal to Ceſar; who thereupon wrote back to the provinces, that “it was his will and pleaſure “the Jews ſhould continue in the enjoyment “of their exemptions.” The copy of this edict I have here ſubjoin'd, for the better authority of our pretence, and to ſhew the world what opinion the emperors of former times had of the Jews.

Ceſar confirms them in their privileges.

Ceſar Auguſtus, high-prieſt and tribune of the people, hath decreed this.

Several decrees highly in favour of the Jews.

“WHEREAS the Jews have ever been “a people faithful and well affected “to the Romans, eſpecially to Ceſar, my imperial father, in the pontificate of Hyrcanus, and remain to this preſent in the ſame “diſpoſition of faith and good-will as formerly, we have deemed it reaſonable, with “the advice and conſent of the ſenate and “the people of Rome, to permit unto the ſaid Jews the free exerciſe of their own laws and rites, in as ample manner as they enjoy'd them formerly in the days of Hyrcanus, the high-prieſt of the great God; we do likewiſe permit their temples ſtill to continue ſanctuaries, and places of refuge; their contribution-money toward holy uſes to be committed to the treaſury of Jeruſalem, by ſuch perſons as they ſhall appoint, without any let or moleſtation: that they be not forced upon appearances before the magiſtrates on the day of their ſabbath, or after nine of the clock on the eve before: that it be made ſacrilege, and confiſcation of goods, to ſteal out of their religious places any of their holy books or treaſure. And we do farther require, out of the tenderneſs and reſpect we bear to all mankind, that the addreſs or memorial now preſented us by Caius Marcius Cenſorinus on the behalf of the Jews, together with this decree, be ſet up in that eminent place at * Ancyra, which was dedicated by the whole people of Aſia, to the honour of our name. And let no man do any thing contrary to the tenor hereof, at his uttermoſt peril." There was this following Inſcription alſo upon one of the pillars of the temple.

Ceſar to Norbanus Flaccus, greeting.

"LET no man preſume to hinder or interrupt the Jews in any place whatſoever, in the ſending up of their money to Jeruſalem for holy uſes, according to their ancient cuſtom." Thus far Ceſar. And Agrippa afterward wrote a letter on the Jews behalf in like manner too, as follows.

Agrippa to the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people of Epheſus, health.

"IT is our will that the Jews in Aſia have the keeping and diſpoſing of the money themſelves, that they ſend up to Jeruſalem, according to ancient uſage for the ſervice of their temple and their worſhip; and in caſe any of that ſacred treaſure ſhould be ſtolen, and the criminal fly to the altar for ſanctuary, let him be taken away by violence, and deliver'd up to the Jews to be baniſh'd as a ſacrilegious perſon, and out of protection."

THE ſame Agrippa wrote alſo to the pretor Syllanus, againſt compelling the Jews upon the ſabbath-day, before their courts of juſtice. And once again

Marcus Agrippa to the magiſtrates and ſenate of Cyrene, greeting.

"WHEREAS the Jews of your parts have written complaining letters to me, of the vexatious practices of ſome pick-thank people among you, that take upon them to put a ſtop to the tranſmitting of their money to Jeruſalem, under pretext of being in an arrear of tribute, which is not ſo neither: and all this, notwithſtanding the poſitive letters and orders from Auguſtus to Flavius, the pretor of Libya, and the other magiſtrates of that province, not to give them any interruption, in ſending up their money as formerly, it is my command that they be left wholly to their own way and liberty, as heretofore; and that commiſſioners be appointed for reſtoring to the Jews as much of their treaſure as ſhall be found either conceal'd or miſapplied."

Caius Norbanus Flaccus, proconſul, to the magiſtrates of Sardis, health.

"BEING commanded by an expreſs from Ceſar, to take care that no obſtruction be given to the Jews in the collecting and ſending up of monies to Jeruſalem to ſuch purpoſes as they have formerly done; this is to acquaint you that Auguſtus will have it ſo, and that I expect his orders ſhall be obey'd."

JULIUS ANTONIUS, proconſul, wrote alſo to the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people of Epheſus, to the ſame effect. "The Jews of Aſia, ſays he, as I was upon the bench in a court of juſtice at Epheſus, in the † Ides of February laſt paſt, gave me to underſtand that Auguſtus Ceſar and Agrippa had granted them the freedom of their own ways and ceremonies, and liberty to diſpoſe of their firſt-fruits as they thought fit among themſelves; and ſo to carry the money to Jeruſalem, without any interruption or controul, and there to dedicate it to the temple of the high God. So they made their application to me, ſays he, for a ratification of theſe privileges. This is therefore to inform you, that I do abſolutely ſubſcribe to the reſolution and determination of Ceſar and Agrippa; and I do farther require, that no trouble or vexation be given them in any ſort whatſoever, either to diſtract or to diſappoint them in the peaceable exerciſe of theſe immunities."

WE have the rather cited theſe inſtances and preſidents, to ſhew the Greeks upon the peruſal of theſe papers, the honour that has been done us by antiquity, and the privileges in matter of cuſtom, diſcipline, and worſhip, that have been from time to time allow'd us by the ſovereign powers, even to the degree of tolerating our religion itſelf, in the ſervice of the true God. And I do the more inculcate theſe notices and hints, becauſe I would ſoften ſtrangers, and deface, if poſſible, the impreſſions of a moſt unreaſonable averſion and prejudice. It is no new thing, for whole nations, as well as particular places, to change humours and manners; but juſtice is with all people, and in all times and places, evermore the ſame, a bleſſing that extends indifferently even to Greeks and Barbarians, the very reaſon and foundation of all our laws; ſo that if we do but maintain them ſacred, that virtue alone will both endear us, and make us friends to all mankind; wherefore it ſhould be my requeſt to the whole world, that people would not hate one another for differing in the way of living, ſo long as they agree in the main end and buſineſs of life. Virtue, in fine, is common to all men, and human ſociety can never be happy without it. But I ſhall return now to my text.

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* See Caſaubon's notes upon Aurelius Victor. p. 25. Ed. Traject.

† The Ides of February were on the 13th day of the month.

CHAP. XI.

Herod rifles divers ſepulchres of plate, &c. two of his guards conſumed by fire in the ſacrilegious attempt. Upon this judgment, Herod walls up the paſſage. He and his family are puniſhed for it. The hypocriſy of Antipater. Herod offers his daughter to Pheroras; who refuſes her: and then he offers his other daughter, Cypras. Pheroras breaks his oath and promiſe. Salome takes the children of Mariamne, and make a ſpy of her own daughter. The privacies of man and wife betray'd. Herod ſaid to be in love with Glaphyra. Alexander tells Herod the ſtory. Herod calls Pheroras to an account about it. Pheroras ſays he had it of Salome. Salome denies and outfaces it. Salome ſuſpected for the authoreſs of the report. Obodas, king of Arabia Syllæus his prime miniſter; and in love with Salome. An intrigue betwixt them. Herod ſets a ſpy upon them. Syllæus propoſes a match. Salome conſents; but they break off upon Religion. A match between Pheroras's ſon and Herod's daughter. The confeſſion of three eunuchs againſt Alexander. Herod's jealouſy. The falſe witneſſes brought to juſtice. Andromachus and Gemellus baniſh'd. Antipater governs Herod. An information upon the torture againſt Alexander. Alexander made a priſoner. His friends and confidents tortured. Falſe evidence upon the torture. The bravery and conſtancy of Alexander. A generous defiance of Herod. Ptolemy and Sapinnius named in the conſpiracy. Herod miſerable and reſtleſs.

Herod rifles divers ſepulchres, of plate and veſſels; but finds no ready money.

Two of his guards conſum'd by fire in the ſacrilegious attempt.

HEROD had ſquander'd away vaſt ſums of money both at home and abroad; and hearing that his predeceſſor Hyrcanus had fetch'd three * thouſand talents of ſilver out of David's ſepulchre, and that there was enough left behind there to anſwer any occaſion whatſoever: theſe thoughts poſſeſs'd his mind a long time before he could come to any reſolution upon it. But at laſt, taking ſome few of thoſe he could beſt truſt along with him, he convey'd himſelf by night into the ſepulchre; but with all care imaginable to conceal it from the people. He found a world of rich plate and veſſels, both gold and ſilver, and took it away with him; but for the ready money that he expected, there was none to be found; for Hyrcanus, it ſeems, had been before-hand with him. This ſucceſs however, ſuch as it was, gave him an encouragement to make a ſtricter ſearch: ſo he advanced farther in, till he came to the very coffins where the bodies of Solomon and David were depoſited. The ſtory ſays, that he loſt two of his guards there by a flaſh of fire that broke out of the receſs, which was interpreted as a judgment upon the temerity of the undertaking. The prodigy put Herod into ſuch a fright, that in a fit both of terror and of conſcience, he quitted his deſign; and to expiate in ſome meaſure for the ſacrilege, he erected a moſt ſumptuous monument of marble to bar up the very entrance into the ſepulchre. Nicolaus an hiſtorian of thoſe times, makes mention of this work; but ſays nothing of the king's adventure, which he look'd upon to be ſo impious and diſhonourable, that he choſe rather to ſuppreſs it; for being cotemporary with the king, and writing his own ſtory to his face, he was to ſpeak only pleaſing things that might redound to his glory, without ever ſo much as touching upon his failings. And the courſe he took was either to palliate and diſguiſe his moſt notorious and extravagant cruelties, or in ſome caſes, perchance, intirely to ſuppreſs them. How does he colour the murder of Mariamne, and the horrid indignities put upon her two ſons, with a brand of incontinency in the one, and of a practice upon the life of their father in the other! and this is his way throughout, to elevate to the skies, what the king did well, and either to paſs over or extenuate what he did amiſs. But he has this to ſay for himſelf, however, that he wrote panegyrick rather than hiſtory; and not ſo much for the information of poſterity, as for the gratifying of his patron. But for my own part now, having in my veins the royal blood of the Aſamonæan family, and the dignity likewiſe of the prieſthood, I have no more to do but to report matters plainly as I find them, with all reverence to the deſcendants of that prince; but by their leave yet, with a greater reſpect to truth: for I would not willingly blaſt the reputation of my character with one falſe word.

Herod walls up the paſſage, upon this judgment.

Herod and his family puniſhed for the ſacrilege.

FROM the time that Herod broke in ſacrilegiouſly upon this ſepulchre, things went ſtill croſſer and croſſer in his family, whether upon a judicial vengeance upon that part of it that was before ill affected, or by the calamity of a ſeaſon that look'd ſo like the puniſhment of a flagitious wickedneſs. The fewd was a kind of civil war in the houſe, and carry'd on by ſome ſort of competition, betwixt outrage and calumny. But the maſterpiece of the whole ſtory was the artifice and hypocriſy of Antipater; who at the ſame time while he was on the one hand ſuborning of people to aſperſe and vilify his brothers, acted the part himſelf, on the other hand, of an advocate with Herod to defend them: under this diſguiſe the better to ſecure their ruin. Antipater wrought ſo far upon the king by theſe wiles, that he look'd upon him as the only zealous friend in the world that took care of him. Inſomuch that he recommended his chief miniſter Ptolemy, to adviſe with Antipater ſtill, about the ſtate of the government; who immediately conſulting with the mother, did every thing according to their own pleaſure; ſo that the king's love, or hatred, was managed for the better or the worſe, according as it ſerv'd their intereſt.

The artifice and hypocriſy of Antipater.

ALEXANDER and Ariſtobulus, on the other ſide, being men of honour and ſpirit, reſented this way of proceeding beyond all patience, to ſee themſelves degraded ſo much below their birth, and trampled upon by their inferiors; and their wives labour'd under the ſame paſſions too; for there was no love loſt betwixt Glaphyra, Alexander's wiſe, and the daughter of the king of Cappadocia: betwixt her, I ſay, and Salome; whom the other mortally hated, both out of the love ſhe bore her husband, and out of a womaniſh ſpirit to ſee her daughter that was marry'd to Ariſtobulus, ſit upon the ſame level with herſelf.

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* Three thouſand Hebrew talents weighed three hundred forty two thouſand one hundred and eighty ſeven Pounds ſix ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to one million twenty ſix thouſand five hundred and ſixty two Pounds ten ſhillings of our money.

Herod offers his daughter to Pheroras, and he refuſes her.

He offers him his other daughter Cypras.

Pheroras breaks his oath and promiſe.

Salme hates the hildren of Mariamne motally. She makes a ſpy of her ow daughter gainſt her husband. Th private cofidences ot nan and wit betra'd.

There happened likewiſe at the ſame time, another unlucky circumſtance, that engaged Pheroras, the king's brother, in the controverſy, and it was improv'd, in the concluſion, to a high degree of jealouſy and hatred. Herod made an offer to Pheroras of his daughter in marriage; who being deſperately in love with his own maid, prefer'd her embraces, and rejected the propoſal. The king could not but lay this refuſal to heart, eſpecially from a brother that he had been ſo kind to, even to the degree of ſharing his government with him. But, in ſhort, finding himſelf ſo ill-requited, the honour he offer'd him rejected, his good intentions diſappointed, and that there was no way of bringing him to reaſon, he marry'd this daughter upon it, to the ſon of Phaſael, his elder brother. Some time after Herod ſuppoſing his brother's love might be cool'd, went to Pheroras once again, and when he had reprov'd him ſufficiently about the affront of his former repulſe, as a freſh inſtance of his affection, he made yet another offer of his other daughter Cypras. Pheroras went preſently upon this propoſal to adviſe with Ptolemy about it; who told him, that if he were not a madman, he would cloſe with his brother, and not hazard his fortune as well as his quiet, in the loſs of the king's favour, which would make him an enemy inſtead of a friend; and all this for the poor ſatisfaction of a ſcandalous amour: Pheroras could not but approve this, and he embrac'd the counſel; begg'd the king's pardon; and diſcharging himſelf of the firſt woman, by whom he had one child, he promis'd the king within a month to marry the other daughter; binding himſelf by an oath to make good his word, and never to have any thing more to do with her he had now renounced. In this while, Pheroras relaps'd into his old fit of dotage again, took the former woman home to him; and when the month was expir'd, without any regard to his oaths and promiſes, moſt ſhamefully broke faith with his brother. The provocation of this affront, put Herod into ſo violent a paſſion, that he could not forbear laſhing out into intemperances of language againſt his brother: There were make-bates enough to lay hold of this, and to heighten Herod's diſpleaſure by ſuggeſting lyes and ſcandals. So it was, in fine, that there ſcarce paſs'd a day, or an hour, without bringing ſome new trouble or other into the family, by the inflaming of piques and jealouſies, and ſetting the neareſt, and the tendereſt of friends and relations, one againſt another. Nay, ſo deadly was the rancorous hatred of Salome to the ſons of Mariamne, that ſhe would not ſuffer her daughter to enjoy ſo much as the conjugal converſation of her own husband Ariſtobulus; but was ſtill pumping her to blab, and divulge the moſt ſacred privacies that paſs'd betwixt them; or if they happen'd at any time to be but a little out of humour one with another, as that's a common caſe, ſhe never fail'd of blowing the coal, and doing her part toward the enflaming of the diſcontent. By this means ſhe div'd into all her ſecrets; and as ſhe ſaw occaſion, endeavour'd all ſhe could to make a breach betwixt the wiſe and the husband. She got out of her what the brothers ſaid of Mariamne, when they were by themſelves: how diſreſpectfully they talk'd of their father; and how they threaten'd all the ſons he had by other women, if ever they came to the throne, to make ſcribes and country town clerks of them, as a profeſſion that beſt ſuited with their way of education: and ſhe had heard them talk further, ſhe ſaid, that if ever they ſhould ſee any of Herod's wives ſet out with their mother Mariamne's jewels, they would, without any more ado, put them into ſackcloth, and lay them up where they ſhould never ſee the ſun. Salome, by this, thought the time long till the king had the ſtory, wherefore ſhe haſten'd to carry it to him herſelf. It gave him no ſmall diſturbance upon the main; but inclining yet to try if he could ſet things right by fair means, rather than by foul. In one word, they ply'd him ſo hard with infuſing continual jealouſies and whimſeys into his head, that they brought him at laſt to take a delight in liſtening after tales and calumnies; and to ſuch a degree of credulity, that he believed whatever was told him; but contenting himſelf however, for the preſent, with a ſevere rebuke to his ſons; and upon their anſwer he came pretty well to himſelf again.

A ſtory from Pheroras to Alexander, of Herod's being in love with Glaphyra.

Alexander grows jealous upon it, and tells Herod the ſtory.

Herod calls Pheroras to account about it.

But this was not the worſt on't yet; for Pheroras took an occaſion to inform Alexander, the husband of Glaphyra, that Salome had told him Herod was fallen ſo paſſionately in love with Glaphyra, that he could not be quiet for it. The young man, that was naturally of a jealous temper was ſo gaul'd at this diſcourſe, that whatever Herod did, day after day, in favour of Glaphyra, for his ſon's ſake, was ſtill interpreted in confirmation of his ſuſpicion. This paſſion, in ſhort, had made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon him, that when he could bear the importunity of it no longer, he went directly to his father, with tears in his eyes, and told him what he had heard from Pheroras. If he was outrageous before, this made him ſtark-mad, to ſee himſelf ſo baſely calumniated for the fouleſt of crimes, and this out of his own inſenſible family too, in return for all the good offices he had done them. In this heat, he ſent for Pheroras, and angry reproved him in terms to this effect. "How ſhould it come into thy head or mine, "(ſays he) thou vileſt, and moſt ungrateful "of mortals, to report, or but ſo much as to "think me guilty of ſo horrid a wickedneſs! "but the malice of the deſign is only this, "under the colour of an office of confidence "to my ſon, to incite him to ſome treache"rous practice upon the life of his father; "for what ſon that were not reſtrain'd by a "ſpecial providence, would put up ſuch an "indignity from a father, unreveng'd! where's "the difference, at this rate, betwixt the put"ting of a jealouſy in the head of this ſon of "mine, or a ſword in his hand againſt his "own father? but what would you be at? "for you hate both alike; and at the ſame "time, with fair words to my face, make the "lewdeſt wretch in nature of me behind my "back. Go, go, thou moſt unthankful of men, to ſo tender a brother; but I ſhall rather deliver you up to your conſcience for your tormentor, and endeavour to be better than my relations, in not returning evil for good, after your example; but, on the contrary, good for evil."

Pheroras ſays he had it of Salome. Salome denies and outfaces it.

THIS was ſo clear a caſe againſt Pheroras, that he had no way to come off but by diſcharging himſelf upon Salome, and laying the ſcandal at her door, as the original of the ſtory. Salome happening to be then preſent, the better to be believed, with a compos'd hypocritical face broke out into violent exclamations, "That it was all a lye, and only a malicious practice and conſpiracy, for the taking away of her life in revenge of the zeal and affection ſhe had expreſs'd for the ſaving of the king's; who, at that inſtant (ſhe ſaid) was in greater danger than ever. Pheroras, (ſays ſhe) abhors me to death; for it was I that preſs'd him to turn off the ſtrumpet he doated on, and marry the king's daughter. This is the thing he hates me for, (ſays ſhe) tearing her hair, and beating her breaſt, with a rage ſo done to the life, that never was a part better acted." Pheroras was all this while in the greateſt pain imaginable, betwixt two inextricable difficulties; for he could neither deny what he told to Alexander, nor prove what Salome ſaid to him. The diſpute, however, continued a good while; but the king grew ſick on't at laſt, and being now late, ſent them both away, and went to ſupper; Herod highly commending the moderation of his ſon, and the generous candour of his nature, in coming ſo frankly to him with the ſtory. This quarrel brought Salome under the ſcandal of being thought the authoreſs of this calumny, and the king's wives were ready enough to ſet it forward; for the woman being ſour, fickle, and of an uneven temper, kind and croſs by fits, as the toy took her, they did not like her humour at all; and in this diſguſt, they were perpetually ringing ſomething or other in Herod's ear againſt her; and this diſpoſition was aſſiſted by an accident as pat as could be to their purpoſe.

Salome ſuſpected for the authoreſs of this report.

Obodas, king of Arabia. Syllæus his prime miniſter.

Syllæus in love with Salome.

An intrigue obſerv'd betwixt them.

OBODAS was at that time king of Arabia; a lazy ſlothful prince, that minded nothing but his eaſe. Now there was one Syllæus, who was his chief miniſter of ſtate, a man of ſenſe and addreſs, in the prime of his years, and a well-made graceful perſon. This ſame Syllæus, coming to Herod about buſineſs, as he was once at ſupper with him, and Salome in the company, he took a particular liking to this princeſs: inſomuch, that hearing ſhe was a widow, he ventur'd to make her ſome kind of overture toward marriage. The woman finding herſelf every day more and more uneaſy with her brother, and being well enough pleas'd with the young man's perſon; all theſe things conſidered, was not averſe to the propoſal: and upon further converſation, and better acquaintance, (for they were often together) people came to take notice by their countenances, and twenty little love-tricks, that the amour advanc'd on both ſides. This went all to the king; and the women made themſelves merry with it; but Herod was not yet ſatisfy'd with what the women told him, till he ſet Pheroras for a ſpy upon them; who brought him word, that by what he gather'd from the intelligence of looks and ſigns, there was undoubtedly a reciprocal paſſion betwixt them. Herod taking it now for granted, the Arabian went his way home again. Within ſome two or three months after this, he returned upon the ſame errand, and treated with Herod himſelf about the match; enlarging upon it how advantageous it would be to his intereſt, not only in the point of commerce, but in reſpect alſo of his own right and pretenſions to the government of the whole country, a conſiderable part of which he was in poſſeſſion of already. The king immediately put the queſtion to his ſiſter, whether ſhe had a mind to marry or not; who without any heſitation anſwer'd in the affirmative. This was told Syllæus; and that if he would turn Jew, he might have her: but otherwiſe by law of the country, it could not be. Syllæus reply'd on the other hand, that if he ſhould relinquiſh his religion, the Arabians would ſtone him to death; and ſo the treaty broke off. Pheroras took occaſion from hence to be ſeveral times hinting to the king how Salome expos'd her reputation; but the king's wives carry'd the liberties ſhe took with the Arabian, to the degree of incontinence itſelf.

Herod ſets a ſpy upon them.

And he is convinc'd of the amour. Syllæus goes back again; and returning ſoon after, propoſes the match.

Salome conſents; but they break off upon religion.

HEROD was now half reſolved, at the importunity of Salome, to marry his own daughter, that Pheroras had refuſed, to a ſon of hers that ſhe had by Coſtobarus. But Phororas defeated the deſign, by telling him that the young man would never forgive his father-in-law the death of his father, and adviſed him rather to give her to his own ſon that was to ſucceed him in the government. The king took his counſel; gave her a * hundred talents for her portion, and all paſt miſunderſtandings with Pheroras were forgiven and forgotten.

A match betwixt Pheroras's ſon and Herod's daughter.

BUT this was ſo far yet from compoſing the diſorders of Herod's family, that they went every day from bad to worſe, and from diſhoneſt ſhameful beginnings, to tragical ends. Herod had three handſome eunuchs to attend him, for whom he had a mighty kindneſs; one ſerved him in the quality of a cup-bearer; another, in the office of a ſteward, and a third waited upon him in his bed-chamber; over and above, that he made further uſe of them in matters of ſtate. Some body had told Herod, it ſeems, that Alexander had been tampering with theſe young men, for a large ſum of money, to betray him. Upon this information, they were put to the torture to make them diſcover what communication had paſs'd betwixt them. They acknowledg'd they had been together; but for any treaſonous deſign Alexander had upon the life of his father, they knew nothing of it. The torments being of Antipater's faction, preſs'd them ſtill harder and harder, till at laſt in the tolerable anguiſh of their pains, they extorted this declaration from them, (viz.) "That Alexander hated his father mortally,

The confeſſion of three eunuchs againſt Alexander.

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* An hundred talents weighed eleven thouſand four hundred and ſix Pounds three ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to thirty four thouſand two hundred and eighteen Pounds fifteen ſhillings, and in gold to five hundred forty ſeven thouſand five hundred Pounds of our money.

“ and did what he could to ſeduce them from “ their allegiance to him, as a prince that was “ now good for nothing, old, and out of date: “ only he cover'd his decays the beſt he could “ with paint and artifice. Now if they would “ come over to him, it ſhould be his care, “ (he ſaid) to ſee them prefer'd in a very “ ſhort time; for the government was not “ only to deſcend to him in courſe, but mat- “ ters were ſo laid, it was not in his father's “ power to diſappoint it: for over and above “ the prerogative of his title, every thing “ was ripe and ready for the putting of him “ into the poſſeſſion of his pretences. He had “ made a great party among the officers of “ the army, (he ſaid) and the king's friends, “ who were all reſolved to ſtand by him “ with their lives and fortunes.” This confeſſion put Herod into a fit of rage, and trembling, both at once; for there was contempt and menace in it; and in the diſtraction of an uncertainty, how to behave himſelf for fear of an immediate ſurprize, he could not reſolve, upon the ſudden, whether to avoid the danger, or to encounter it. But the reſult at laſt was this, to manage his buſineſs by ſpies and informers, without the pomp of any publick enquiries. Wherever he ſuſpected, he conſequently hated; and he ſuſpected thoſe too that did not deſerve it, as well as thoſe that did; for his own ſecurity depended upon it. And there was no end of this jealouſy neither, for the nearer the relations, the greater was his apprehenſion of them, as perſons that had it more in their power to do him miſchief. As for thoſe he never had any thing to do withal, the leaſt word of an informer's mouth was certain death to them; for he could never think himſelf ſafe while they were living. The condition of his domeſticks was yet more to be pitied than all the reſt, for they had no way to ſave their own lives, but by calumniating their fellows; by which practice, even when they ſucceeded in it, they drew upon themſelves ſuch an envy and deteſtation, that they ſeldom fail'd of being paid in their own coin, and of receiving the ſame measure themſelves that they had meted to others. And ſo in the caſe of private grudges, they inform'd againſt one another by turns, and were noos'd in their own ſnares. Not but that the king was now and then touch'd in conſcience, for putting ſo many to death without trial and conviction; but this did not yet hinder him from doing the ſame thing over again. He was ſo fair however in the concluſion, as after the deſtruction of ſo many innocents, to do juſtice at laſt upon the falſe witneſſes themſelves.

Herod's jealouſy ſpares neither friend nor foe.

The falſe witneſſes themſelves brought to juſtice at laſt.

The court was at this time in ſuch a fright and conſternation, that many of the king's moſt intimate friends were baniſh'd his palace and preſence; and thoſe in the firſt place that were generally reputed to have merited beſt at his hands; as Andromachus, and Gemellus (two favourites of an antient ſtanding) were turn'd off among the reſt. Theſe miniſters had ſerv'd the king both abroad and at home, in embaſſies and counſels; the careful education of his ſons; and in places, in fine, of the greateſt confidence and truſt. He renounc'd Andromachus for the kindneſs Alexander ſhew'd to his ſon Demetrius, and then he diſcarded Gemellus, for the love he bore to Alexander; having been a kind of governour and tutor to him, as well as a companion in his travels to Rome. Nay, in all likelihood, he would not have ſtopt here neither, if the popular reputation of the perſons had not kept him in ſome ſort of awe; ſo that he contented himſelf with putting them out of office, and ſending them away, that he might be the more at liberty in their abſence, to exerciſe his rage and cruelties without controul.

Andromachus and Gemellus baniſh'd.

Herod govern'd by Antipater's counſels.

The firſt, and the chief author of all this miſery was Antipater, who finding Herod fearful and ſuſpicious, inſinuated himſelf into his counſels, and apply'd to his humour; enflaming him to fierceneſs and cruelty; and inculcating this maxim to him, as a ſtate-maſterpiece, to make ſure of all thoſe that had it in their power to do him any miſchief. And this was the way that Herod went to work; for when he had expell'd Andromachus, and the reſt of his friends that had the honeſty and courage to be plain and free with him, he put all the confidents of Alexander to the queſtion, concerning treaſonous plots and commotions, who dy'd upon the torture, having nothing to confeſs. This generous conſtancy being taken for obſtinacy, they encreaſed the torments; in great admiration, that with all this extremity, they were not able to extort ſo much as the ſhadow of one diſloyal thought. Now Antipater craftily took the matter by another handle, and made it a point of honour in them, rather to deny the truth in queſtion, than to violate the faith and truſt repoſed in them by their friends and maſters. So that he was for putting more and more ſtill to the torture, making no doubt, as he pretended, but ſome or other of them would confeſs at laſt; and in the end one faint-hearted wretch, that ſhrunk under the pain, declared that upon occaſion of people's commending Alexander for a perſon of a goodly ſtature, an excellent markſman, and other laudable qualities, he had heard him ſay divers times, that theſe natural advantages were rather miſfortunes to him than benefits; for his father bore him ſuch an envious hatred for them, that when they were walking together, he was fain to go ſtooping, that he might not ſeem the taller of the two, or ſo tall as he really was: and ſo at the chace, he durſt not ſtrike the mark; for his father he knew could not endure to ſee him do any thing well, or to hear him well ſpoken of. Upon this pretended diſcovery, they reſpited the poor man's torment, and ſo he went on with his tale, “ How Alexander and Ariſtobulus enter'd in- “ to a conſpiracy once to take away their fa- “ ther's life, when he was abroad a hunting: “ and if they ſucceeded, Alexander was to fly “ to Rome to demand the ſucceſſion.” There were certain letters alſo produced from him to his brother, complaining of his father for giving away two * hundred talents a year in land, to Antipater. Herod look'd upon all

An information upon the torture againſt Alexander.

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* Two hundred talents weighed twenty two thouſand eight hundred twelve pounds ſix ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to ſixty eight thouſand four hundred thirty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings, and in gold to one million ninety five thouſand pounds of our money.

this together to be a ſufficient evidence to confirm the ſuſpicion he had of his children. And upon this he fell into another raging fit againſt his ſon Alexander, and order'd him to be caſt into priſon, and loaded with chains upon it: Not that he himſelf gave much credit to what he heard, for what intereſt could they have to deſtroy their father? Or what ſhould they go to Rome for, after the commiſſion of ſo notorious a parricide? There might be ſomewhat, I confeſs, in the turbulent and childiſh heats among the young ambitious people about Antipater, and that was all. But in the mean time, however, Alexander being impriſon'd, and no body knowing for what, Herod could not think himſelf ſafe, without giving the world ſome better ſatisfaction in the reaſon of it: So that he put divers of Alexander's confidents and friends of the beſt quality, firſt to the torture, and afterwards to death, the better to colour the pretence of Alexander's guilt; but they confeſs'd nothing. While the palace was in an uproar, and nothing to be ſeen or heard of in it but tumult, terror, and torments, a certain young man that had been tortur'd it ſeems beyond his ſtrength and reſolution, gave information, how "Alexander had written to ſome friends of his at Rome, to inform Ceſar that there was a conſpiracy againſt him, and that if he were but ſent for thither, he could diſcover it; for that his father had abandon'd the intereſt of Rome, to treat with Mithridates, the king of the Parthians; adding withal, that there was a poiſon in readineſs that he had gotten prepar'd at Aſcalon." This invention had ſuch credit with Herod, that he preſently order'd the ſtricteſt enquiry after the poiſon that could be made; but there was no ſuch thing to be found. The paraſites he had all this while about him, comforted him in his calamity, pretending to juſtify the ſobriety of his conduct.

Alexander put into priſon.

His friends and confidents tortur'd.

A falſe evidence upon the torture.

ALEXANDER was ſo far from ſinking under this oppreſſion, that he diſdain'd to advance ſo much as one word, either by way of denial or defence, partly to exaſperate his father by the contempt of theſe outrages, and partly to put him out of countenance for giving an ear to ſuch ſilly and inſignificant ſcandal: Or otherwiſe, in caſe he ſhould go on to ſwallow lyes and forgeries at that credulous rate, he took up a reſolution to involve him and his whole family in the moſt calamitous perplexities. He ſent him four pieces in writing, wherein he gave him to underſtand, that he ſhould not need to torture any more people upon interrogatories, to learn the truth of things; for he did aſſure him there was a conſpiracy againſt his life; and that Pheroras, and ſeveral others that he leaſt ſuſpected were in the bottom of it. He told him how Salome ſtole to bed to him one night, and lay with him, whether he would or not; telling him likewiſe, that in ſhort, all people were agreed upon the abſolute neceſſity of taking him off; for there was no freedom or happineſs to be expected without it: Naming Ptolemy, and Sapinnius (the two men of the world that he moſt confided in) among the conſpirators. The court was by this time rather a mad-houſe, or a medly of wild beaſts, than a ſociety of reaſonable men; the greateſt friends in nature one day, and tearing out one another's throats the next: And no time or place left for argument or proof; for the puniſhment went before the judgment. Some were put in chains; others kill'd outright, and the reſt in a deſpair more painful than death itſelf. There was nothing to be ſeen in the palace of what it had been; but inſtead of the gaiety and ſplendor of it in former times, there was little now but heavineſs of heart and inconſolable ſorrows. Nay, Herod himſelf was as weary of his own life, as he had made other people of theirs; for there was no body he could truſt; his preſent ſtate was miſerable, and no proſpect before him, but of confuſion and horror. He never took any reſt either ſleeping or waking for hideous frights and imaginations. One while he would fancy his ſon with a dagger at his heart; another while ſomewhat elſe; and in one word, he was upon the whole matter little better than a madman.

The bravery and conſtancy of Alexander.

A generous defiance of Herod.

Salome charged with incontinence.

Ptolemy and Sapinnius named among the conſpirators.

The palace rather a mad-houſe than a court.

Herod reſtleſs, and miſerable, and no creature to truſt to.

CHAP. XII.

Archelaus moves Herod to be friends with Alexander, who palliates the matter with an artificial mediation. Pheroras asks Herod pardon, and all is well. Archelaus in great eſteem with Herod. He goes to Rome, and reconciles Titus to Archelaus.

WHILE Herod lay in this anguiſh and torment of thought, Archelaus the king of Cappadocia, reckon'd it the part, both of a father and of a friend, to make him a viſit, and to do the beſt offices he could toward the effecting a reconciliation betwixt Herod and his daughter and ſon-in-law; for whom he had an exceeding tenderneſs and compaſſion. Matters went very ill, he heard; and upon his arrival, he found them rather worſe than he imagin'd; but he thought it would not be proper however, to pick a downright quarrel with him for his temerity, and for taking ſo many ſenſeleſs ſhams as he did, upon truſt. A conteſt he thought would look like a reproach, and do more hurt probably than good; ſo that inſtead of falling upon Herod himſelf, he laid the blame upon Alexander; "For the king (he ſaid) had done nothing but what was honourable and juſt; and that for his part, he would diſſolve the marriage, and never own Glaphyra again for his daughter, if he ſhould find that ſhe was privy to the plot, and did not diſcover it. This paſſionate pretence and zeal of Archilaus, for the vindication of Herod, brought him, upon ſecond thoughts, to a more conſiderate ſenſe of what he had done, and by little and little to the ſoftneſs of a father again. In this merciful humour, the king, that before took any man for his enemy that gave Alexander a good word, fell now directly into tears to hear Archelaus ſpeak againſt him, begging of him that he would not break off the match, and tranſport himſelf to that degree for the folly of a young man. When the Cappadocian had now brought Herod into a more practicable temper, he palliated the miſtake as well as he could, by laying the fault in ſome meaſure upon evil counſel, and the company he kept. "He might be tractable, indeed (he ſaid) but truly he never found him malicious. He might perhaps be miſled and cor-

Archelaus makes Herod a viſit to reconcile him to Alexander. An artificial way of mediation.

Archelaus palliates the matter.

“ rupted; inſinuating all this while his ſuſpicion that it was by Pheroras the king's brother.” Now Pheroras was come by this time ſufficiently to underſtand how deſperately he had loſt himſelf in the opinion of Herod; and reflecting upon it that no man was ſo proper for him to make uſe of as Archelaus, he made his addreſs to him in mourning, and with the humility of a moſt penitent ſupplicant, implor'd his interceſſion for him to the king. Archelaus was not wanting to him in any matter of reſpect, but he told him withal, that Herod's diſpleaſure was not ſo eaſily remov'd as he might imagine: But if he were to be his adviſer, he ſhould rather go and humble himſelf to his brother, and owning himſelf the cauſe of all the calamities of the family, crave his pardon. Such a confeſſion might perhaps [*] work upon him, and make way for a mediation. He follow'd the advice, and it ſucceeded both ways; for Alexander, beyond all expectation, was diſcharg'd of his pretended crime; and Herod at the inſtance of Archelaus, reconcil'd to his brother. Herod was now ſo ſenſible of the obligations he had to Archelaus in his extremity, that he look'd upon him as the beſt friend he had in the world: The other returning into Cappadocia, charg'd with rich preſents, and no leſs ſatisfaction in the ſucceſs of his voyage. They were now agreed upon it that Herod ſhould go to Rome to inform Ceſar of the preſent ſtate of his family, having written formerly to him upon the ſame ſubject. They went together to Antioch, where Herod reconcil'd [†] Titus the governor of Syria to Archelaus, and ſo return'd to Judea.

Pheroras asks Herod's pardon, and all's well again.

Herod highly ſenſible of the good offices of Archelaus.

Herod goes to Rome, and reconciles Titus to Archelaus.

CHAP. XIII.

In Herod's abſence, the Trachonites revolt. The king's troops give them an overthrow. Sylleus receives and protects them. Herod breaks into Trachon, and addreſſes to Saturnius and Volumnius to deliver up the robbers. Sylleus ſays, there are none in Arabia. Saturnius and Volumnius order ſatisfaction to be given to Herod.

In Herod's abſence the Trachonites revolt to the Arabians.

WHEN Herod had been at Rome, and was come back again, there broke out a war with the Arabians, upon this occaſion. The inhabitants of Trachon (a province that Ceſar took away from Zenodorus, and gave to Herod) when they could no longer exerciſe their old trade of free-booting, betook themſelves to planting and tillage; a courſe of life that yielded them neither ſatisfaction nor profit. But yet for a while, at firſt, Herod, to his honour, kept them in pretty good order, and without any barbarous inroads upon their neighbours; but upon the king's going into Italy to accuſe Alexander, and recommend Antipater; and a rumour ſpread at the ſame time, of the death of Herod, the Trachonites revolted, and betook themſelves to their former courſe of life; but they were quickly broken and ſuppreſs'd by the king's troops; only forty of the heads of them made their eſcapes and fled into Arabia; where Sylleus (who had not as yet digeſted the refuſal of Salome) gave them entertainment and a ſafe retreat, with a ſtrong, and a well fortify'd place for their habitation: from whence they did not only infeſt Judea, and Cele-Syria, and carry away booty and cattle into their holes, but they committed all theſe outrages, without oppoſition or controul. When Herod found at his return from Rome, what ſpoil the robbers had made, and that he was ty'd up from meddling with them ſo long as they were under the Arabians protection, the affront ſo highly provok'd him, that without any more ado he preſently made an incurſion into Trachon, where he put whole families of theſe people to the ſword. This tranſported the reſt into ſuch a rage, being obliged by a law of their own country not to paſs over ſuch an indignity unrevenged, that, in contempt of all danger and oppoſition, they would never let Herod be free from the vexation of their perpetual incurſions. Under theſe circumſtances, he apply'd himſelf to Ceſar's governors of thoſe provinces, Saturnius and Volumnius, to deliver up thoſe vagabonds into his hands. This complaint made them madder and madder: ſo that getting about a thouſand of them into a body, they ranged up and down in parties; ravaging town and country, and killing whatever they could come at: ſo that, in fine, theſe encounters had the face rather of a war than of a ſcuffle; Herod inſiſting upon the delivering up of the thieves, and the repayment of the ſixty [‡] talents (ſome time ſince due) which Herod by the hand of Sylleus lent to Obodas. Sylleus, who had now uſurped the government of Obodas to himſelf, flatly deny'd any of the thieves to be in Arabia, and artfully delay'd the payment of the money, till Saturnius and Volumnius order'd the full ſatisfaction of the debt, within the compaſs of thirty days; and that the fugitives ſhould be deliver'd up on both ſides. This article diſcover'd the fraud of Sylleus; for there was not ſo much as one Arabian that either upon the account of having committed robberies, or any other offence, had taken ſanctuary with Herod, but vaſt numbers of the robbers were found with the Arabians.

The king's troops give them an overthrow. Sylleus receives and protects them.

Herod breaks into Trachon,

And addreſſes to Saturnnus and Volumnius to deliver up the robbers; and an arrear of ſixty talents.

Sylleus denies the having any in Arabia. Saturnius and Volumnius order ſatisfaction upon both points.

CHAP. XIV.

Sylleus breaks his word. Herod gets leave to right himſelf by force. He takes Repta by aſſault. The Arabians defeated, and their general ſlain. Herod marches with three thouſand Idumeans to Trachon.

WHEN the time came for the payment of the money, Sylleus would not ſtand to his agreement, but took a journey to Rome; Herod preſſing hard, both for the

Sylleus refuſes both the money and the thieves. Herod gets leave to right himſelf by force.

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[*] See Cotelerius's notes upon the ſecond volume of his Monumenta Eccleſ. Gr. p. 578.

[†] Caſaubon reads Titius for Titus; but biſhop Montague defends the vulgar reading. See Caſaubon's Exercit. Ann. DCCXLI. and Montague 4. Apparat.

[‡] Sixty talents weighed ſix thouſand eight hundred forty three pounds nine ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to twenty thouſand five hundred thirty one pounds five ſhillings, and in gold to three hundred twenty eight thouſand five hundred pounds of our money.

He marches to Repta, where the thieves were ſhelter'd, and takes it by aſſault.

The Arabians defeated, and Nicebus their general ſlain. Herod marches with three thouſand Idumeans to Trachonitis.

debt and for the article of delivering up the thieves. But finding the Arabians falſe and ſtubborn, he got leave of Saturnius and Volumnius, to attempt the recovery of his right by force. Having obtained their permiſſion, he fell with an army into Arabia, and in three days march'd ſeven ſtages. Coming at laſt to the caſtle, by name Repta, whither the robbers had withdrawn themſelves, he took it at the firſt attack, and then demoliſh'd the fortifications, without doing any other damage to the inhabitants. While this paſs'd, Nicebus the Arabian general march'd away to the ſuccour of his party, and brought it to an encounter, wherein a few of the Herodians were loſt; and five and twenty of the Arabians, together with their generals, ſlain upon the place, the remainder of them being ſcatter'd and put to flight. The king having now taken his revenge upon the thieves, he march'd with three thouſand Idumeans into Trachonitis, to keep the rovers there within compaſs. Herod ſent a narrative of this proceeding to the Roman governors alſo in Phenicia, giving them to underſtand, that he had done nothing without leave, in fighting with a party of rebellious Arabians: and this account upon a further enquiry, the governors found to be true.

CHAP. XV.

Sylleus receives falſe intelligence at Rome, and preſents Ceſar with the contents of his packet. Ceſar writes a ſharp letter to Herod. The inſolence of the Arabians. Ceſar denies audience to Herod's ambaſſadors. Obodas dies, and Aretas ſucceeds him. Sylleus endeavours to ſupplant Aretas. Letters from Aretas, with embaſſadors and preſents. Audience deny'd a ſecond time. Herod ſends Nicolaus of Damaſcus on a third ambaſſy.

A falſe report ſent to Sylleus at Rome. Sylleus preſents Ceſar a packet.

The contents of the packet.

Ceſar writes a ſharp letter to Herod.

The inſolence of the Arabians.

Herod's embaſſadors to Ceſar deny'd audience.

THIS was the naked truth of the matter; but the Arabians report of it to Sylleus at Rome, as it was dreſs'd up in their way of amplification and diſguiſe, was quite another thing. Sylleus had already ſo far inſinuated himſelf, as to be perſonally known to Ceſar; and as he was walking before his palace, an expreſs brought him a packet; whereupon he ſhifted his clothes immediately, and in a mourning weed, with tears and lamentations, carry'd the ſad ſtory to Auguſtus: how Herod had enter'd Arabia with an army; overturn'd the government, and totally ruin'd the country; kill'd two thouſand five hundred noble Arabians upon the place, with his friend and kinſman Nicebus their general among the reſt; pillag'd Repta of a vaſt treaſure that was laid up there: and all this by the advantage Herod took of the weakneſs and neglect of Obodas, who had neither troops in readineſs to oppoſe him, nor a general in his abſence that was fit to command them. Sylleus ſaid further, that he ſhould never have undertaken this journey to Rome, but in confidence that Ceſar would provide for the publick peace of all his people; and that if he himſelf had been upon the place, Herod ſhould have paid dear for the undertaking. This unlucky buſineſs made Ceſar very uneaſy, and put him upon enquiring from one to another among Herod's friends as well as his own that came lately out of Syria, whether or no Herod had been any where with his army out of his own juriſdiction. When he ſaw this could not be deny'd, he took all the reſt for granted, and without any more ado immediately diſpatch'd a ſharp menacing letter to Herod, with a direction to this purpoſe; "Formerly to my friend, hereafter to my ſubject." Sylleus wrote alſo to the Arabians at the ſame time. When they came to find by theſe letters, that Herod was in diſgrace with Ceſar, they grew ſo inſolent upon it, that there was no dealing with them. They would neither deliver up their malefactors, nor pay their debts; no, not ſo much as their rents, nor do any thing elſe, according to the rules of common faith and contract. The Trachonites made the ſame advantage of this occaſion too, againſt Herod's Idumean garriſons, by joining with the Arabian ravagers: committing all manner of outrages, and ſpoiling and pillaging, not ſo much for profit, as for revenge. But Herod having now offended Ceſar, was fain to diſpenſe with all this and more; for his courage as well as his credit fail'd him. He made two trials to juſtify his conduct by his embaſſadors; but Ceſar would not ſo much as ſee them the firſt time, nor take any notice of their buſineſs the next. Herod had a terrible apprehenſion of Sylleus all this while, who never fail'd of improving Ceſar's fears and diſtractions to his own benefit; for being ſtill within diſtance of making the beſt of opportunities, and finding him ductile and credulous, he could wind and turn him which way he pleas'd; beſide that he had far greater matters now in proſpect.

Obodas dies, and Eneas (or Aretas) ſucceeds him. Sylleus endeavours to ſupplant Aretas.

Letters to Ceſar from Aretas, with embaſſadors and preſents.

Ceſar denies theſe embaſſadors audience alſo.

Herod ſends Nicolaus of Damaſcus upon a third embaſſy.

KING Obodas being by this time dead, Æneas ſucceeded him by the name of Aretas: Sylleus doing all that was to be done by calumnies, court-bribes, and large promiſes to Auguſtus, toward the outing of him again, and engroſſing the power to himſelf. The thing that encourag'd him to this attempt, was the diſguſt that Ceſar had taken to Aretas, for entering upon the adminiſtration, without his privity and conſent. This new king complimented Ceſar by his embaſſadors, with letters and magnificent preſents; one above the reſt being a crown of gold of a prodigious value. Now theſe letters were in ſubſtance a flat accuſation of Sylleus for poiſoning his maſter Obodas, after the uſurping of his authority in his life-time: for debauching the wives of the Arabians, and taking up vaſt ſums of money to make way to his pretenſions. But Ceſar deny'd theſe ambaſſadors audience as well as Herod's; rejected their preſents, and ſent them away without having accompliſh'd what they came about. During this diſtemper, matters in Judea and Arabia went every day worſe than other: a general confuſion, and no body to compoſe it; one of the kings not being as yet eſtabliſh'd in his government, and the other as little maſter of his people; for Herod's condition was ſuch, that he could not defend himſelf without affronting Auguſtus: ſo that he lay under a kind of neceſſity of crouching and ſubmitting to all indignities. But being now brought to the laſt extremity, he took up a final reſolution of making the beſt intereſt he could to Ceſar by his friends, and trying the fortune of a third embaſſy to Rome, employing Nicolaus of Damaſcus upon the commiſſion.

CHAP. XVI.

Deadly feuds in Herod's family. Eurycles makes an acquaintance with Herod. Alexander makes Eurycles his confident. Eurycles carries ſtories to Antipater and Herod. Herod preſents him with fifty talents. He gets money out of Archelaus. Eurycles baniſh'd out of Lacedemon. Herod credulous and jealous. Jucundus and Tyrannus baniſh'd the court; and forced by torture to accuſe Alexander. The governor of Alexandrion put to the queſtion. Counterfeit letters produc'd againſt Alexander. The brothers and the witneſſes brought to Jericho. The people ſtone the witneſſes. Salome betrays Ariſtobulus. The brothers proſecuted upon Salome's information. Glaphyra examin'd alſo, and likewiſe Alexander. They all deny the charge. The ſubſtance of Archelaus's anſwer. Ceſar reconciled to Herod. Sylleus accuſed; the Articles of his charge. Nicolaus charges Sylleus, and defends Herod. Sylleus breaks his word and his oath. Sylleus condemn'd to die. Inſtructions to Olympus and Volumnius. Ceſar writes Herod a condoling letter.

The feud in Herod's family higher than ever.

Eurycles makes an acquaintance with Herod.

Alexander makes Eurycles his Confident.

HEROD's family was a houſe always divided againſt itſelf by inteſtine jealouſies, which are the plague of all courts; but the feud at this time ran much higher yet than ever, and it was upon this occaſion. "There was one Eurycles, a Lacedemonian; a man nobly born, but of a peſtilent diſpoſition; ſenſual and glorying to extremity; but ſo artificial a diſſembler, that there was nothing to be ſeen in him of either. This Eurycles made an acquaintance with Herod; enterchang'd preſents and other good offices with him in the houſe of Antipater; and by that means (being often together) became familiarly acquainted with Alexander: and he would be often ſaying what a wonderful friendſhip there was betwixt him and Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and how great an honour he had for Glaphyra. So that under the ſemblance of the moſt unconcerned and indifferent perſon in nature, he lay upon the catch for every thing that was ſaid or done, and never fail'd of ſome pick-thank ſtory or other to carry away with him. He had, in fine, ſo obliging a way of dividing his good humour, that wherever he apply'd himſelf, he had the faculty of making people believe that he lov'd nothing elſe, and that it was only for their ſakes and ſervice, if he had any thing to do with others." By this addreſs he gain'd ſo far upon the affection and eſteem of Alexander, that he made choice of him for the ſingle confident of all his ſecrets, and the only man that he could ſafely truſt. So he diſclos'd to him the whole hiſtory of his misfortunes; the unkindneſs of his father, the death of his mother; Antipater's preference to his brothers in the good graces and affections of the king their father. This oppreſſion, he ſaid, was not to be endur'd; for the averſion was now come to that paſs, that he could neither eat nor talk with his children. Theſe ſecret grievances were ſafe, he thought, in the breaſt of a friend; but Eurycles however carry'd every word that paſs'd to Antipater. "Theſe are things (ſays he) that do not concern me; and truly in matters of ſo dangerous a conſequence, I cannot but adviſe you to look to yourſelf, and to have a care of Alexander; for he is grown ſo confident, I perceive, that he does not think it worth his while to mince the matter; but without any ſcruple throws out the very bottom of his heart in words at length; and the deſign he has upon the perſon of his father." Antipater took this from Eurycles as ſo ſingular an inſtance of a reſpect and friendſhip, that he could not but acknowledge it with ſome very conſiderable preſents; and was prevail'd upon in the end to diſcourſe the matter with Herod. The king was ſo prepoſſeſs'd with a diſpoſition to believe any ill thing of Alexander, that what with that prejudice, and other ambiguous hints and circumſtances of diſcourſe, he contracted a hatred far more implacable than ever, as was given to underſtand ſoon after. Herod, in fine, made him a preſent of fifty [*] talents for the generous office he had done him. After this Eurycles went to Archelaus king of Cappadocia, extolling to the ſkies his ſon Alexander; and not forgetting the honour he had done himſelf upon ſeveral occaſions towards working a reconciliation betwixt him and his father. So that he got money of Archelaus too on the other hand; and carry'd it all off before the myſtery of this impoſture was detected. Eurycles was now returned into his own country, where he follow'd his old practices ſtill, till he was brought to juſtice upon the diſcovery, and baniſh'd Lacedemon.

Eurycles carries the ſtory to Antipater and Herod.

Herod preſents him fifty talents for the good office.

Eurycles gets money out of Archelaus too.

Eurycles baniſh'd out of Lacedemon.

Herod credulous and jealous.

HEROD was not now of a humour as formerly, to content himſelf with lending an ear to calumnies againſt his ſons, and wait till the ſlanders were brought to him; but his ſuſpicions did the office of tale-bearers, and his particular ſcrutinies and enquiries ſav'd him the need and trouble of any other accuſation: not but that his ear was ſtill open to all informations againſt the brothers, let them come whence they would; neither was there any thing more welcome to him than thoſe ſtories: as he was told of one Evaratus of Cous, that was ſaid to be a confederate with Alexander.

IT was now come to a kind of ſtrife and competition, who ſhould do moſt miſchief; the worſe the office appear'd to the ſons, the more acceptable it was to the father; the care of the king's ſafety being the main pretence. The young princes fell at this time into the moſt deſperate calamity that had yet befallen them. There were two perſons, by name, Jucundus and Tyrannus, formerly of Herod's life-guard, and men of mighty credit with him for ſtrength and ſtature; but ſomewhat or other they had done that they were baniſh'd the court for. Alexander knowing theſe men to be very brave; took them into the guard of his perſon, and was a bountiful maſter to them. The king hereupon fell under jealous apprehenſions

Jucundus and Tyrannus baniſh'd the court.

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[*] Fifty talents weighed five thouſand ſeven hundred and three pounds, one ounce, ten pennyweights; and their value in ſilver amounted to ſeventeen thouſand one hundred and nine pounds, ſeven ſhillings, and ſix pence; and in gold to two hundred and ſeventy three thouſand, ſeven hundred and fifty pounds of our money.

And forc'd by fortune to accuſe Alexander.

henſions of them; ſo that he had them put to the queſtion about the conſpiracy: and when they had ſtood it out as long as fleſh and blood could live under the torments, they yielded in the end to this confeſſion, that “they had been ſolicited by Alexander to take an opportunity of killing the king ſome time or other while he was a hunting; which might be eaſily ſhifted off, under the colour of a fall from his horſe upon his own arms; eſpecially having narrowly eſcap'd ſuch a danger once before. They made a farther diſcovery of money hid in the ſtable, and ſome of the king's lances and darts deliver'd out by the maſter of the game, to the ſervants of Alexander by his own order.”

The governor of Alexandrion put to the queſtion.

Letters produc'd under Alexander's hand.

Alexander affirms them to be counterfeits betwixt Antipater and Diophantus.

The next man they put to the torture was the governor of Alexandrion, upon the queſtion of promiſing to receive the brothers into the caſtle, and of putting into their hands the king's treaſure that was there depoſited. The governour deny'd the charge; but his ſon declar'd it, and produc'd letters under Alexander's hand, as he pretended, to this effect: “You ſhall be ſure to hear of us, God willing, ſo ſoon as ever we are ready for you: wherefore remember to take us into the caſtle according to your promiſe.” After theſe letters, Herod made no longer doubt of the conſpiracy; but Alexander all the while, inſiſted upon the whole ſtory to be only a contrivance of Antipater's, and a forgery of the ſecretary Diophantus; who was a man famous for counterfeiting other people's hands, and taken afterward in the very act, and puniſh'd for it.

The brothers and the witneſſes againſt them brought to Jericho.

The people ſtone the witneſſes, and would have ſton'd Alexander and Ariſtobulus if Ptolemy and Pheroras had not prevented it.

Herod, being now at Jericho, after the tormenting the witneſſes, had them brought thither to accuſe his ſons before the people: where the multitude ſton'd them to death, and in this fury would have done as much for Alexander and Ariſtobulus, if Herod, by the means of Ptolemy and Pheroras, had not prevented it. They were however committed cloſe priſoners; ſpies ſet upon them to obſerve every thing they did or ſaid, and given over for dead men by every body elſe, as well as by themſelves.

Ariſtobulus makes Salome his confident, and ſhe betrays him to Herod.

In this extremity Ariſtobulus bethought himſelf of trying if he could work Salome his aunt and mother-in-law into ſome commiſeration of his diſtreſs, and to a juſt indignation for the author of it. “Madam, (ſays he) can you think yourſelf ſafe under an accuſation of holding a private intelligence with Sylleus about the king's affairs in hopes of marrying him?” Salome carried this to her brother, who in a rage forthwith commanded his ſons to be both bound, and laid apart one from another, and there to ſet down ſeverally in writing the particulars of their treaſonous deſign. They wrote as they were order'd, and both agreed in the ſame ſtory, that they were in no conſpiracy at all, and never ſo much as thought of any. They had ſome thoughts indeed of making an eſcape, they ſaid; for the life they led under perpetual jealouſies was worſe than death.

The brothers bound, and examin'd upon Salome's information.

Mela, an ambaſſador from Archelaus to Herod.

There came at this time upon an embaſſy to Herod from Archelaus king of Cappadocia, one Mela, a perſon of eminent quality in that country. Herod was ſo fond of giving Archelaus to underſtand how ill he took ſomething at his hands, that he ſent for Alexander out of the priſon, and examin'd him over again in the preſence of Mela about his eſcape, whither he intended to go, and what he meant to do with himſelf. His anſwer was, that he propoſed to go to Archelaus, his father-in-law, upon his promiſe to convey him to Rome; and this is all, ſays he, that ever we were guilty of toward our father, whatever our calumniating adverſaries by falſe and feign'd reports may pretend to the contrary. He wiſh'd, he ſaid, that Tyrannus and his companions had but been a little more particularly examin'd; but it was Antipater's buſineſs to have them put out of danger of telling tales as ſoon as he could; and ſo upon the inſtigation of his inſtruments, they were hurried to death by the rabble.

Glaphyra examin'd alſo before Alexander and Mela.

Herod, in this very inſtant, order'd Alexander and Mela to be carried to Glaphyra, and to have her put to the ſhift too to diſcover what ſhe knew of this abominable treaſon againſt Herod. They were no ſooner come within view of the princeſs, but upon the firſt ſight of her huſband in chains, ſhe fell to tearing of her hair, with other violences upon herſelf; and into ſuch groans and paſſions, (the prince bearing her company alſo in her lamentations) that the people ſtood amaz'd and confounded, as if they had been planet-ſtruck at ſo ſurprizing a ſpectacle, without knowing what they did, or what they came for; but Ptolemy, at laſt, who had the guard of the prince, put it to him to know whether or no his wife was concern'd in his plot. “Why you need never doubt that, ſays Alexander; for wherever I am, ſhe is; a woman as dear to me as my life and ſoul, and the beſt wife, and the beſt mother both in one, upon the face of the earth.” “No, no, ſays the princeſs, my conſcience acquits me; but yet if my owning of a guilt might be any eaſe to my huſband, I would frankly declare it, though I were ſure to die with that lye in my mouth.” “No, no, again, ſays Alexander, we are guilty of nothing that's charg'd upon us, and we have deſerv'd better things at their hands too, who ſuſpect us. As to the thought we had of getting away to our father, and thence to Rome, if that be treaſon, we are both to anſwer for it; and Glaphyra confeſs'd as much.” There was matter enough againſt Archelaus in this paſſage for a jealous head to work upon; ſo that Herod preſently ſent away Olympus and Volumnius with letters to him, with orders to call at Eleuſa, a city in Phenicia, and there to deliver them. They had farther inſtructions alſo to expoſtulate with him, upon a ſtrong preſumption of his being engaged with his ſons in the confederacy. Their orders were, after the delivery of theſe letters, to ſail forward for Rome; and in caſe they ſhould find by Nicolaus of Damaſcus, that Ceſar was any thing more tractable now than formerly, they were to preſent another expreſs to him with the proceedings againſt Alexander and Ariſtobulus, and copies of the evidence whereupon they were convicted. Archelaus in his anſwer own'd his willingneſs indeed to receive the young men, and that he undertook it as the beſt ſervice he could do both the father and ſons; for he was in truth afraid, leſt Herod, in that violent heat of

The ſame queſtion put alſo to Alexander.

They agree in the denial of the charge.

Herod ſends Olympus and Volumnius to Archelaus with letters and inſtructions.

The ſubſtance of Archelaus's anſwer.

wrath and jealouſy, might put them to extremities; but affirming, upon the main, that he had no thought after all, either of ſending them to Ceſar, or of ſupporting them againſt their father.

Ceſar reconciled to Herod.

A formal accuſation againſt Sylleus.

The articles of his charge.

Ceſar puts one ſingle queſtion to Nicolaus.

Nicolaus charges Sylleus, and defends Herod.

Olympus and Volumnius, upon their coming to Rome, finding Ceſar reconciled to Herod, deliver'd their letters according to their order. They were framed by the addreſs of Nicolaus, who manag'd his commiſſion after this manner. So ſoon as ever he came to Rome, and to the emperor's palace, over and above the inſtructions that he had in charge, he drew up a formal accuſation againſt Sylleus, having gotten unqueſtionable proofs upon him from the Arabians themſelves (who were then miſerably divided) of the moſt flagitious practices that could be imagin'd; as the murder of Obodas, together with ſeveral of his relations, for one; and this was all to be made out undeniably by intercepted letters under his own hand. Now this Nicolaus, whoſe buſineſs it was to re-inſtate Herod in Ceſar's favour, took this providential diſcovery by the right handle, and improv'd it to the advantage of his principal. “If, ſays he, I ſhould now begin my application with an excuſe or defence of Herod, it would ſtrike too point-blank upon the emperor; but if I make my way to my matter by a previous charge upon Sylleus, the king's juſtification will fall in by-the-by.” So that the cauſe being brought on, and a day appointed for the hearing, Nicolaus, with the aſſiſtance of the agents of Aretas, advanced an accuſation againſt Sylleus, as the murderer of his lord and maſter the king, and greater numbers of the Arabians; a man that took up extravagant ſums of money toward the embroiling of the publick peace; a profligate corrupter of women, both at Rome and in Arabia; beſide the moſt audacious affront of impoſing with lyes and calumnies upon Ceſar himſelf; as for inſtance, the account he gave of the action of Herod, which was all falſe from one end to the other. They proceeded upon the whole, till they came to the laſt article, and there Ceſar interpoſed with a command to Nicolaus to paſs over all the reſt, and ſpeak to that ſingle point. “Tell me, ſays the emperor, as to that particular of Herod; did not he come with an army into Arabia? Did he not kill two thouſand five hundred men there? Did he not carry away priſoners, and ravage the country?” Nicolaus made anſwer, “That no body could give a better account to theſe queſtions than himſelf; and ſays he, there is little or nothing true in this whole ſtory, as he has reported it. Neither, with ſubmiſſion, was Herod any Thing to blame upon that occaſion.” This was ſuch a ſurprize to Ceſar, that with very great attention he heard him forward; and ſo in order he told him firſt, “of five hundred * talents that Herod had lent him upon his bond, the time of payment elaps'd, and the law on his ſide, for the recovering of the debt upon his country.” He told further, “That this body of men that Sylleus calls an army, was no more than a ſtrength barely competent for the putting of a legal claim fairly in execution; and he did not yet proceed raſhly neither, though the time of payment being expir'd, he might put the bond in ſuit when he pleaſed; but he rather applied himſelf in the firſt place to Saturninus and Volumnius, the governors of Syria; and upon this appeal Sylleus in their preſence at Beritum, obliged himſelf upon his oath, by the fortune of Ceſar, to make payment of the money to Herod, and to deliver up all refugees to him in thirty days. The time came, but Sylleus perform'd neither of the articles; ſo that Herod was forced to addreſs the governors once again, who gave their opinion that he might do himſelf right by diſtreſs. Now this was the occaſion of his going into Arabia; and this the war that his adverſaries have complain'd of with ſo much aggravation. But how can this be taken for a war, that was done by the approbation and permiſſion of the governors, in proſecution of a lawful right and compact, and after a perjurious violation of a ſacred oath, both in the name of the Gods and of Ceſar?”

Sylleus ſwears to make all good, but breaks his word.

Herod gets leave to right himſelf.

But to come now to the priſoners: “There were firſt a matter of forty of the heads of the Trachonite robbers, and after them a great many more, that when they had broken into Judea, and made havock in the country, fled from Herod into Arabia for ſanctuary, where Sylleus did not only entertain them, though the common enemies of mankind, but gave them lands alſo and protection, and went ſhares with them in their booty. Theſe were the men now that Sylleus bound himſelf by oath to reſtore, together with the borrow'd money, within the time prefix'd; and, Sir, I can with modeſty defy any mortal now to ſay that Herod took any other priſoners in Arabia than theſe free-booters; nay, and there were ſeveral of theſe that eſcap'd too.”

But now after this odious ſycophant ſtory of the priſoners, let Ceſar only vouchſafe to hear one impoſture more that is yet behind, and ſtill more ſcandalous and provoking than all the reſt. “I do affirm, that at the time when we were invaded by a band of Arabians, and that ſome few of our men fell, Herod in his own defence was forced to make head againſt them; and upon defeating them, that their general Nacebus was kill'd, and five and twenty of his people with him, and not one man more. Now this number Sylleus has enlarged, and made every man a hundred.” Ceſar was ſo mov'd at this Relation, that turning toward Sylleus, he aſk'd him with an angry countenance, how many Arabians were ſlain in that action? He heſitated in his anſwer, and confeſs'd himſelf ſomewhat miſtaken in the number. After this they read the conditions of the bond, and the arbitrations of the governors, and the remonſtrances of the cities and towns, complaining of the robberies. Auguſtus being by this time fully inform'd in the whole matter, paſſed a ſentence of death upon Sylleus; took Herod into favour again, and not without acknowledgment of his miſtake, in hearkening to thoſe calumnies that tranſported him to

Sylleus condemn'd to die.

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* Five hundred talents weighed fifty ſeven thouſand, thirty one pounds, three ounces; and their value in ſilver amounted to one hundred ſeventy one thouſand, ninety three pounds, fifteen ſhillings, and in gold to two millions, ſeven hundred thirty ſeven thouſand, five hundred pounds, Engliſh money.

ſuch ſeverities againſt him; telling Sylleus that nothing but the audacious impudence of his lyes and ſlanders could ever have tranſported him to have departed from the duties of friendſhip. It came, in fine, to this, that Sylleus was order'd back into Arabia, there to pay his debts, and after that to be put to death. As for Aretas, his preſuming to uſurp royal authority, without the emperor's leave and conſent, ſtuck in Ceſar's ſtomach ſtill. This was a preſumptuous indignity that ſtill gaul'd him; inſomuch, that he was thinking to transfer the government of that province to Herod; but upon reading the letters which Olympus and Volumnius brought him, all full of invective and bitterneſs againſt his own ſons, Ceſar chang'd his purpoſe. Now their inſtructions were, in caſe they found Ceſar pacified, to deliver him thoſe letters, which they did accordingly; and Ceſar, upon the reading of them, conſidering his age, paſſion, and miſfortunes, retracted his reſolution, and thereupon called for the ambaſſadors of Aretas, and gave them audience, with a check for the temerity of their maſter in aſſuming ſovereign power to himſelf upon his own account; and after this reprimand, to their great admiration, he accepted of their preſents, and confirm'd Aretas in his authority.

Inſtructions to Olympus and Volumnius.

Ceſar writes Herod a condoling letter.

CESAR, upon this reconciliation, wrote Herod a condoling letter for the mortification he had in two ſuch ſons; giving him free leave and power to proceed againſt them as parricides, if he found them engag'd in ſo unnatural and impious a conſpiracy; but if there ſhould be no more in it at laſt, than the bare contrivance of an eſcape, it would become him, he ſaid, to content himſelf with ſome more moderate animadverſion. The advice he gave him upon the whole, was to call a council at Berytus, a place where there were a great many Romans; and there with the aſſiſtance of the governors of the neighbouring provinces, together with Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, and men of quality, to hear and determine upon the whole matter, and to bring the point to a final deciſion. This was the ſubſtance of Ceſar's letter.

CHAP. XVII.

Herod outrageous in his proſperity. He ſummons a convention to Berytus. Herod charges his ſons with rage and bitterneſs. The power of parents. Reſolv'd, that Herod may diſpoſe of his children. Saturninus is for puniſhing, but not to death. Volumnius preſſes it for death, and ſo he was condemn'd. Herod goes for Tyre, and takes Nicolaus with him to Ceſarea. Tyro's generous reſolution, and his expoſtulation with Herod. Tyro committed. Tryphon's information againſt Tyro. Divers tortured about it; three hundred captains, Tyro and his ſon torn to pieces. Alexander and Ariſtobulus ſtrangled at Sebaſte. The caſe of Herod and his ſons. Herod's inhuman cruelty.

Herod more outrageous in his proſperity than adverſity.

THIS letter of Ceſar's was joyful news to Herod, upon two accounts; firſt, as an aſſurance that he was in favour again; and ſecondly, as it left him at liberty to do with his ſons what he thought fit. It is remarkable, that though he had been formerly in the time of his proſperity a very ſevere father, he never appear'd in thoſe days yet to be raſh and bloody toward his children, where matter of life was the queſtion; but now upon this change and re-eſtabliſhment of his fortune (how it came to paſs I know not) he abandon'd himſelf to an outrageous and unbridled degree of hatred, more extravagant than ever. He ſent a ſummons to all the members of the convention that were to meet at Berytus, according to Ceſar's appointment, ſave only to Archelaus; perhaps out of an averſion to the man, or otherwiſe for fear he ſhould croſs him in his deſign. When they were all together according to the ſummons, he would not bring his ſons up to the council, but rather kept them a little way off at Platane, a village in Sidon, within diſtance of appearing, if they ſhould be call'd. The aſſembly being now met, Herod advanced into the council-chamber alone, and there deliver'd an accuſation againſt his ſons, in the preſence of a hundred and fifty perſons, but without any prologue to the ſtory upon the ſubject of his own miſfortunes, or the neceſſity of ſuch a proceeding. It was a charge, in fine, of rage and bitterneſs, that very ill became the mouth of a father, and accompanied with words, countenance, and behaviour, that were all menacing and violent, and not without ſuſpicious ſymptoms even of a furious madneſs. His reaſonings were confuſed and inconſiſtent; his diſcourſe fluttering backward and forward, and dubious; no proofs produced for the guiding of the court; but every thing to be taken upon the credit of the accuſer, and the bench rather made parties than judges, and of counſel with the proſecutor againſt the priſoners. There were ſome letters of the young princes read, 'tis true; but not one ſyllable of treachery or malice in them. The crime was their conſulting how to get away, and here and there a word in them that imported ſome diſſatisfaction and offence; and when Herod came to that part of the letters, how did he exaggerate the matter with clamours and outcries, that there never was a clearer proof of a conſpiracy; backing thoſe exclamations alſo with oaths, that the very words were worſe to him than death. "I might, ſays he, inſiſt "upon the power I have received over my "own children, both from nature and from "Auguſtus; to ſay nothing of an expreſs pro"viſion for it by the law of my own coun"try, that if a ſtubborn and rebellious ſon "ſhall be accuſed by his parents, and they "lay their hands upon him, the men of the "city ſhall ſtone him with ſtones that he die. "But I ſhall yet rather decline my privileges "in this cauſe, and leave the matter to your "further conſideration, not as judge, whe"ther it be ſo or no, in a caſe ſo indubita"bly manifeſt; but to take your opinions "along with mine in the juſtification of the "ſentence; and for an inſtructive document "to poſterity, that ſuch exemplary impieties "ought not to eſcape unpuniſh'd."

He ſummons a convention to Berytus.

Herod charges his ſons before an hundred and fifty perſons.

A charge of rage and bitterneſs.

A ſpeech upon the power of parents over children.

THE convention plainly perceiv'd by the king's violent and furious manner of expreſſing himſelf, the bitterneſs of his intentions; and, ſince he would not ſo much as ſuffer the brothers to ſpeak for themſelves, that the buſineſs was already reſolv'd upon, and hopeleſs; and ſo in a deſpondency they gave their votes that Herod might diſpoſe of his children as he pleaſed.

Saturninus for puniſhing, but not with death.

pleaſed. The firſt man that ſtood up was Saturninus, a perſon of conſular authority, and one that had diſcharg'd many honourable commiſſions. "He was, 'tis true, for puniſhing the priſoners, but not to death, he ſaid; for having children of his own, he was the more ſenſible of the caſe; and would be loth, after ſo many calamities as Herod had endur'd already, to oppreſs him with the heavieſt of all at laſt." His three ſons, as his deputies, ſpoke next in courſe, and gave the ſame ſentence as their father; but Volumnius exclaimed, that nothing elſe but death would ſatisfy for ſo horrid a crime; and the majority, following his opinion, carried the queſtion.

The ſons of Saturninus give their vote with their father. Volumnius is for nothing leſs than death, and ſo they were condemn'd. Herod goes for Tyre, and meets Nicolaus in his way.

The ſentence was no ſooner paſs'd, but Herod went to Tyre, taking his ſons along with him; and meeting Nicolaus in his return from Rome, he firſt gave him an account of what had paſs'd at Berytus; and then aſk'd him how affairs went at Rome, and what his friends there ſaid of his ſons. Nicolaus told him that every body blam'd them for their lewd practices, and ſaid they deſerv'd to be laid in chains for what they had done; nay, and to be put to death too, if the conſpiracy ſhould be made out unqueſtionably clear againſt them; for people would be apt to ſay elſe, that this proſecution had more of caprice or paſſion in it, than of juſtice or reaſon. But however, if Herod found himſelf otherwiſe diſpos'd, he might do well to ſet them at liberty, without plunging himſelf into a difficulty never to be recall'd: this, he ſaid, was the diſcourſe and judgment of his friends at Rome. Herod, upon theſe words ſtood a good while, pauſing and thoughtful, without one word ſpeaking; and, in the end, bad Nicolaus put to ſea with him, and ſo they went together to Ceſarea.

Herod takes him along with him to Ceſarea.

When they came thither, they found the whole town full of the ſtory of Herod and his ſons, and every body in pain, and ſolicitous to think where that proſecution would end; moſt people fearing the worſt, and that ſo inveterate a rancour would very hardly be ſatisfied without the death of the brothers. They pitied them with all their hearts, but durſt not either openly ſay ſo much themſelves, or hear it from others; ſo that they were fain to ſmother all their reſentments, as well of grief as of compaſſion.

Tyro generouſly vindicates the unfortunate princes.

Only there was one Tyro, a Veteran ſoldier of the king's, and a very brave fellow, who, having a ſon of about Alexander's age, and his particular friend, made no difficulty of ſpeaking out and at liberty, thoſe truths that others ſuppreſs'd and kept to themſelves, crying out publickly many times, that there was neither truth nor juſtice left upon the face of the earth, but impoſture and malice govern'd in their places; and ſuch a miſt caſt before the eyes of all mortals, that they could no longer diſcern right from wrong, or good from evil. This was a dangerous freedom; but withal, ſo generous an inſtance of his virtue and courage, in ſuch a time as this, that every perſon was pleas'd with it; and thoſe who durſt not venture ſo far themſelves, had yet a reverence for his hazards; and the man, in truth, muſt have been inſenſible and inhuman, that was able to ſuppreſs his commiſeration in ſuch a caſe as this; nay, and he did not reſt here neither, but march'd up boldly to the king himſelf, with a requeſt to have a little private diſcourſe with him; which being granted, he deliver'd himſelf as follows:

Tyro's expoſtulation with Herod.

"Sir, ſays he, I muſt either break my heart, or give it vent, at what rate ſoever; for I know the danger of the province I am to undertake, and of the words I am now about to utter; danger, I ſay, as to myſelf; but on the other hand of as great a ſervice and advantage to Herod, if he pleaſes. Pray give me leave to enquire, Sir, what is become of your ſenſe of things and your underſtanding, that magnanimity of mind and reſolution, that in time paſt hath carried you through ſo many difficulties? What have you done with all your friends and relations? Have you none left? for I do not reckon thoſe people in that number, that can ſee ſuch horrid things done in your once happy court and family, and ſtand idle ſpectators and unconcern'd? Where are your own eyes all this while? Do you not ſee what is a doing? Are you reſolv'd then to deſtroy the children of once ſo dear a wife, and a pair of ſuch matchleſs hopeful youths too? Can you think at this time of day, of truſting yourſelf in the hands of an ambitious young man, and of thoſe very perſons of your relations that you yourſelf have ſo often doom'd to puniſhment? Do you not find yourſelf tacitly condemn'd, and your ſons lamented by the very multitude, in the profund ſilence and aſtoniſhment of the people? And ſo for the military men, both officers and common ſoldiers; they have all aking hearts for the young princes, and lie curſing the authors of their miſery."

He tells him it makes the officers and ſoldiers hearts ake.

So far as Tyro's diſcourſe ran upon the ſubject of his maſters calamity, and the treachery of his domeſticks, Herod took his liberty well enough; but when he came to paſs the bounds of diſcretion and good manners, in a bold, blunt, military way of expoſtulation; this freedom look'd liker a reproach than a caution: And Herod taking it that way, aſk'd him who thoſe officers or ſoldiers were that he ſpoke of. Tyro, nam'd the men, and the king immediately order'd them all, together with Tyro himſelf, to be taken up and committed.

Herod bids Tyro name them, and then commits them with Tyro himſelf.

Upon this occaſion, Tryphon, the king's barber, went to Herod with an information againſt Tyro, for tempting him ſeveral times with promiſes of money and Alexander's favour, to cut the king's throat when he was a ſhaving him. He had no ſooner expreſs'd theſe words, but the barber, Tyro and his ſon were all put to the torture. The ſon ſeeing his father ſo unmercifully tormented, and ſo reſolute in his pains, and no hope of mitigation from ſo cruel a prince, call'd out to the tormentors to take him and his father off, and he would tell them the whole truth of the matter: So upon promiſe of eaſe, he declar'd that his father having private acceſs to Herod by himſelf, had reſolved to kill him with his own hand, what riſk ſoever he ran, for the ſervice of Alexander. Upon this declaration, his father was deliver'd from that lingering torture; but whether this confeſſion was a truth, or only a pretended ſhift to get preſent eaſe, it does not as yet appear.

Three hundred captains, Tyro and his ſon torn to pieces by the rabble. Alexander and Ariſtobulus ſtrangled at Sebaſte

Herod was now finally reſolv'd to proceed to the execution of his purpoſe, without any further doubt or deliberation about it, (if ever he had made any difficulty of it before) and to leave no place for repentance. So that calling the people together, there were brought forth three hundred captains, Tyro and his ſon, and the barber who was the evidence; and upon his accuſation of them to the multitude, the rabble tore them all to pieces to a man: But Alexander and Ariſtobulus were ſent away to Sebaſte, where they were ſtrangled by their father's order; and their bodies depoſited at Alexandrion in a ſepulchre, with their grandfather by their mother's ſide, and divers others of their progenitors.

The caſe of Herod and his ſons agitated.

There was no great wonder in it perhaps, for an averſion of ſo long growth and continuance, to extinguiſh in Herod all ſenſe of humanity and natural affection; but it may be yet a queſtion where to lay the blame; whether upon the young princes forcing their father by a continu'd courſe of provocations to ſo implacable a diſpleaſure, or to the hardneſs of the king's heart; and ſo inſatiable a thirſt of glory and abſolute power, as not to bear any competition. Or ſhall we rather impute it to the irreſiſtable power of fortune, which no human wiſdom can pretend to controul? For my own part, I am fully perſuaded that all human actions are determin'd into a neceſſary train of conſequences; and that providential power we commonly call fate, which orders every thing we do, though not without aſcribing ſomewhat to our endeavours, and the freedom of ſearching into the cauſes of the variety of our actions: But this is a deep point, and we ſhall only touch upon it; the ſubject being handled more at large in the books of our laws: But now for the two firſt motives, as to what concerns the ſons; they might perhaps in their heat of blood be too bold and imperious; too forward to entertain ill reports of their father, and partial judges of his life and practice; ſpitefully ſuſpicious, intemperate in their diſcourſes, and ſo laying themſelves open to ſpies and informers that ſought for matter againſt them to work upon. But then on the other hand, what could be more ſcandalous or unpardonable, than for Herod, without any proof, or conviction of any treaſonous deſign, or ſo much as the preſumption of any ſuch contrivance to indulge an impotent paſſion in the putting of his own ſons to death: Perſons endow'd with ſuch excellent accompliſhments both of mind and body: Well ſkill'd in all manner of exerciſes for ſports, as well as war; beſides conſiderable for eloquence and polite literature; Alexander, the elder, eſpecially. If nothing leſs than a condemnation would content him, why were they not rather impriſon'd, or baniſh'd? There would have been no fear of treachery under thoſe circumſtances; and as little of any open force either, under the patronage of the power of Rome. Now the taking away their lives thus in ſuch a hurry, to gratify an ungovernable phrenzy, what was it but an inſtance of an impious, and a tyrannical outrage; and at ſuch an age too as admitted no plea of ignorance or want of experience? Neither does the delay in putting it off thus long, make it one jot the more excuſable; for the deliberation aggravates the crime; and it would in ſome degree have extenuated the horror of the wickedneſs, if it had been committed in hot blood; or upon the ſurprize of ſome enflaming provocation. But to meditate, and conſider ſo long upon ſo daring an affront to God and nature, and at laſt to go through with it, nothing but a barbarous and abandon'd profligate could ever have done it. But he liv'd to make this, and the remaining part of his life all of a piece; for he ſpared none of the reſt of his relations, though never ſo dear to him. They were the leſs to be pity'd, 'tis true, becauſe they periſh'd deſervedly; but his cruelty was never the leſs however, as will be ſeen further in what follows.

Herod's cruelty to all people made his life all of a piece.

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FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK XVII.

From the Year of the World 3961 *to* 3973.

CHAP. I.

The death of the ſons leads to the murder of the father. Antipater univerſally hated. Herod had the name, but Antipater the power. Antipater ſticks at nothing. He pretends to Salome, and ſhe countermines him. Salome in love with Sylleus. Herod forces him to marry Alexus. He ſends Glaphyra back to her father: Whom Herod favours, Antipater hates. The people's tenderneſs for the princes was a heart-breaking to Antipater. Herod diſſolves certain contracts.

The death of the ſons, a ſtep to the murder of the father.

Antipater univerſally hated.

Herod had the name of king; but Antipater the power.

ANTIPATER had now made a large ſtep toward the compaſſing of his impious deſign upon the life of his father, in the abominable murder of his brothers; but his ambition ſpurring him on, things did not yet advance ſo faſt as he would have had them: For there were other obſtacles yet in the way. After this remove, there was no body left, 'tis true, betwixt him and home: So that there was no longer any fear or danger of competitors; but he had yet a greater difficulty to encounter, before he could gain his point: That is to ſay, the mortal hatred of the people and (what he dreaded more than all the reſt) that of the ſoldiery, the only ſafeguard and ſupport of princes againſt factions and tumults. Theſe miſchiefs he drew upon his own head, fooliſhly as well as wickedly, by the deſtruction of the princes; for if the exerciſe of power would have tempted him, it was effectually Antipater that govern'd at that time, though Herod ſat upon the throne, and the adminiſtration of affairs was wholly committed to him: Nay, the very crime that he deſerv'd to die for, paſs'd for an inſtance of his affection and reſpect; as if he had only conſulted the ſafety and preſervation of the king in the death of the princes: Whereas he gratify'd his averſion to the father in what he did, as well as to the ſons; and ſuch was his peſtilent malice, that he deteſted them even for their father's ſake. It was his buſineſs, in ſhort, not to leave one ſoul alive that could either give evidence of his treaſon, or oppoſe him in the execution of it, or that might be in condition to protect Herod againſt him. But the project being now a-foot, he was upon his utmoſt peril to go thorough with it. He look'd upon the government as his own, 'tis true, after the death of Herod; but then delays he thought might be hazardous; for if he ſhould come, betwixt this and that, to be detected to his father, it would be his ruin for ever: Wherefore, he ſpared for no coſt or pains, to gain the good-will of his father's friends, by all the courtly ways of civil offices and magnificent preſents that are uſual in thoſe caſes, even to the degree of overcoming unkindneſſes with benefits: His friends at Rome eſpecially, and in the firſt place, Saturninus the governor of Syria, with his brother. He was not without hope neither of bringing over Salome to his intereſt, the wife

Antipater ſticks at nothing to advance his intereſt.

of

He pretends to Salome, and ſhe countermines him.

Salome in love with Sylleus. Herod forces her to marry Alexas.

of a particular friend and confident of Herod's. Now Antipater was a man of addreſs, and none better ſkill'd perhaps in the ways and arts of obliging; beſide that for a fair outſide to diſguiſe a falſe heart, no man upon earth was beyond him: But Salome, his aunt, that ſaw through him all this while, was not to be impos'd upon; but, countermining his miſchievous artifices, kept a watchful eye upon him through all his diſguiſes; tho' he had ſo order'd it, that her daughter, the widow of Ariſtobulus, was marry'd to his uncle by the mother's ſide, and the other daughter to Calleas. But neither the one affinity, nor the other, was ſufficient, either to cover the wickedneſs of his intent, or to extinguiſh the odium he had moſt juſtly incurr'd. Salome herſelf was all this while paſſionately in love with Sylleus; but Herod, with the aſſiſtance of the empreſs Julia, put her upon marrying Alexas; the empreſs charging her not to oppoſe it upon any terms, unleſs ſhe had a mind to break with her brother for ever, who had bound up himſelf with a ſolemn oath, never to own her for his ſiſter, after ſuch a refuſal. Salome could not ſay but it was wholſom counſel, and ſo yielded to the match.

He ſends Glaphyra back to her father.

Alexander had two ſons by Glaphyra; and Ariſtobulus had three ſons and two daughters by Berenice. Herod intends well for theſe orphans.

The more Herod favours them, the more Antipater hates them. The people's tenderneſs for the murder'd princes was a heart-breaking to Antipater.

Herod prevail'd upon to diſſolve certain contracts.

Herod, at the ſame time, ſent away Glaphyra, the widow of his ſon Alexander, and the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, back to her father again, together with the portion he had in marriage with her, that there might be no farther cauſe of controverſy; and, upon the whole matter, he took great care for the education of his grandchildren. Alexander had two ſons by Glaphyra; and Ariſtobulus, by Berenice, the daughter of Salome, three ſons, and two daughters. Herod frequently would be ſpeaking affectionately of theſe children to his friends, deploring the misfortune of his ſons, and putting up ejaculations to God, to preſerve their children from the like calamity, and that they might increaſe in virtue, as well as in years, and live to acknowledge their obligations to their parents. He deſign'd the daughter of his brother Pheroras for wife to the eldeſt ſon of Alexander; and the daughter of Antipater to the eldeſt ſon of Ariſtobulus; and to the ſon of Antipater, one of Ariſtobulus's daughters: the other daughter to his ſon Herod, that he had by the daughter of the high-prieſt; for Poligamy is allowable among us. The principal deſign the king had in theſe alliances, was in pity to the orphans, to oblige Antipater by this affinity, to treat them with the greater tenderneſs. But when all was done, he had juſt as much kindneſs afterward for the children, as he had for their fathers before; and Herod's commiſeration was ſo far from ſoftening Antipater, that on the contrary it made him fierce and jealous; and the more the king favour'd them on the one hand, the more Antipater hated them on the other, for fear when they were arriv'd at years of maturity they ſhould ſet up themſelves: eſpecially with the aſſiſtance of Archelaus the king, and Pheroras the Tetrarch, whoſe ſon at that time ſtood fair to marry one of the daughters. It was another dreadful mortification to him, to ſee the compaſſion the people had for the caſe and memory of the unfortunate princes, and with what deteſtation they look'd upon the contrivers of their ruin; waiting all this while over and above, for an opportunity of expoſing Antipater for his malicious practices againſt his brethren. And it vex'd him to the ſoul again, to think, according to the preſent ſtate of matters, how fair his nephews ſtood to put in for ſhares in the government; and no way to ſecure himſelf but by prevailing with Herod to diſſolve the aforeſaid contracts; which, with much importunity, he obtained, and got the promiſe of the daughter of Ariſtobulus for himſelf; and for his ſon, the daughter of Pheroras: Whereupon the former marriage agreements were all made void.

Herod had now nine wives; the firſt, was the mother of Antipater; the ſecond, the daughter of Simon the high-prieſt, by whom he had a ſon, whom he call'd by his own name. The third was the daughter of his brother; and the fourth his couſin-german, by which two he had no iſſue. The fifth, a Samaritan, by whom he had two ſons, Antipas and Archelaus, and one daughter call'd Olympias, who was afterwards marry'd to Joſeph the king's kinſman. Archelaus and Antipas were brought up at Rome by a particular friend. His ſixth wife was Cleopatra of Jeruſalem, by whom he had Herod and Philip, which Philip was alſo bred up at Rome. The name of his ſeventh wife was Ballas, by whom he had Phaſael. His eighth was Phedra; and the ninth Elpis, by whom he had two daughters, Roxana and Salome. As to his two daughters, the ſiſters of Alexander and Ariſtobulus, by Mariamne, (thoſe that Pheroras refus'd in marriage) he marry'd one of them to Antipater, the ſon of his ſiſter Salome; and the other (as we have ſaid already) to the ſon of his brother Phaſael: And let this ſuffice for the family of Herod.

CHAP. II.

Zamaris, a Jew, plants in Syria. Herod invites him to Bathanea. Herod ſecures the Jews in their profeſſion and liberties. Philip levies ſome ſmall taxes. Zamaris dies. Jacimus dies, and leaves his ſon Philip general of his army.

Zamaris a Jew paſſes the Euphrates with 500 horſe-men to plant in Syria.

Herod invites him to Bathanea, upon certain conditions.

HEROD was now contriving how to fortify himſelf againſt the Trachonites; to which end he reſolv'd upon the building of a large ſpacious village in the middle of the country, which might ſerve as a ſtrong garriſon, both to ſecure that quarter from inroads, and upon any occaſion to ſally out upon the enemy. While Herod had this project in his head, ſome body happen'd to tell him of a certain Jew that came out of Babylon with five hundred horſe-men, with bows and arrows, and near a fifth part of them of his own relations: And that with theſe troops he paſſed the Euphrates to plant himſelf about Daphne in Syria, where Saturninus the governor gave him a caſtle called Valatha, not far from Antioch, for his habitation. Herod upon this intelligence, ſent an invitation to the Jew, and all his people to come over to him, with a promiſe of lands, and other conveniencies in the territory of Bathanea upon the borders of Trachonitis, with privileges of exemption from all duties and tributes, for the lands as well as for the men, and a commiſſion only to defend that quarter againſt the incurſions of vagabonds and robbers. Zamaris the Babylonian was well enough pleaſ'd with the conditions; accepted the offer, and built forts upon the ground that was allotted him, together with a town that he called by the name of Bathyra; and in this poſt he did not only protect the inhabitants againſt the free-booters, but ſecur'd the Jews alſo who travelled from Babylon to Jeruſalem, according to the duty and practice of their profeſſion.

The Jew accepts of Herod's terms, and ſettles at Bathyra: and ſecures the Jews in the practice of their profeſſion.

Upon this proviſion, there join'd him vaſt numbers of ſuch of the Jews as made a conſcience of the laws and religion of their forefathers, peopling the country to admiration, for the ſake of the advantages and immunities above mentioned, which they enjoy'd without moleſtation or controverſy, during Herod's reign: But Philip indeed that ſucceeded him, charged them with ſome ſmall impoſitions; but they did not laſt long. Agrippa the Great, and his ſon after him, of the ſame name, burden'd them with heavy taxes, 'tis true, and ſo did the Romans after them; but ſtill their perſons were left at liberty, of which we ſhall ſay more hereafter. As for Zamaris the Babylonian, that Herod put into the poſſeſſion of this command, after a long and a virtuous life, he left children behind him, that inherited the honourable qualities of their father. And among others, there was Jacymus a cavalier, than whom there was no man living had a greater reputation for courage and bravery; and one who had ſerv'd the kings of Babylon in their guards. This Jacymus dy'd at a great age, and left behind him a ſon, Philip; who for his exemplary valour and probity, was in ſuch eſteem with king Agrippa, that he made him general of his army.

They enjoy their liberties during Herod's reign.

Philip levies ſome ſmall taxes.

Agrippa, and the Romans afterwards augment them; but their perſons free.

Zamaris dies, and leaves a virtuous iſſue.

Jacymus dies, and leaves his ſon Philip general of his army.

CHAP. III.

The government lodg'd in Antipater. Pheroras hates, but flatters the women; who are all of a piece. The conſpirators cautious. Salome diſcovers all. The women take part with the Phariſees; who refuſe the oath of allegiance. A fine ſet upon the Phariſees; and Pheroras's wife pays it. Bagoas and other Phariſees put to death. An information againſt the wife of Pheroras. Pheroras refuſes to part with his wiſe. Antipater and his mother forbid coming together.

WHILE Herod's affairs were in this poſture, as above, and himſelf poſſeſs'd with ſuch a confidence of the faith, zeal, and affection of his ſon, the authority and adminiſtration of all publick affairs was effectually lodg'd with Antipater, which truſt, however, he did moſt abominably abuſe; but daubing over the foulneſs of his hypocriſy with ſuch ſpecious and artificial pretences, that every word he ſaid paſs'd with his father for truth, and matter of fact: So that in effect he was not leſs dangerous for his craft, than for his power. But none ſo great in appearance, after all, as he and Pheroras; the latter being circumvented, and drawn into the ſnare by the women that were in the faction with the other. For Pheroras durſt not diſoblige, either his wife, his mother-in-law, or his ſiſter; though in his heart he hated them all mortally, for the indignities they had put upon his virgin-daughters. But theſe were things to be diſpens'd with, by one who had people to deal with ſo neceſſary to the main buſineſs, and privy, over and above, to ſo many dangerous ſecrets, and conſequently one to another: Beſide that Antipater was devoted to them to the higheſt degree, both upon his own account, and his mother's; for theſe four women were all of a piece. But Pheroras and Antipater would be peeviſh one with another yet for trifles: That is to ſay, at the inſtigation of Salome, that blew the coal betwixt them, and was ſo particularly inform'd in the whole train of the deſign from end to end, that ſhe was juſt upon the brink of diſcovering the conſpiracy to Herod himſelf. Now the accomplices finding their cabals watch'd, and obſerv'd their correſpondency ſuſpected of myſtery and intrigue, and themſelves under the jealouſy and diſpleaſure of the king; they laid their heads together, and came to a reſolution, not to meet ſo publickly for the time to come, but to pretend quarrellings and fallings-out, and be railing at one another continually; eſpecially when either Herod himſelf, or any body elſe that would be ſure to tell him again, was in hearing: But for the league and confidence, that was ſtill carry'd on in private; and at this rate they manag'd. Now Salome plainly ſaw thro' their whole deſign; tracing every ſtep of it from the firſt contrivance, quite through the whole conduct of it; and finally to the execution itſelf; and ſtill as ſhe pick'd up any thing to enflame the miſunderſtanding, ſhe immediately inform'd her brother of it, not without additions: As ſhe would be telling him every particular of the cloſe intelligence they held, their ſecret conſultations, and how much it concern'd him to provide for his ſafety betimes; for no leſs than his life was at ſtake. As for the contumelious language they uſed to one another before company, that was all counterfeit and colluſion, ſhe ſaid; for they were very good friends when they were alone; but enemies undoubtedly to all thoſe to whom they would have that friendſhip carry'd as a ſecret. She made the beſt, in fine, of her diſcoveries, and all went to her brother in courſe, who, by this time, had gotten ſome intelligence of the matter; but conceal'd his thoughts awhile, without taking all for granted that his ſiſter told him, whom he knew to be ill-natur'd enough to make the worſt of every thing.

The whole truſt of the government lodg'd in Antipater.

None ſo great as Antipater and Pheroras.

Pheroras hates the women; but makes fair with them.

The women all of a piece.

The conſpirators manage with more cautoin.

Salome diſcovers the intrigue and the cabal.

This ſet of women were mightily devoted to a certain ſect among the Jews that valu'd themſelves upon their legal righteouſneſs, and an oſtentation of being holier than their neighbours. Theſe people had the name of Phariſees; an arrogant, crafty ſort of men, that in the pride and vanity of their hearts, make no conſcience of affronting kings, and trampling royal authority under their feet. As for inſtance: When the whole nation of the Jews were call'd upon to ſwear allegiance to Ceſar, and to the king, theſe were the only refuſers, to the number of above ſeven thouſand. And being condemn'd afterwards in a ſum of money for this refuſal, the wife of Pheroras laid down the fine. Theſe people having gotten to themſelves the reputation of the ſpirit of prophecy, and the ſpecial direction and aſſiſtance of divine revelation, gave it out, in requital for the good office of paying the fine, that God had determin'd the transfering of the kingdom from Herod and his line, to the princeſs, and her husband Pheroras, and their iſſue. Salome gave the king notice of this, and of the

The women much addicted to the Phariſees.

They refuſe to ſwear allegiance to the king and Ceſar, and are fin'd for it. Pheroras's wife lays down the fine.

The Phariſees fortel the tranſlation of the government to Pheroras.

bribery and corruption that had been practis'd at court in favour of this intereſt. Upon a ſtrict ſearch and enquiry, there were ſeveral of the Phariſees taken up, and put to death, as the principal authors of this ſeditious preſage; and among others there was Bagoas the eunuch, and Herod's minion Carus; a youth that he doted upon for the charms of his perſon and beauty: beſide ſeveral others in his own family that were convicted of the conſpiracy, upon the proof and teſtimony of the Phariſees themſelves: who perſwaded Bagoas into an opinion and belief, that he was to be celebrated as the parent and benefactor of the prince that was deſign'd for the throne; for every thing ſhould ſucceed well to the new king, and the government be eſtabliſh'd to his family in a legitimate iſſue.

Bagoas, and other Phariſees, taken up and put to death.

Herod exhibits information againſt the wife of Pheroras;

Soon after the trial, conviction and execution of the Phariſees, Herod call'd a council of his friends, and exhibited an accuſation againſt the wife of Pheroras; "alledging, that it was by her counſel and advice, that his brother ſo contemptuouſly rejected the tender of the royal virgins to him in marriage, and that ſhe had, moſt unnaturally and againſt all law, fomented a feud betwixt brethren to the uttermoſt of her power, as well in deeds as in words: that ſhe herſelf had ſided with the rebellious and contumacious Phariſees, in paying the fine that himſelf had impos'd upon them: and in ſhort, that ſhe was guilty, more or leſs, of the whole conſpiracy. And therefore Pheroras ſhould do well, he thought, to caſt off that lewd woman of himſelf, that had done ſuch wicked offices betwixt ſo near relations: eſpecially conſidering the caſe to be now come to this point, that Pheroras muſt either reject that woman for his wife, or never expect to be own'd by Herod for his brother."

and preſſes Pheroras to put her away.

Pheroras abſolutely refuſes.

These paſſionate expreſſions of Herod could not but affect Pheroras very ſenſibly; but yet with a ſaving to all the duty and reſpect that he ought, both to a prince, and to a brother; he made a publick proteſtation that nothing in the world ſhould ever make him renounce his dear wife, and that he would rather die than live without her. Herod ſufficiently reſented this indignity; but ſtifled his reſentment, only forbidding Antipater and his mother any communication with Pheroras, and barring the court ladies the freedom of their uſual converſations. They all promis'd that they would obſerve the king's orders, but nevertheleſs kept up by ſtealth their private entertainments; Pheroras and Antipater eſpecially. People talk'd at that time of an intrigue betwixt Antipater and the wife of Pheroras, and that the mother of Antipater brought them together.

Herod forbids Antipater and his mother, &c. any communication with Pheroras. But they meet ſtill by ſtealth.

CHAP. IV.

Antipater uneaſy. He gets himſelf ſent for to Rome. Herod ſends him with preſents, and his laſt will and teſtament. Sylleus charg'd with treaſon, and to be try'd at Rome.

Herod's ill humour makes Antipater uneaſy.

Antipater began now to be uneaſy, under the ill humour and growing jealouſies of Herod; and fearing to be ruin'd by the effects of his diſpleaſure, he wrote to his friends at Rome, to get him ſent for in all haſte to wait upon Auguſtus. This was done, and Herod diſpatch'd Antipater with rich preſents, and his laſt will and teſtament; wherein he declar'd Antipater his ſucceſſor; or in caſe of his deceaſe, his ſon Herod, that he had by the daughter of the high-prieſt.

Antipater gets himſelf ſent for to Rome. Herod ſends him to Rome with preſents, and his laſt will and teſtament.

At the ſame time, Sylleus the Arabian went alſo to Rome, not having performed, it ſeems, what Ceſar had order'd him. Antipater charged him there before Auguſtus, in like manner as Nicolaus had done before. Aretas accuſed him alſo, for having put ſeveral men of honour to death at Petra, contrary to his will and order, and among others Sohemus, a man upon all accounts eminent for his virtue: and ſo likewiſe Fabatus, a ſervant of Ceſar's. The buſineſs was this: There was a certain Corinthian in Herod's guards, that the king very much confided in. Sylleus treated with this man for a ſum of money to kill the king, and proceeded ſo far with him, that the thing was agreed upon. Fabatus had this account from the mouth of Sylleus, and forthwith went and inform'd the king of it. The Corinthian was preſently put to the queſtion, who upon a particular ſcrutiny, acknowledg'd the deſign, and brought two Arabians alſo into the plot; the one of them a perſon of great quality; and the other a ſingular friend of Sylleus, who being likewiſe put to the torture, confeſs'd that they came thither on purpoſe to preſs the Corinthian to the execution of what he had undertaken, and to aſſiſt him alſo in the exploit, if there ſhould be occaſion. The informations were ſent by Herod to Saturninus, and by him to Rome, where the cauſe was to be heard and decided.

Sylleus charg'd with treaſonous practices.

The cauſe to be try'd at Rome.

CHAP. V.

Pheroras ſent to his government; who ſwears never to return, during Herod's life. Herod falls ſick, and ſends for Pheroras: who excuſes himſelf upon his oath. Pheroras falls ſick and dies.

When Herod ſaw that the love and tenderneſs Pheroras had for his wife cou'd not be ſhock'd, he ſent him back to his government, which he very willingly comply'd with, binding himſelf by an oath never to return again during the life of Herod; and he was as good as his word; for the king ſoon after falling ſick, and he himſelf being call'd upon to make him a viſit, and receive ſome ſecret orders from him before he dy'd, Pheroras excus'd himſelf that he was under an oath, and durſt not break it; but Herod lov'd his brother ſtill as well as ever he did; and without following his example. Pheroras himſelf falling ſick ſoon after, Herod, of his own accord, went to viſit him. This diſtemper carry'd him off, and the king took order for the tranſporting of his body to Jeruſalem, where it was honourably interr'd. This calamity was the forerunner of great miſchiefs to Antipater, tho' at preſent at Rome; for divine juſtice call'd him afterward to an account for the blood of his brothers. I ſhall now give the ſtory of it at length, and in order; for an exemplary caſe

Pheroras ſent back to his government; who takes an oath never to return in Herod's life.

Herod falls ſick and ſends for Pheroras.

Pheroras excuſes himſelf upon his oath.

Pheroras falls ſick ſoon after, and dies.

to mankind, and for a caution to poſterity, to govern themſelves in all contingencies, by the meaſures of equity and virtue.

CHAP. VI.

An enquiry about the death of Pheroras. A poiſon brought him by a confident of Sylleus's miſtreſs. The ſiſter and mother of Pheroras's wife fetch it. Several women tortur'd about it. The mother of Antipater charged with it, and the practice prov'd. Doris ſtript of her jewels, and baniſh'd. Antipater in a plot to poiſon the king. Pheroras's widow diſcovers all. Pheroras's laſt words in diſcharge of his conſcience. More witneſſes examin'd. Herod turns off one of his wives. Bathyllus brings poiſon from Rome, for Antipater's mother and Pheroras.

Enquiry about the death of Pheroras.

A poiſon brought him by a confident of Sylleus's miſtreſs.

The ſiſter and mother of Pheroras's wife fetcht it.

Several women tortur'd about it.

The mother of Antipater charged with it.

The practice prov'd to every point.

PHERORAS being now dead, two of his Trachonite-freemen that he lov'd extremely were very earneſt with Herod for a ſtrict enquiry to be made how their maſter came to that miſerable end; and that in caſe it ſhould be found he was poiſon'd, his death might not paſs unreveng'd. They inform'd Herod (who laid a great ſtreſs upon every word they ſaid) that the night their maſter was taken ill, he ſupp'd with his wife, where he was treated with an odd and unuſual diſh of meat that ſtruck him to the heart upon the very taking of it. This was brought him by an Arabian woman under the name of a diſh to inſpire love, but was in truth, a mortal poiſon; the women of that country being the beſt ſkill'd in the art of poiſoning of any in the world. The woman they charg'd it upon, was found to be an intimate friend and acquaintance of Sylleus's miſtreſs, the mother and ſiſter of Pheroras's wife, the perſons that went to her for the poiſon; and that they came back together, the day before the adminiſtring of this deadly draught. The king was ſo tranſported upon the hearing of this ſtory, that he preſently order'd ſeveral of the women to be put to the torture, free, as well as ſlaves. They ſtood mute a long time; but one of them at laſt, in the horror of her pain, burſt out into this exclamation: “Ah! (ſays “ ſhe) that the mother of Antipater were in “ my place now; for that lewd woman has “ been the cauſe of all our miſery.” This diſcovery put Herod upon a reſolution to extort out of them every particular of the intrigue, and ſo to run thorough the whole hiſtory of it from point to point: as all their ſecret meetings, collations, cloſe conſultations and cabals; ſeveral occaſional diſcourſes that paſs'd betwixt Herod and Antipater, were made common talk among the women, even to the * hundred talents that were given to keep things from the knowledge of Pheroras. The women witneſſes farther enlarged upon the hatred he had for his father, and how he would be often complaining to his mother, that “ he thought the old fellow would never die;” when yet at the ſame time, he was ſo far in years himſelf, that the government wou'd have been but of little ſervice to him, had he acceded to it; beſide ſo many ſons, and grand-children in view, that he had a very uncertain proſpect of the ſucceſſion: nay, and as matters ſtood at preſent, the kingdom was to deſcend to his brother, not to his ſon, in caſe he himſelf ſhould be taken out of the way. The witneſſes ſpoke farther to his common practice of inveighing againſt his father for his cruelty and barbarity to his own ſons; inſomuch that he himſelf was forced away to Rome, and Pheroras to his government to get out of his reach.

Doris ſtript of her jewels, and baniſh'd.

Antipater in a plot to to poyſon the king.

Pheroras's widow declares the whole upon oath.

Pheroras's laſt words to his wife in diſcharge of his conſcience.

THIS was all ſo conſonant to what his ſiſter had formerly told him, that without the ceremony of any farther doubt or deliberation, Doris, the mother of Antipater, was as good as convict of a moſt malicious part of the treaſon, and immediately ſtript of all her jewels to the value of many talents, and expell'd the palace: but for the women of Pheroras's family, the king was gentler to them, for the ſake of their information. There was matter abundantly againſt Antipater; but the moſt provoking and unpardonable Article of his accuſation, was drawn from the confeſſion of Antipater the Samaritan, an officer in a place of truſt under the other Antipater: who, among other things, declared, that his maſter had put a mortal poiſon into the hands of Pheroras for the king to take in his abſence, when the work might be done with the leſs ſuſpicion. This poiſon he ſaid, was brought out of Egypt by Antiphilus a friend of Antipater, whoſe uncle Theudion, the brother of his mother Doris, ſent it to Pheroras, who gave it to his wife to keep. Herod, upon this, took the woman into examination, who confeſs'd ſhe had it; and making a ſhew as if ſhe went to fetch it, ſhe caſt herſelf down from one of the palace galleries into the court: but falling upon her feet, the bruiſe was not mortal. So ſoon as ſhe came to herſelf again, the king promis'd both her, and her family their pardon, upon condition that they declar'd the whole truth; with menaces of the uttermoſt rigour of torments, if either by obſtinacy or otherwiſe, they ſhould conceal any part of the deſign. Upon this Pheroras's widow bound herſelf by a ſolemn oath to tell the whole matter of fact without any reſerve; and moſt people were of opinion, that her confeſſion was ingenuous and true. “ That poiſon “ (ſays ſhe) was brought by Antiphilus out “ of Egypt, and prepar'd by a brother of his, “ that was a phyſician there. Your ſon An“ tipater bought it with a deſign to poiſon “ your majeſty. Theudion brought it to Phe“ roras, who deliver'd it to me. My huſ“ band afterward falling ſick, had ſo pious “ and paſſionate a ſenſe of your generous “ friendſhip, in the charitable viſit you were “ pleaſed to make him, that he called me to “ him, and told me: wife (ſays he) here's “ Antipater has inveigled me into a moſt un“ natural plot for the poiſoning both of my “ brother and his father; ſo that in the ſenſe I “ have of the ſteddineſs of the king's affecti“ on to me, and of my own condition as a “ dying man, I am reſolved, God willing, “ never to carry into another world with me, “ the guilt and infamy of ſo baſe a conſpira-

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* An hundred talents (as was before obſerved) weighed eleven thouſand four hundred and ſix pounds three ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to thirty four thouſand two hundred eighteen pounds fifteen ſhillings, and in gold to five hundred forty ſeven thouſand, five hundred pounds of our money.

“cy; wherefore let the poiſon be immediately brought up and thrown into the fire before my face: upon which words (ſays ſhe) I fetcht it preſently, and threw it into the fire, as he had order'd me; ſaving only a very ſmall remainder of it that I kept for my own uſe, in caſe it ſhould be my lot after the death of my huſband to be put to extremities myſelf.” With theſe words, ſhe took out the poiſon that was left, with the box it was in, and produced them both in the court. In the next place, the mother of Antiphilus, and another brother of his, were both put to the queſtion, and confirmed the ſame thing over again, with evidence to the very box itſelf. There was an accuſation exhibited alſo againſt one of the king's wives, the daughter of the high-prieſt; but they got nothing out of her: Herod however, caſt her off, and ſtruck her ſon, of his own name, out of his will, whom he deſign'd his ſucceſſor, if Antipater had dy'd before him. He depoſed Simon alſo, his father-in-law, and the ſon of Boethus, from the pontificate, and promoted Matthias of Jeruſalem, the ſon of Theophilus, in his ſtead.

More witneſſes put to the queſtion.

Herod turns off one of his wives.

Bathyllus brought poiſon from Rome, for Antipater's mother and Pheroras.

In this interim, Bathyllus, one of Antipater's freemen, came from Rome, and being put to the torture, confeſs'd that he brought poiſon, for Antipater's mother and Pheroras, with an intent that if one fail'd, they might try the other. There came at the ſame time certain letters from Rome, to Herod, but of Antipater's direction and contrivance; and manag'd likewiſe by his friends, who in preſents and gratifications were well paid for their pains. Theſe letters inſiſted much upon the liberties that Archelaus and Philip took at every turn, to talk ſo ſcandalouſly of Herod for the murder of Alexander and Ariſtobulus, and of the compaſſion they had for the poor innocent brothers; ſuggeſting alſo, that they themſelves were now call'd back again only to be treated after the ſame manner with thoſe that went before them. This was all Antipater's contrivance from one end to the other, and not without fair letters to Herod of his own too, over and above, for the better colour of the buſineſs. They were hot young men, he ſaid, and the more excuſable, tho' perhaps not ſo temperate and reſpectful in their words, as they might have been; with a great deal more of ſuch ſtuff to the ſame purpoſe. The controverſy went on all this while with Sylleus; and Antipater had made as many friends at court as the expence of two * hundred talents, in preſents, and gallantries, could procure him. It was a ſtrange thing now, that in ſeven months time (for ſo long had this ſcrutiny been a foot) Antipater ſhould never get the leaſt intelligence of the matter; but what with the watches and guards that beſet the paſſages, and the univerſal malice of the people to Antipater, there was not a man to be found that would run any riſque for the informing, or the ſaving of him.

CHAP. VII.

Herod's letters to Antipater. The news of Pheroras's death. Antipater goes to Sebaſte; where he is received with curſes inſtead of acclamations. Quintilius Varus in council with Herod at Jeruſalem. Antipater comes in his robes to the palace-gates, where himſelf is admitted, and his followers kept out. Antipater charg'd with fratricide and treaſon; to be try'd next day, and Varus his judge. Salome, the witneſſes and diſcoverers, all produced. Herod's aggravation. Antipater's defence; who offers himſelf to the torture. Nicolaus of Damaſcus manages the cauſe; adviſing Varus to do juſtice. Antipater accuſed for dealing with wizards. His character and hypocriſy. An experiment of the poiſon. Antipater made a priſoner. Letters intercepted from Antiphilus to Antipater. A letter from Acme. Forg'd letters. Acme a penſioner to Antipater. Antipater names Antiphilus for a conſpirator. Herod ſends a ſtate of the caſe to Rome.

An artificial way of correſpondence betwixt Antipater and Herod.

ANTIPATER, having written to the king that he was upon ſettling his affairs at Rome, and preparing for his return, Herod adviſed him by all means, in a ſly temperate way of anſwer, to make what haſte he could homeward, for fear any thing ſhould fall out amiſs in his abſence; and not one angry word in his letter, more than ſome ſlight glances upon his mother, which would be eaſily made up again when they came together. This was all carry'd with mighty profeſſions of candour and friendſhip from Herod; for he fear'd if Antipater had entertain'd the leaſt ſuſpicion of a trick in it, he would delay his journey upon it, nor did he know what intereſt he might make at Rome toward the ſupplanting of him in his government. Theſe letters came to Antipater's hand as he was upon the way in Cilicia; but for thoſe that brought him tidings of the death of Pheroras, he received them at Tarentum, and with a ſorrowful heart too, not for the love of Pheroras, but for the diſappointment of poiſoning the king, which he had undertaken for. Upon his coming to Celenderis, a city of Cilicia, he had a kind of miſgiving upon him, that ſtagger'd him, whether he ſhould go forward or no. The ſcandal that lay upon his mother very ſenſibly affected him; and deliberating what to do, his friends were divided upon the queſtion. Some adviſ'd him to delay his return a while, and wait the event; others, for haſtening all he could home again, making no doubt at all but upon his appearance he would clear himſelf to all manner of purpoſes; for what was it, even at preſent, but his being out of the way that gave his adverſaries ſo much advantage over him, by tales and calumnies! this advice carry'd it: ſo that he continu'd his courſe to Sebaſte, a port that Herod had erected at an incredible expence, in honour of Auguſtus. By this time, every body read Antipater's fate; for he that at his departure was follow'd with benedictions, vows and acclamations, had not ſo much as one perſon now to take any kind of notice of him, or to bid him welcome; but for curſes and imprecations, he had them in abundance; the people crying aloud to heaven for vengeance upon him for the blood of his murder'd brothers.

Herod's letters came to Antipater upon the way in Cilicia.

The news of Pheroras's death met him at Tarentum.

Antipater doubts at Celenderis whether to go forward or no.

His friends are for it, and ſo he advances to Sebaſte; where he is received with curſes inſtead of acclamations.

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* Two hundred talents weighed twenty two thouſand eight hundred and twelve pounds ſix ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to ſixty eight thouſand four hundred and thirty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings, and in gold to one million ninety five thouſand pounds of our money.

Quintilius Varus in counſel with Herod at Jeruſalem: Antipater comes to the palace-gates in his robes. Himſelf admitted, but his followers ſhut out.

Quintilius Varus, the ſucceſſor of Saturninus in the government of Syria, happen'd to be now at Jeruſalem, and at this very time in counſel with Herod. While they were ſitting upon publick buſineſs, Antipater in his purple robes, comes to the palace gates, which were ſet open to him; but immediately ſhut again upon his followers. This ſtruck him into ſuch a damp (for he knew nothing as yet of the matter) that he began now to think with himſelf whereabouts he was: but more eſpecially, when upon preſenting himſelf to his father's embrace, he found himſelf rejected with indignation, and upbraided with reproaches of fratricide and treaſon; for theſe, he was told, were the crimes would be charg'd upon him the day following; and Varus there preſent to be his judge: this ſurprize daunted him as if he had been thunder-ſtruck; ſo he went his way, meeting his mother and his wife in his paſſage. The latter was the daughter of Antigonus, Herod's predeceſſor, by whom being inform'd of all that had paſs'd upon the ſtate of the cauſe, he prepared for his trial.

Antipater charged with fratricide and treaſon, to be try'd next day, and Varus his judge. He conſults his mother and his wife, and prepares for his trial.

The council meets; Varus and Herod preſidents.

Salome, the witneſſes and diſcoverers all produc'd.

Next day there met a great council; Varus and Herod preſidents, and their friends about them. Salome the king's ſiſter, was cited thither alſo, with others of their relations. There was likewiſe the diſcoverers of the conſpiracy; the witneſſes that had been upon the torture; and in the laſt place, ſome of the domeſticks of the mother of Antipater that had been taken up a little before his return from Rome, and letters for him found about them to this effect: giving him caution, “That he ſhould not by any means come back; for the king knew all, and he had beſt have a care how he fell into his hands: concluding, in fine, that he had no way in the world to ſave himſelf, but by caſting himſelf upon Ceſar's clemency and protection.” Antipater made it now his requeſt to Herod, only to be admitted to his defence, and not condemn'd unheard. The king preſently bad him riſe, and ſtand forth to take his trial.

Herod aggravates Antipater's ingratitude.

“I am (ſays Herod) an unfortunate man to have been the father of ſuch children, and to fall at laſt in my old age now into the hands of ſuch a wretch as Antipater. And ſo he amplify'd upon the care he had taken for him in his inſtitution and education; and reproaching him, that he never ask'd, or ſo much as wiſh'd for any thing out of his fortune that he deny'd him. And what return for all this, but a conſpiracy againſt his life, in requital; and the ſeizing of a crown, by an impious violence, that by the double right of both title and free gift, were to come to him in courſe? I cannot imagine (ſays he) what advantage he could propoſe to himſelf in the gratifying of ſo extravagant an ambition; for he had made him a ſucceſſor (he ſaid) by his will, and effectually a partner with him in dignity, glory and power, even in his life-time: beſide the ſettling of * fifty talents a year upon him for a revenue, and an allowance of three † hundred more, for the expence of his journey now to Rome. As for his charge upon his brothers, either they were guilty, and he himſelf at the ſame time their imitator, as well as their accuſer; or on the other ſide, if innocent, then was he again the calumniator and the murderer. For he had nothing againſt them (he ſaid) but out of his own mouth, and ſo was the ſentence as well as the information: ſo that in this act he had acquitted his brothers, and taken the execrable impiety of treaſon and parricide upon himſelf.”

Antipater's defence.

Herod was overcome with ſo paſſionate a fit of weeping upon this tender occaſion, that he could go no further; and ſo deſired Nicolaus of Damaſcus, his antient and particular friend, and one that was thoroughly inſtructed in this matter, to proceed to the examination of the criminals, and to the conviction of his ſon. Antipater, by way of prevention, apply'd himſelf to his defence, and improv'd all the inſtances of his father's kindneſs to the juſtification of his own piety and deſerts, aſſuming to himſelf to have done his duty to all purpoſes. “What likelihood (ſays he) that after the reſcuing of my father from the treacheries of ſo many other people, I ſhould at laſt turn traitor to him myſelf, and blaſt the reputation of a try'd and an unſpotted loyalty, with ſo foul a blot in the concluſion? what could I pretend, or but deſire to make me greater, or better than in truth I was? or how could I be ſuch a fool, as under theſe ſplendid circumſtances, to make myſelf a ſcandalous villain, only for infamy and loſs? for the ſucceſſion was with all formality of law already ſettled upon me, and myſelf ſo far admitted by the king's bounty into a ſhare with him in the exerciſe of his royal power, that I was effectually in the very poſſeſſion of the government, rather than in the expectancy of it; and no one either to controul, or to envy my claim. Why ſhould I ſtruggle now for that with danger, which my virtue had put me in a quiet enjoyment of; and expoſe myſelf by ſo doing, to a moſt certain infamy, for the vain flattery of an uncertain hope; eſpecially conſidering how this ambition ſped with my brothers, whom I myſelf accuſed, convicted and puniſh'd? this I did (ſays he) and this I ſhall never repent of; but on the contrary, value my ſelf upon the merit of that ſervice, as the higheſt inſtance I could give my dear father of a filial and inviolable love and duty. As to my behaviour in the city of Rome, I dare appeal to Ceſar himſelf, who is no more to be impoſed upon than an oracle, and to ſeveral of his letters that I could produce under his own hand in my favour. Pray then, would it not be hard now to ſet up the calumnies of wicked men, and profeſs'd enemies againſt the authority of theſe ſacred evidences? A ſcandalous ſort of pick-thanks, that are never

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* Fifty talents weighed five thouſand ſeven hundred and three pounds one ounce ten pennyweights, and their value in ſilver amounted to ſeventeen thouſand one hundred and nine pounds ſeven ſhillings and ſixpence, and in gold to two hundred ſeventy three thouſand ſeven hundred fifty pounds of our money.

† Three hundred talents weighed thirty four thouſand two hundred eighteen pounds nine ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to one hundred two thouſand, ſix hundred fifty ſix pounds five ſhillings, and in gold to one million ſix hundred forty two thouſand, five hundred pounds of our money.

“ſo well pleaſed as when they are embroiling the royal family; as they have now made advantage of my abſence for the poſſeſſing of people with falſe and defamatory rumours againſt me, which they were never able to compaſs ſo long as I was within diſtance of ſpeaking for myſelf.” Toward the end of his diſcourſe, he made a ſhort digreſſion upon the reaſon and cuſtom of examining by torture; “which was as likely a way (he ſaid) to extort a falſity as a truth; for whether true, or falſe, the tormented muſt expect to be kept in pain till he be brought to confeſs what the tormentor would have him ſay:” and yet Antipater, after all this, offer'd himſelf to the queſtion, and to abide the iſſue of it. He deliver'd theſe words with ſo paſſionate a tranſport of tone, tears, action, ſtriking his head, and the like, that the council were extremely mov'd at it; and the greateſt enemies he had could not but pity him: nay, Herod himſelf was obſerv'd to relent, notwithſtanding the utmoſt he could do to conceal it.

Antipater offers himſelf to the torture.

Nicolaus of Damaſcus takes up the cauſe where the king left it.

When Antipater had gone thus far, Nicolaus took up the cauſe where the king left it; “ſcann'd and ſifted every article; cited and ſumm'd up the proofs; the names of the witneſſes, and the particular confeſſions of thoſe that had been put to the queſtion. He paſs'd then to the ſubject of the king's bounty, care and tenderneſs in the education of his children, and how ill it was anſwer'd. As for Alexander and Ariſtobulus, while they were under the dominion of ambition, rather than avarice, and hurry'd on by the intemperate motions of youth and hot blood, it was not ſo much a wonder for them (he ſaid) to be debauch'd by evil counſel and lewd company, into a neglect or contempt of their duty; but as to the caſe of Antipater, it was worſe than brutal, for in the very fierceſt of beaſts themſelves, there is yet a kind of natural gratitude for their keepers and their feeders: whereas this young man was ſo far from being gain'd upon by the goodneſs and bounty of an indulgent father, that as he was not to be deterr'd by the calamitous example of his brothers; ſo on the contrary, he valu'd himſelf upon an emulation of their wickedneſs and cruelty. Was it not yourſelf, Antipater (ſays he) that firſt diſcover'd their deſign? were not you then the proſecutor? and you yourſelf again, the director of the ſentence, and conſequently of the puniſhment? this is not now to reflect upon your zeal and indignation in ſo juſt a cauſe; but it ſtumbles me to find you ſo bitter againſt your brothers, for the very ſame thing that you do yourſelf: which manifeſtly ſhews, that your buſineſs was not ſo much the preſervation of the father, as the ruin of the children; and under the colour of a ſevere brother, to get the reputation of a tender and a dutiful ſon; and ſo with the more ſecurity, to ſtalk under that cloak up to the king himſelf. And this was the exploit you were now about. How came it to paſs elſe, that the brothers were put to death, and not their accomplices? what could be the meaning, or the end of this; but firſt, that you and they were agreed upon the matter; and ſecondly, that ſo ſoon as the fiſt difficulty ſhould be over, they might be within call to help you out with the next? ſo that you had a double ſatisfaction in the contemplation of your wickedneſs; the one was by impoſing publickly upon the world in a moſt flagitious impiety for an honourable and a meritorious virtue; the other was in the carrying on, and the hope of executing that inhuman barbarity yourſelf, which you took upon you but now to revenge in others. If you had heartily deteſted that malice, you would as well have abhorr'd the imitation of it. But you, have had the wit however, to take the beſt people out of the way firſt; and to ſet yourſelf clear of competitors, being reſolved to leave neither rivals nor witneſſes; and that being done, to crown the murder of the brothers with that of the father, and by ſo doing, not only to eſcape the puniſhment you have deſerved, but to bring your parent to bear the burden of your crimes, in ſuch a parricide as was never either heard or dreamt of before: for the treaſon was not form'd againſt a perſon of the common rate of fathers; but againſt a parent, tender and indulgent to the higheſt degree; the conſpirator mark'd out for the ſucceſſion already; a half ſharer in the crown by advance; ſettled beforehand in the preſent enjoyment of his greatneſs, and ſecure of the reverſion of it by his father's will: but, (ſays Nicolaus) your inſatiable deſires were not to be bounded by his goodneſs, but by ſuch meaſures only as your own ingratitude and perverſeneſs ſhould preſcribe. Your own half of his right would not anſwer your end, unleſs you might have his part too. Your pretence was the ſaving of him, when at the ſame time the plot was to deſtroy him: and the lewdneſs was not at all to yourſelf neither, but your mother was made a party to it; the whole family embroil'd upon it, and the brothers all together by the ears. And after all this, you had the impudence to call your father beaſt; when you yourſelf was worſe then the worſt of beaſts. But neither your relations nor your benefactors are to eſcape the poiſon of your ſcandals. And as if the venom of your own heart had not been ſufficient to inſtruct and irritate a revenge, you have called to your help, your guards, counſellors, and ſuborners, of both ſexes, to lay all their heads together in a confederacy againſt one antient man: and now after the torturing of ſo many men and women; free, and ſlaves, one with another, upon your account, and after ſuch a cloud of undeniable evidences, you have yet the confidence to out-face the truth, and to follow your enterprize upon the life of your father, with an attempt upon the authority of the very law that puniſhes ſuch criminals; and this you do in contradiction to the equity of Varus, and to the univerſal meaſures of natural juſtice. What is it that makes you diſparage extorted teſtimonies, but becauſe you would derogate from the credit of thoſe Proofs that lay open your wickedneſs, and conduce to the preſervation of your father?

“Sir,

Nicolaus adjures Varus to do juſtice.

“Sir, (ſays Nicolaus to Varus) by the majeſty of the Roman empire, and by your own honour, I adjure you that you vindicate the king from the indignities of his own fleſh and blood, and deliver up this monſter of an hypocrite to death; that under a pretext of reverence to his father, hunts after the blood of his brothers; and if he had not been ſeaſonably detected, his father's turn ſhould have been next, to make his own way to the crown. You know very well, Sir, that parricide is no private crime, but a publick affront to the laws of life, and of our reaſonable being; and ſo abominable a pollution in the very thought, as well as in the act, that whoever ſuffers it to paſs unpuniſh'd, offers an indignity to human nature itſelf, in that violence, and to the common mother of us all.”

Antipater charg'd with dealing with wizards.

Nicolaus had a glance too upon ſome fooliſh words, that had imprudently dropp'd from the mouth of Antipater's mother; concerning prognoſticators, wizards, and ſacrifices, that had been conſulted about the life of the king, and the ſucceſſion of the crown: Reciting alſo the extravagant and beaſtly debauches of wine and women that Antipater had been guilty of in Pheroras's family. There were ſeveral particulars produced with proofs to every article; ſome extorted, others voluntary; ſome again deliver'd upon recollection, and others upon preſſing, and occaſional neceſſities: And theſe were by ſo much the more credible; for every thing came out now to Antipater's condemnation, but they durſt not ſo much as mutter ſo long as he was in favour. In ſhort, the people knew ill things by him, hated him, and told all.

His condition was every way miſerable; but the horror of his conſcience was yet the moſt inſupportable part of his calamity; having the blood of his father (in the ſight of God that knew his intention) together with the diviſion, the confuſion, and the treaſon of the family to anſwer for. His kindneſs, or his hatred, was altogether ſteer'd by his intereſt; and he never was either a friend, or an enemy to any man, but for his own ends: And this narrow ſoul of his was ſo well known, that all honeſt men liv'd in a kind of oppoſition to him, as if it had been impoſſible to have an eſteem for Antipater and for virtue together: Inſomuch that ſo ſoon as ever they found him abandon'd by the government, and expos'd for a mark, people brought in their informations againſt him in abundance, ſtriving as it were to outdo one another therein, and with outcries for juſtice; nor did there, in all the diſcoveries that were made, appear to be any falſity in any of the different crimes charged upon him, ſince there was not any room, need or pretence for ſubornation in the caſe; there being no place for a court-flattery on the one hand, nor any danger, if they ſhould have ſuppreſs'd the truth, on the other: But Antipater, for his vile practice, was condemn'd by the univerſal conſent of all men, as a wretch, whoſe death was not ſo neceſſary upon the ſingle ſcore of his father's ſafety, as for the ſake of mankind itſelf, in clearing the world of ſo abandon'd a miſcreant. And his accuſation was not grounded neither upon bare interrogatories, whether upon the torture, or the good faith of the witneſſes; but multitudes came thronging in with articles againſt him of their own accord, and made the matter ſo clear, that with all his art and impudence, he had not one word to reply.

All men exclaim againſt him.

When Nicolaus had done ſpeaking, Varus told Antipater, that if he had any thing to ſay for himſelf, the court was ready to hear him. And that his father and himſelf ſhould be the gladdeſt men in the world to find him innocent. Antipater caſt himſelf immediately down upon the ground, with this ſhort prayer in his mouth. “Lord, (ſays he) thou who art the ſearcher of hearts, I moſt earneſtly beſeech thee to vindicate my innocence as to any thought of miſchief to my father, by ſome ſignal token from heaven, that may convince the world of my integrity.” This is the way of men harden'd in impiety, firſt to caſt off the fear of God in their practices, and ſo, by degrees, they come to renounce or affront him in their words; and yet when their wickedneſs hath brought them into danger, they go on calling upon God ſtill, and appealing to that righteous judge, with certain formal pretences of reſignation to his will and pleaſure. Antipater, that had gotten a habit of this way of proceeding; and after he had led the life of an atheiſt, without any regard to a divine power or providence, came in the concluſion to fall under the ſtroke of a juſt vengeance; and in that diſtreſs, for want of human aid, either by friends, or laws, “he caſt himſelf (he ſaid) upon the power and goodneſs of the Almighty, who had preſerv'd him hitherto by a miracle, to take care of the life of his father.” Varus ſeeing that he could get no direct anſwer to any of his queſtions, nor any thing but invocations, and appeals to heaven, he found there would be no end of it that way, and ſo call'd for the poiſon to be brought out, and ſome trial made of the force of it. It was fetch'd preſently, and given to a condemn'd man, who no ſooner took it but he dy'd. Upon this experiment, the court roſe, and Varus went away the next day to Antioch, the place of his uſual abode, in regard that the kings of Syria commonly made that their reſidence.

Antipater's hypocriſy.

An experiment made of the poiſon.

Herod and Varus having conferr'd upon the matter, Antipater was made a priſoner; the reſolution not known; but moſt people imagining that what the king did was with the advice of Varus. Soon after Antipater's commitment, Herod inform'd Ceſar, both by expreſs meſſengers, and by writing, with the whole hiſtory of his caſe and crimes. There happen'd at the ſame time to be ſome letters intercepted from Antiphilus out of Egypt, to Antipater, wherein were theſe words: “I have ſent you here a letter of Acme's, and you know I run the riſk of my life in the doing of it; if I ſhould be laid at the mercy of two powerful families, and my deadly enemies. Pray have a care that nothing miſcarry.” This was the ſubſtance of the letter; but the king was at a loſs ſtill for the other letter of Acme's, and caus'd a ſtrict ſearch and enquiry to be made after it; but there was none ſuch to be found; and the ſervant of Antiphilus, upon examination, abſolutely deny'd the knowledge of any ſuch letter. When they had been a good while at a loſs how to find it out, one of the king's friends happen'd to ſpy a ſeam in the lining of the ſervant's inward-

Antipater made a priſoner: and the court breaks up.

Letters intercepted from Antiphilus to Antipater.

ward coat; (for he had two on) and which ſuggeſted to him a thought that perhaps the letter they look'd for might be in that fold: And his conjecture prov'd true; for there they found the letter; and this was the tenor of it. "Achme to Antipater. I have writen to your "father, according to your direction; and I "have put in a counterfeit copy of a letter, as "if it came from Salome to the empreſs, my "miſtreſs. I make no doubt, but upon the "reading of it, Herod, without any more ado, "will treat her as a traitreſs." This letter that pretends to be from Salome, was the project and invention of Antipater, with Salome's name to it; but dreſs'd up by Acme, who wrote to the king to this effect. "Acme to king "Herod. Out of the care and deſire I have "to ſerve you, in acquainting you with any "thing that may concern the ſafety of your "perſon, I have tranſcrib'd, and ſent you a "letter that I found of Salome's to my miſtreſs "the empreſs, againſt you; deſiring her leave "for the marrying of Syllæus. Pray let it be "torn to pieces, for the diſcovery would be "as much as my life is worth." Now the letter of Acme to Antipater laid open the whole cheat, in ſhewing that ſhe did nothing but by his order, writing to Herod and ſending a copy of Salome's counterfeit-letter to her miſtreſs, and a plot in the bottom of it. Acme was by nation a Jew, in the ſervice of Julia, the wife of Ceſar, and brought over to Antipater's intereſt by a vaſt ſum of money, to aſſiſt him in his practices, both upon his aunt and his father. This diſcovery expoſed Antipater for ſo turbulent an incendiary, and ſo pernicious and dangerous a wretch, to himſelf and his ſiſter (to ſay nothing of his corrupting the honour and diſcipline even of Ceſar's roof and family) that Herod was within a very little of having him put to death upon the very inſtant; and Salome was not wanting neither to provoke him to it; breaking into extravagant outrages, as beating her breaſts, and other frantick violences, and offering herſelf to a thouſand deaths, if they could but prove againſt her ſo much as the leaſt colour for a ſuſpicion of one diſloyal thought. The king, upon this occaſion, ſent for his ſon, and bad him ſpeak the word freely, if he had any thing to ſay in his own defence. Antipater ſtood aſtoniſh'd, without one word ſpeaking; and Herod, finding him in that confuſion, put him to it once again, ſince he could not excuſe himſelf, to tell him at leaſt who were his accomplices. He laid the whole blame upon Antiphilus, without naming any body elſe. Herod took this way of trifling for ſuch an indignity, that he had ſome thoughts in his paſſion to ſend him away to Rome to take his trial before Ceſar. But upon ſecond thoughts, for fear he might be reſcu'd upon the way, or acquitted when he came thither, he kept him in priſon as before: but ſent his embaſſadors however with a ſtate of the caſe; inſtructions and copies of the letters given in evidence; and in particular, with an account of Acme's being a party in the plot.

A letter from Acme.

A copy of a forg'd letter, as from Salome to the empreſs, encloſ'd in one to Herod from Salome.

Acme, a Jew; Julia's ſervant, and in penſion to Antipater.

Antipater names Antiphilus for a conſpirator.

Herod ſends a ſtate of the caſe to Rome.

CHAP. VIII.

Herod falls ſick, and makes his will. A ſedition, and the occaſion of it. Judas and Matthias, two eminent Jews. Herod given over. Judas and Matthias againſt the golden eagle. News that Herod is dead. The golden eagle thrown down. Judas and Matthias taken priſoners. They juſtify themſelves. The king ſends them bound to Jericho. Matthias the high-prieſt depos'd, and Jozar put in his place. The mutineers burnt alive. Herod's ſickneſs, a judgment. Herod ſends for Salome and Alexas. A horrible order of Herod's for a farewel.

Herod falls ſick, and makes his will.

A ſedition, and the occaſion of it.

WHILE the embaſſadors were now with their letters and mandates upon the way toward Rome, Herod fell into a fit of ſickneſs; made his will; and being highly exaſperated againſt Archelaus and Philip by the calumnies of Antipater, he declared his youngeſt ſon his ſucceſſor. He gave in legacies, a thouſand * talents to Ceſar; to his wife Julia, his children, friends and freemen, five † hundred talents more. The reſt of his money, with his lands and revenues, he gave to his own ſons and grandchildren: and for his ſiſter Salome, he bequeathed her a very conſiderable fortune, in acknowledgment of the ſteddineſs of her affection to him. He was now in the ſeventieth year of his age; and, his illneſs increaſing upon him, paſt all hope of recovery: cholerick, and furious as a madman, and ſo miſchievouſly croſs-grain'd, that there was no poſſibility of pleaſing him. The thing that troubled him was the haughtineſs of his ſtomach, upon a fancy that he was fallen into the contempt and hatred of the people, even to the degree of their taking pleaſure in his miſery: beſide that he was further confirm'd in this opinion by a commotion that ſoon after follow'd upon it, at the inſtance and inſtigation of ſome popular men that headed the ſedition. The thing was this:

Judas and Matthias two eminent Jews.

Herod given over.

The people encourag'd to deſtroy innovations againſt law.

THERE were two men that had a mighty reputation among the Jews, both for the eminency of their learning in general, and likewiſe for their particular skill and excellence in the law. And they had yet further endeared themſelves to the people by the exceeding care and pains they took in the training up of their children to the knowledge and practice of their duty and profeſſion, which they made effectually the main buſineſs of their lives: their names were Judas the ſon of Sariphæus, and Matthias the ſon of Margalothus. No ſooner was it come to the ears of theſe two famous men, that the king was given over, but they put it preſently in the heads of the young men to ſet upon a reformation, and to deſtroy all thoſe new works and ſtructures that the king had erected contrary to the laws of their country; giving them all aſſurance that if they ſhew'd themſelves champions for the truth, they ſhould not fail of their reward. They bad them further conſider, that all the broils and factions of the king's family, and the deſperate condition of the king's ſickneſs,

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* A thouſand talents weighed one hundred fourteen thouſand ſixty two pounds ſix ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to three hundred forty two thouſand one hundred eighty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings, and in gold to five millions four hundred ſeventy five thouſand pounds of our money.

† Five hundred talents weighed fifty ſeven thouſand thirty one pounds three ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to one hundred ſeventy one thouſand ninety three pounds fifteen ſhillings, and in gold to two millions ſeven hundred thirty ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds Engliſh money.

Judas and Matthias inveigh againſt the golden eagle, &c.

and preſs the deſtroying of it.

were only divine judgments upon him for his innovations; which Judas and Matthias zealouſly inſiſted on. Among other inſtances of a ſuperſtitious magnificence, there was a dedication of a golden eagle ſet up over the portal of the temple, of a prodigious weight and value. Now this being a flat contradiction to our laws, that abſolutely forbid the uſe and ornament of images in ſuch caſes, theſe doctors ſet their diſciples at work to pluck down the eagle. "It would be an enterprize of hazard, (they told them) but withal, that a glorious death was much more eligible than a life of pleaſure, and that their blood could not be better ſpent than in the vindication of the laws and rites of their country, which would alſo make their names immortal: whereas otherwiſe the brave and the mean would lie undiſtinguiſhed in the ſame common fate; wherefore all men of honour and virtue ſhould do well, (they ſaid) to improve the irreverſible neceſſity of death, by a right choice of the moſt glorious occaſion for it; and ſo to quit the troubleſome world with comfort. It takes away the ſting and the terror of mortality itſelf both at once, to die in the conſcience of an honeſt action and of a good life; and to tranſmit both the fame and the reward of it to thoſe that ſhall come after you."

After this comes news that the king is dead:

The people throw down the eagle.

A party of horſe ſcatters them: only Judas and Matthias, with about 40 more, ſtand their ground, and are carry'd priſoners to the king.

They are charg'd with inſolence, and juſtify what they have done.

Just upon the finiſhing of this harangue, came a rumour that the king was dead: ſo that betwixt the diſcourſe and the report, the people were ſo inflam'd to be upon action, that they mounted the portal at noon-day; tore down the eagle, and hack'd it to pieces with their axes, in the ſight of a vaſt multitude of ſpectators in the temple. The king's commander in chief immediately upon the news of this uproar, haſten'd away to the tumult with a ſtrong body of troops, to prevent further miſchief; ſuſpecting the matter, in truth, to be much more conſiderable than he found it. For coming to the place, there was no enemy to be ſeen, but a rude undiſciplin'd rabble, without either order or arms, which was eaſily broken and ſcatter'd upon the firſt charge, only about forty of them, with their leaders Judas and Matthias, ſtood their ground, upon a point of honour not to turn their backs. Theſe were all taken and carry'd priſoners to the king; who put it to them how they durſt preſume to lay violent hands upon that ſacred figure. Their anſwer was, "That they had thought of it a long time, and coming at laſt to a reſolution, they did as became men of honeſty and courage, in the putting of it in execution; and that what they had now done was only in vindication of the honour of God, and of the precepts of their great maſter, whoſe diſciples they profeſs themſelves to be; beſeeching Herod not to make it a matter of wonder, if they prefer'd the laws that they had received from Moſes, and he from God himſelf, before any other decrees whatſoever. They did not ſuffer (they ſaid) for evil doing, but for conſcience and duty; and that they were ready to deliver up their bodies in this cauſe, either to death, or to puniſhment." It was clear that their tongues and their hearts went together in all that they ſaid and did; and they were now ready to ſuffer with the ſame conſtancy they acted with before. The king, after this, ſent them bound to Jericho, where he call'd a great council of the Jews, and was himſelf (being ſick and weakly) carry'd in his chair into the aſſembly; where "he gave them to underſtand what unweary'd pains and labours he had undergone for the ſervice of the commonwealth; his rebuilding their temple at an immenſe charge: a work that the whole race of the Aſmonean family had not been able to compaſs in a hundred and twenty-five years: ſetting forth alſo that he had not only re-edify'd the fabrick, but beautify'd, endow'd and enrich'd it with ornaments, preſents and donatives, worthy of ſo magnificent an undertaking. And now (ſays he) in the concluſion, when I thought myſelf ſure of ſurviving my own funerals in the fame of a happy memory, and an everlaſting glory for the good offices I have done, here am I treated with contempt whilſt living, and paid with indignities for all my benefits and reſpects; affronted in the face of the ſun and of the people; my gifts and oblations torn from the very temple, and an act of malice improv'd into a ſacrilege; for the injury is to God, not to me."

The king ſends them bound to Jericho; enters the council in his chair, and reaſons the matter with them.

He depoſes Matthias, and puts Jozar in his place.

The mutineers burnt alive.

The leading men of the council not knowing how far Herod's cruelty might tranſport him, thought it their ſafeſt courſe to purge themſelves by way of prevention; which they did, "by declaring, not only their innocency of the fact, but their opinion alſo, that the rioters deſerv'd to be ſeverely puniſh'd for it." Theſe words ſweeten'd him toward all the reſt. He took away the high-prieſthood from Matthias, upon a preſumption that he was no ſtranger to the contrivance, and gave it to Jozar his brother-in-law. It ſo happen'd that while Matthias was in the exerciſe of his function, and upon the eve to a faſting-day, he dreamt that he lay with his wife; by which accident he became unqualify'd for the next day's ſervice; ſo that Joſeph, the ſon of Ellemus his near kinſman, was ſubſtituted for that day to ſupply his place. After Herod had deprived Matthias of the pontificate, he gave order for the burning of the other Matthias, the ring-leader of the ſedition, and all his companions with him alive. The moon, as it fell out, was that night in an eclipſe.

Herod's ſickneſs judicial.

The king grew every day worſe and worſe, and his diſeaſe look'd like a judicial puniſhment for his wickedneſs. He was parch'd up with a faint inward fever, that almoſt burnt his heart out, and yet ſcarce ſenſible to the touch. He was tormented with an inſatiable dog-appetite; ulcers and cholicks in his guts; phlegmatick tumors in his feet and groin; his privy parts putrifying and crawling with worms; a noiſome and painful tentigo; aſthma's, cramps and contractions of the nerves: all men, in ſhort, of religion, philoſophy, or obſervation, were agreed upon it, that the hand of God was evidently upon Herod in this viſitation. But ſtill in the hopeleſs extremity of this his intolerable as well as incurable miſery, he himſelf was the only man that did not deſpair, but continu'd laying out every where for phyſicians and remedies. He went over the river Jordan himſelf, to the hot baths at Callirrhoe, that empty themſelves into the lake of Aſphaltitis. Theſe waters, beſide their mineral virtue, are no unpleaſant drink. Upon his coming

He ſends for Salome and Alexas.

A horrid order given for a farewel.

ing hither, his phyſicians order'd him to be ſet up to the ſhoulders in a veſſel of oil, which put him into ſuch a fit of fainting, that his domeſticks giving him for dead, broke out into lamentations and outcries, that brought him to himſelf again. By this time he found all his flattering hopes of life to be vain and idle; and therefore appointed a donative of fifty * drachma's a man to be diſtributed among the ſoldiers; large ſums among his friends and officers, and ſo he return'd to Jericho; where the evil humour ſo far prevail'd upon him, that he took up a final reſolution for a farewel; one of the horrideſt perhaps that ever enter'd into the heart of a man to imagine. He ſent out a ſummons to all the eminent Jews of the country to repair immediately to him at Jericho, and not to fail, on pain of death. Upon their appearance, according to the proclamation, they were all ſhut up in the Circus, or Tilt-yard, one with another, whether guilty, or innocent. He ſent in the next place for his ſiſter Salome, and Alexas, her husband, and ſpoke to them to this following effect. “My time (ſays he) is drawing on: I am oppreſs'd with pains; and fleſh and blood muſt yield to fate, which is no more than the common lot of mankind. It would be troubleſome, I muſt confeſs, to think of wanting any of the funeral honours that belong to crowned heads. I know very well what ſort of treatment I am to expect from the Jews. They hated me in my life-time, and they'll be glad to ſee me dead. But it lies in the power of you two (ſays he) to give me ſome eaſe yet, even at my laſt gaſp; and it is no more than what you owe me too. Do but follow my counſel, and I dare yet promiſe myſelf the moſt honourable funeral-ſolemnity that ever any prince had under the ſun; the moſt to the joy of my ſoul; and for a concluſion, an univerſal mourning, without one ſingle tear of hypocriſy or affectation. Wherefore, ſo ſoon as ever the breath is out of my body, let the Circus be ſurrounded with ſoldiers, and the word of command given to deſtroy every man within the encloſure: but not a ſyllable of my death, till the work be done. In the due execution of this order you will lay a double obligation upon me; one in the performance of my will; the other in the celebration of my death, with the honour of a publick mourning.” He accompany'd theſe words with tears and lamentations, adjuring his relations by all that was ſacred in human faith, conſanguinity and friendſhip, to be true to him in the punctual diſcharge of all he had committed to their truſt; which they promiſ'd to make good to him in every particular.

Some or other will pretend perhaps in the hiſtory of this bloody monſter's barbarities, to his neareſt relations in time paſt, that there might be dangerous jealouſies and competitions perchance; and conſequently a kind of neceſſity upon him to be cruel in his own defence. But in this laſt action of his, he has laid himſelf open, even in his pure naturals, for the verieſt brute that ever wore the ſhape of a reaſonable creature. When he could live no longer himſelf, he bequeathed deſtruction to thoſe he left behind him, and took care to make the whole nation mourners for him, by the order he left for the deſtroying of one at leaſt out of every family. And all this too, without any injury, provocation, exception, or ſo much as any reaſon given for the doing of it: whereas among people that have but the leaſt ſpark of humanity or religion, death puts an end to all controverſies, and reconciles even the greateſt enemies.

CHAP. IX.

Acme put to death. Antipater left to Herod's diſcretion. Achiab prevents Herod's killing himſelf. Antipater gives the king for dead; and treats with the keeper about his eſcape. The keeper tells the king of it, and the king orders him to be put to death.

Auguſtus writes Herod word that Acme is put to death. Antipater left to Herod's diſcretion.

Herod calls for a knife and an apple.

Achiab watches him, and prevents his ſtabbing himſelf. The outcry puts the court in an uproar. Antipater gives the king for dead, and treats with the keeper about his eſcape. The keeper tells the king of it.

The king orders him immediately to be put to death.

WHILE Herod was giving his laſt orders to his kindred, his embaſſadors brought him an anſwer from Ceſar to the letters they carry'd to Rome. The ſubſtance of it was briefly this; “that Auguſtus had put Acme to death for a correſpondence with Antipater; and that he left Antipater himſelf to the king his father, either to be put to death or baniſh'd, according to his diſcretion.” This news gave Herod ſome ſatisfaction and reſpect, to find himſelf both reveng'd upon Acme, and at liberty to do with his ſon what he pleas'd: but he relaps'd quickly again into his pains; and in an outragious fit of greedineſs and hunger, he call'd for a knife and an apple, it being uſual with him to pare his own apples, and ſo eat them little by little. He was obſerv'd to look ſuſpiciouſly about him, as if he had ſome thought of ſtabbing himſelf; but his nephew Achiab kept his eye upon him, and in the very inſtant of the attempt catch'd hold of his uncle's right-hand with an outcry, and prevented it. This noiſe put the court now a ſecond time into an uproar, all people taking it for granted that the king was juſt then expiring. Antipater took all for granted; and making no doubt at all but his father was dead, he made as little alſo of procuring his liberty, upon this occaſion, and by that means, clearing his way to the throne. In this confidence, he treated with his keeper about his diſcharge; with large offers and promiſes, both of rewards at preſent and of future preferments, when he ſhould come to the crown; but the keeper was ſo far from complying with his propoſals, that he went and diſcover'd the whole practice to the king, who hated him ſufficiently before; but this ſtory of the keeper's put him into ſo extravagant a paſſion, that he ſtarted up, tho' in the very agonies of death, and laſhing out into violent outrages upon himſelf, both in actions and exclamations, he commanded one of his guards in that very moment to go and kill him, and order'd his body to be buried privately in the caſtle of Hyrcania.

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* An Hebrew drachma (as we've before obſerv'd) was of the ſame weight with the Grecian and the Roman, and weighed two pennyweights, ſix grains, three fourths, and its value in ſilver amounted to ſixpence three farthings and three eighths, fifty therefore muſt amount to about one pound nine ſhillings of our money.

CHAP. X.

Herod alters his will, and declares Archelaus his ſucceſſor. Herod's character. His death kept ſecret. The noblemen diſcharg'd in the Circus. The king's death publiſh'd. Archelaus ſets up. Herod's funeral. Archelaus waits for the ratifying of Herod's act.

Herod alters his will, and declares Archelaus his ſucceſſor.

HEROD, upon change of mind, changed his will too, and made Antipas, whom he had deſign'd in his former teſtament for ſucceſſor to the government, Tetrarch of Galilee and Perea; but gave the kingdom to Archelaus: the provinces of Trachon and Gaulon, Batanea and Panias, to his ſon Philip, the brother-in-law of Archelaus, under the title of a Tetrarchy. Jamnia, Azotus, and Phaſaelis, he gave to his ſiſter Salome, with fifty thouſand pieces of minted money, not forgetting his other relations alſo, either in land or caſh. He left Ceſar, beſide gold and ſilver plate and rich furniture of all ſorts, ten millions of pieces in ready coin; and to the empreſs Julia, with her friends, five millions more of the ſame. Matters being thus ſettled, Herod departed this life five days after the death of Antipater, four and thirty years after the expulſion of Antigonus, and in the thirty ſeventh year from his being declar'd king of the Jews by the Romans. He was a man inexorably cruel; a ſlave to his paſſions; his will was his law, and yet no man in the general more fortunate than himſelf. He mounted the throne from the condition of a private man; fell into many difficulties, but ſurmounted them all, and liv'd at laſt to a great age. As to his domeſtick broils with his children and family, how unhappy ſoever he might be in my opinion, he was yet fortunate in his own; for he ſtill got the better of his enemies.

Herod's character.

Herod's death kept ſecret. Salome and Alexas diſcharge the people in the Circus in the king's name. The king's death publiſh'd. The ſoldiers ſummon'd to Jericho; and the king's letters to the army read. Archelaus the king's ſon and ſucceſſor ſet up. The teſtament read with a proviſo.

HEROD being now dead, Salome and Alexas kept it for the preſent as the greateſt ſecret in the world, and went directly to the nobility that were ſhut up in the Circus, telling them in the king's name, that they might go home, and follow their own buſineſs, for there was no further occaſion for them. This contrivance laid upon the Jews the higheſt obligation imaginable. It was now a proper time to make publication to the king's death; and the ſoldiery being ſummon'd to meet at the amphitheatre at Jericho, Herod's letters to the army were there read; full of gracious acknowledgments of their paſt faith and ſervices, and deſiring them to continue the ſame dutiful affection to his ſon Archelaus for the future, whom he had now declared his ſucceſſor. Ptolemy, the keeper of the king's ſeal, read after this the teſtament itſelf, with this conditional clauſe in it expreſs, that "the act itſelf, was to be reputed to be of no force without the conſent of Ceſar." This was follow'd with acclamations of God ſave king Archelaus, and wiſhes of a happy reign to him, both from officers and ſoldiers, with promiſes of the ſame fidelity to the new king, that they had paid to his predeceſſor.

The order and pomp of Herod's funeral.

THE next work was to provide for the funeral-ſolemnity, and this was the province of Archelaus, to ſee that nothing ſhould be wanting to the pomp and ſplendor of it; he himſelf reſolving in perſon to bear a part in the ceremony. The body was born upon a golden litter; ſparkling with variety of precious ſtones, * cover'd with purple, a diadem upon his head; and over that, a golden crown, with a ſcepter in his right-hand; his ſons and relations marching by his ſide. After theſe, follow'd the ſoldiers in their diſtinctions and diviſions; firſt the guards, then the Thracians; after them, the Germans; and next, the Galatians: all of them arm'd and appointed as for a battle. After theſe, follow'd the reſt of the army under their reſpective officers, with five hundred of the court-domeſticks in the rear, with aromaticks and perfumes. They march'd in this order as far as Herodium, eight † furlongs from Jericho, where the body was bury'd, according to a former appointment; and this was the end of Herod.

WHEN Archelaus had celebrated the funerals of his father, for the ſpace of ſeven days, according to the cuſtom of the country, the appointed time of mourning being now at an end, he treated the multitude, and ſo went up to the temple; where he plac'd himſelf upon a golden throne to receive the gratulatory prayers and acclamations of the people; which were anſwer'd on his part, with great affability and reſpect; taking it very kindly, after the hard uſage they had met with from his father, to find them ſo well inclin'd towards himſelf, and aſſuring them withal, that their good-will ſhould never be forgotten. "He did not pretend (he ſaid) as yet, to aſſume the name of a king, having no right ſo to do, without the aſſent and authority of Ceſar, in the ratifying of his father's teſtament; and that was it made him decline the acceptance of the dignity when it was preſs'd upon him by the army at Jericho, for want of being lawfully veſted in the poſſeſſion thereof. But, (ſays he) whenever I ſhall come to be ſettled in this command, it ſhall be my care to do all things to your advantage and ſatiſfaction, and to make my reign much eaſier to you than ever you found my father's." The people were mightily pleas'd with the modeſty of their new prince's behaviour and diſcourſe, depending (as is uſual in ſuch caſes) upon the good faith of every thing he ſaid: inſomuch that they put his good nature preſently to the trial by aſking him boons; ſome one thing, ſome another: ſome to be eas'd of their taxes; others to have their friends and companions ſet at liberty; there being a great many of them that Herod had taken up, and kept a long time in priſon. Some again were wonderfully importunate and clamorous againſt duties and impoſitions, that were laid upon market-ſtuff and other proviſions. Archelaus, in fine, found it for his intereſt and convenience to deny them nothing, for fear of exaſperat-

Archelaus waits the ratifying Herod's act by Ceſar.

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* See Cotelerius's notes to the ſecond volume of Monumenta Eccleſ. Gr. p. 519.

† Among the antients eight furlongs made one of their miles, which, according to the tranſlators of Calmet, exceeded one of our miles twelve geometrical paces.

ing the multitude; ſo that when the ſacrifice was over, he took his friends to dinner with him to make merry.

CHAP. XI.

A deſign to embroil the government, &c. A party of factious Jews crowd into the temple. Archelaus ſends a party to quiet them, and they are almoſt all deſtroy'd. Archelaus afterward gives them a great defeat: Archelaus goes to Rome, and Philip adminiſters in his abſence. He meets Sabinus at Ceſarea in his way to Judea. Varus ſtops his journey; being engaged on the ſame errand, &c. Archelaus goes for Rome, and Varus for Antioch. Sabinus goes to Jeruſalem, and demands Herod's books and keys; but the officers keep them for Ceſar. Antipas goes for Rome, and ſets up for himſelf with a ſtrong party. Sabinus puts in an information againſt Archelaus. Archelaus preſents Auguſtus with his defence. Ceſar compares it with the charge, and calls a council, where Caius the ſon of Agrippa ſits preſident, and gives them a hearing, &c. Antipater appeals, and Nicolaus manages the cauſe. Archelaus caſts himſelf at Ceſar's feet.

A deſign to embroil the government.

Satisfaction demanded of Archelaus for Herod's miſdemeanours.

THERE was at this time a dangerous faction of male-contented Jews, laying their heads together in conventicles and cabals, how to embroil the government. The fitteſt matter they could find to work upon, was the caſe of Matthias and his companions, that Herod had put him to death for the aforeſaid riot upon the golden eagle. During the life of the king, they did not dare to make any publick attempt, either in the honour or in the vindication of theſe reformers; but now he was dead, all mouths were open againſt him in clamours and invectives, to the diſgrace of his memory: Inſomuch, that they gather'd together in tumultuary meetings, to demand juſtice and ſatisfaction from Archelaus, upon thoſe friends of Herod, that were inſtrumental in the execution; as if that vengeance upon the living would have been ſome comfort to the dead. They inſiſted particularly upon the removal of the high-prieſt that Herod had promoted, and the putting of ſome worthy man in his place. This peremptory way of importunity was provoking enough; but * Archelaus however (who was now haſtening away to Ceſar, both for authority and orders) did what he could by fair means to ſet things right for the preſent; and to this end he diſpatch'd away one of his prime offices to try what might be done upon terms of reaſon and moderation. "This was not a time (he told them) for violence and revenge. The men that ſuffer'd (he ſaid) had a lawful trial; and their interpoſing after that manner was the uſurpation of a power they had nothing to do withal. They ſhould do well to conſider that Archelaus was juſt now upon his expedition to Rome, and that upon his coming back with his commiſſion ratify'd, all theſe difficulties would be provided for to their content: Only in the mean time, let them live amicably and peaceably one with another, without inquiring the danger of a ſedition." This diſcourſe was encounter'd with ſo impetuous an outcry and oppoſition, that one ſober word among them was as much as a man's life was worth. "They had the law in their own hands, (they thought) and nothing leſs would ſerve them, than a revenge, now Herod was dead, for the friends he deſtroy'd of theirs while he was living; which they reckon'd hard to be deny'd them." In this eagerneſs of paſſion, they conſulted no other meaſures of right or wrong than the impulſes of their own humour and intereſt, and ſo intent all this while upon the ruin of other people, that they neglected the moſt neceſſary means of their own ſafety. In the mean time, there was no want of ſeaſonable applications to them, as well from the king himſelf, as from others; but theſe gentle ways made them only more inſolent and outrageous: Inſomuch, that they wanted nothing but numbers, to improve this tumult into a direct rebellion.

A tumult little ſhort of rebellion.

THE feaſt of unleavened bread, or the paſſover, being now at hand, the celebrated memorial of the Iſraelites being deliver'd out of Egypt; vaſt numbers of people coming up to Jeruſalem, as well from abroad as at home, to worſhip and offer ſacrifices upon that occaſion: A ſeditious party of men crowded into the temple, and there made a ſtand, with a reſolution not to ſtir out, though they were forced to beg their bread to keep themſelves from ſtarving: Their buſineſs there being to condole with the people for the loſs of their two doctors, Judas and Matthias; and to irritate the rabble to a revenge. No body knew how far this riot might go: So that Archelaus, for fear of the worſt, ſent an officer with a party of ſoldiers to ſuppreſs it in time, before the whole body of the multitude had taken the infection; and with orders alſo to ſeize the ring-leaders of the tumult, and to bring them before him to make them exemplary, in caſe of any obſtinate reſiſtance. The guards no ſooner appear'd, but the mutineers ran down the ſoldiers with ſuch a torrent of rage and clamour, that the whole multitude falling upon them with ſtones and other weapons, deſtroy'd them all, ſave only the officer himſelf, who with ſome few wounded men eſcap'd. After this action, they went on with their ſacrifices. The conteſt was now brought to ſuch a height, that Archelaus muſt either cruſh that rabble, or fall himſelf: So that he ſent out his whole army to encounter them, with orders to his horſe, to put all to the ſword that ſhould endeavour to make their eſcapes; and to keep all ſuccours out from them. This body of horſe cut off three thouſand of their men in the action, and the reſt fled to the neighbouring mountains for ſhelter. So ſoon as this brunt was over, proclamation was made for every man to return to his own home; and after all their ſwaggering, tho' they were men of the moſt inſolent and audacious ſpirits, they were glad to get off upon theſe terms, and to leave the feſtival, for fear of a worſe miſchief.

A party of factious Jews crowd into the temple. They irritate the people to a revenge for Judas and Matthias.

Archelaus ſends a party to quiet the multitude.

The people deſtroy them all but the commander.

Archelaus, with his army, cuts off three thouſand, and ſcatters the reſt.

Archelaus goes to Rome.

ARCHELAUS put himſelf now upon his journey to Rome; taking his mother, Nicolaus,

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* See Cortelius's notes upon the ſecond volume of his Monumenta Eccleſ. Gr. p. 614.

Ptolemy,

Philip adminiſters in his brother's abſence.

Salome an enemy to Archelaus.

He meets Sabinus at Ceſarea, in his way to Judea.

Varus ſtops his journey, being engag'd on the ſame errand.

Archelaus goes for Rome.

Sabinus goes for Jeruſalem, and demands Herod's books and keys.

Ptolemy, and ſeveral other of his friends along with him; leaving the care of his kingdom and family to his brother Philip. Salome and her family went alſo, and were accompany'd by divers others of his kindred, under a colour of joining intereſts to aſſiſt Archelaus in his pretence to the ſucceſſion. But in truth, rather to obſtruct, than to farther it; for they were reſolv'd beforehand, to exhibit an accuſation againſt him for the buſineſs of the temple: But however, away they went, he and his company together, meeting Sabinus, Ceſar's procurator of Syria, at Ceſarea; poſting in all haſte toward Judea to take care of Herod's money: But Varus, very opportunely coming in the way, put off his journey; being himſelf, upon the invitation of Archelaus by Ptolemy on the ſame errand: So that out of a reſpect to Varus, he neither meddled with any of the forts in Judea, nor ſeal'd up their treaſure; but left all things in the power and poſſeſſion of Archelaus, till Ceſar ſhould declare himſelf upon the matter. This he promiſed, and ſo continu'd in Ceſarea. But ſoon after, upon the embarking of Archelaus for Rome, and the departure of Varus for Antioch, Sabinus advanced directly for Jeruſalem; took up his habitation in the palace; ſent for the king's officers, military and civil, demanding their books and their keys: But they were ty'd up, they ſaid, by the orders of Archelaus, to keep all things till his return, in the ſame ſtate they received them, for the uſe and ſervice of Ceſar.

Antipas goes to Rome, and ſets up for himſelf.

He takes his mother and Ptolemy to his aſſiſtance.

At the ſame time, Antipas, one of the ſons of Herod, took a voyage to Rome, in hope of getting the kingdom to himſelf. Salome did her part to put him upon it, under the colour of a prior right to the ſucceſſion by an antecedent will; and ſuggeſting that the firſt will ought to ſtand. He took with him his mother, and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus; a particular friend of Herod's, of a long ſtanding, and ever well effected to his party. But the man above all the reſt that fix'd him at laſt in his ambitious undertaking, and had the greateſt ſtroke with him, was Ireneus; a man of a notable ſmooth tongue, and one that had been much, and long in the king's buſineſs. He was adviſed by others to conſider the ſeniority of Archelaus, as elder brother, and the pretence he had to the ſucceſſion by the will of his dead father; but the credit of Ireneus, and the incentive of his own ambition, carry'd it from all other conſiderations. To Rome, in fine, he went; and upon his arrival there, his kindred came all over to him; not ſo much out of any kindneſs to himſelf, as an averſion they had to Archelaus; their heads being altogether ſet upon liberty and a Roman governour: Or they fancy'd however, in caſe of the worſt, that Antipas would be the eaſier to them of the two; and for theſe reaſons they employ'd their intereſt that way.

Sabinus exhibits an information againſt Archelaus, who preſents Auguſtus a breviate of his defence.

Ceſar compares it with the charge; calls a council; and gives the competitors a hearing.

Sabinus had now ſent an information to Ceſar againſt Archelaus; and Archelaus, by the hand of Ptolemy, preſented Auguſtus with a memorial of what he had to offer in his own defenſe, containing the ground of his claim; a recital of his father's will; an account of what monies he left; together with the ring that ſeal'd them up: remitting himſelf upon the whole to Ceſar's good pleaſure. When Ceſar had peruſed theſe writings, with the letters alſo of Varus and Sabinus; what money Herod had left behind him; and the yearly revenue of the government, and what Antipas himſelf had ſuggeſted in his own right, he call'd a council of his friends to adviſe upon the whole, and ſo gave audience to the competitors: Caius the ſon of Agrippa by his daughter Julia, whom he had adopted, ſitting preſident. Antipater the ſon of Salome ſtood up firſt: (an excellent ſpeaker, and a bitter enemy to Archelaus, delivering himſelf in terms to this effect.

Antipater againſt Archelaus.

Uſurpation charged upon him.

Exerciſe of arbitrary power.

“ It ſeems a ſtrange thing to me, (ſays Antipater) that Archelaus ſhould be ſo childiſh as to pretend title to a kingdom, after ſo abſolute an exerciſe of ſovereign power over it already; and not ſo much as troubling his head either for Ceſar's ratification or aſſent. I ſpeak of his late maſſacre of ſo many Jews upon one of their ſolemn feſtivals: or ſuppoſing the puniſhment itſelf never ſo reaſonable, that which would have been an act of juſtice in a lawful prince, was yet a murder in an uſurper. If he acted as a king without the emperor's approbation, it was an affront to Ceſar: if he pretended to exerciſe acts of authority in the capacity of a private man, it was yet worſe. So that he could not reaſonably expect the benefit of a derivative power from Ceſar in his favour, after what he had done to ſupplant it in the original. He charg'd him likewiſe with changing officers of the army at his own will and pleaſure; placing himſelf upon the royal throne, and hearing cauſes there in the quality of a ſovereign prince; receiving and anſwering publick addreſſes and petitions, and doing all thoſe things, in fine, without any warrant, which Ceſar himſelf could have enabled him to do; taking upon himſelf, in his own name alſo, to diſcharge thoſe that were committed to the circus. He urged, upon the whole, a great many objections againſt him; ſome actually true, and others, conſidering the heat and ambition of a young man, raiſed on a ſudden to ſuch a pitch of dignity and power, not altogether improbable: beſide the ill-natur'd extravagance of a revelling entertainment he made the very night after the death of his father: which the people look'd upon with ſo much horror for the unnatural ingratitude of it, toward ſo indulgent a parent, that they were ready to break out into an uproar, to ſee how he impos'd upon the world with a perſonated affectation of ſorrow in the daytime, and ſpending the whole night in luxury and riot. How can the emperor imagin that this perverſe man will ever be more thankful for a crown to him, than he has ſhew'd himſelf to ſo tender a father? What can be more inhuman than to ſing, feaſt, dance and rejoice at the death of a parent; as if it were for the deſtruction of an enemy! With what face now ſhall this man deſire Ceſar to make him a king, that has already taken upon him to make himſelf one, even without Ceſar! But the great aggravation of the wickedneſs in the temple, was the horridneſs of the murder in that ſacred place; and the doing it upon a ſolemn feſtival, where both citizens and ſtrangers promiſcuouſly were ſlaughter'd like ſacrifices; the holy place fill'd with carcaſſes; and this violence not committed by a ſtranger neither, but by an uſurper under the countenance of royal power, the better to colour his tyrannical and barbarous cruelties. His father knew his temper ſo very well, that he never ſo much as dreamt of him for a ſucceſſor, ſo long as he was in his right ſenſes; but Antipas was the man he pitch'd upon, in his former teſtament, while he was as yet in his ſenſes and in ſound health both of body and mind; or putting the caſe that Herod's opinion of Archelaus might have been the ſame upon the making of his firſt will, as it was afterward; has he not done enough ſince that time to ſhew what a king he is like to make, in aſſuming to act by a ſelf-created power, and in the circumſtances of a private man to cut throats in the very temple?"

Antipater appeals upon the matter of fact.

Antipater, upon theſe words, appeal'd to ſeveral of his relations that were there preſent for witneſſes to the truth of what he had deliver'd, and ſo made an end of his diſcourſe.

Nicolsus ſpeaks to the heads of the accuſation.

To this Nicolaus reply'd, and argu'd on the behalf of Archelaus, "that the blood of thoſe that were kill'd in the temple reſted upon their own heads; and that they had carry'd the tumult ſo far, there was no other way of ſuppreſſing it. The inſolence, 'tis true, may ſeem to point at Archelaus; but the affront ſtruck at the authority of Ceſar himſelf in the murder of thoſe men, contrary to the laws of God and nations, and without any reſpect to the ſacredneſs of the place or occaſion, that were ſent in an orderly way to quiet the mutineers. Now theſe are the people that Antipater ſtands up for, without either honeſty or ſhame, provided he may but gratify the rancour of his ſpleen to Archelaus. The fault was in the aggreſſors; and not in thoſe that were both provoked and neceſſitated to take up arms in their own juſt defence. As for the reſt of the articles that were charg'd upon Archelaus, they were all retorted upon the accuſers themſelves, who were all conſenting to the very action they complained of: beſide that they made the thing a great deal worſe than it really was, out of ſpite to the manager, tho' a near relation, and one that had deſerved highly well of the father, and done many good offices to the family. As to the authority of the king's teſtament, he was not only in perfect ſenſe and memory when he wrote it; but ſecond wills, as well as ſecond thoughts are commonly beſt. And for a further proof that it was written with conſideration, he ſubmitted the validity of it to the good pleaſure of Ceſar. But Ceſar (ſays he) is too generous to encourage ungrateful examples in favour of a ſort of people, that after the higheſt obligations imaginable to Herod in his life-time, take ſuch pains to overthrow his will now he is dead. Ceſar will rather exerciſe his goodneſs in favour of a faithful friend and ally, that lays himſelf at his feet, and not ſuffer his imperial dignity and juſtice that have made him ſo famous over the face of the earth, to be impos'd upon by envy and calumny. Will Antipater have Herod's to be the will of a mad-man, becauſe it deſigns ſo dutiful a ſon for a ſucceſſor? Or is it a ſign of madneſs to pay ſo abſolute a deference to the liking and authority of Ceſar? It would be hard to conceive, how Herod ſhould be ſo miſtaken in the perſon, and at the ſame time ſo right in the prudential part of the method and direction."

Archelaus caſts himſelf at Ceſar's feet, who does him great houour.

When Nicolaus had now finiſh'd his ſpeech, Archelaus threw himſelf at Ceſar's feet; who preſently taking him up with great humanity, paſs'd this judgment upon him, that he was worthy of a crown, which was underſtood for a kind of owning his authority. Ceſar finding the young prince ſo well ſatisfied, diſcharg'd the meeting without coming to any final reſolution at preſent, and ſo took time to bethink himſelf whether he ſhould ſettle the government upon Archelaus alone, or in partition upon the whole family, in regard that they all depended upon him alike.

CHAP. XII.

Marthace the mother of Archelaus dies. A ſedition in Jeruſalem. Varus makes examples of the ring-leaders. Sabinus has the command in Varus's abſence. The Jews threaten Sabinus. They draw into three bodies, mount the temple galleries and gall the Romans. The Romans fire the galleries and burn the Jews. The temple rifled. The Jews beſet the palace, &c. Several rebellions. Simon, once a ſervant of Herod, ſet up for king, &c. Athronges ſets up for king, with his four brothers; but in the end, they are all taken and ſuppreſs'd. Varus marches to the relief of Judea. The rendezvous at Ptolemais, &c. The Jews fly before Varus, who puts ſome two thouſand of the ring-leaders to death. Ten thouſand Jews in a body again. Abiah makes them priſoners of war, &c. The Jews ſend an embaſſy to Ceſar, who gives them audience in the temple of Apollo. An invective againſt Archelaus. Nicolaus, in defence of Herod and Archelaus.

The mother of Archelaus dies.

A ſedition in Jeruſalem.

Varus makes examples of the ring-leaders.

A legion left in Jeruſalem.

BEFORE this affair could be ſettled, Marthace the mother of Archelaus fell ſick and dy'd; and news was brought from Varus the governor of Syria, that the Jews were revolted, having been very mutinous and troubleſome ever ſince the departure of Archelaus. But Varus falling upon them with his troops before they could well gather to a head, made examples of the ringleaders, and ſo having, in a great meaſure, ſuppreſs'd the ſedition, went back again to Antioch; leaving only one legion in Jeruſalem to prevent tumults.

Sabinus oppoſes the Jews in Varus's abſence.

The Jews threaten Sabinus.

But this proviſion, it ſeems, was not ſufficient; for Varus was no ſooner gone, but Sabinus, Ceſar's deputy governor in Syria, looking upon himſelf now by the enforcement of theſe troops and guards, to be at leaſt a match for the multitude, he turned his arms againſt the Jews: galling and provoking them to the laſt degree of impatience; attacking ſeveral of their forts and caſtles; rifling and ſearching every where at pleaſure for conceal'd mony, under pretext of publick ſervices; but all this while advancing his own private ends of gain and booty. The feaſt of the paſſover; (which is the name of the moſt celebrated feſtival we have) that feſtival, I ſay, now drawing on, brought up to Jeruſalem a great many thouſands of the Jews from all quarters; ſome for worſhip and devotion, and others out of pure ſpite and revenge. Theſe numbers gather'd toge-

They draw into three bodies.

Sabinus ſends to Varus for relief.

The Romans ſally upon the Jews.

The Jews mount the temple-galleries, and gall the Romans.

The Romans fire the galleries, and burn the Jews.

The temple rifled.

The Jews beſet the temple.

together, not only from Judea, where the outrage fell heavieſt, but from Galilee, Idumea, Jericho, and from the towns beyond Jordan; being all unanimouſly reſolved to call Sabinus to a ſevere account for his inſolency. They divided their troops into three bodies; one of them took poſſeſſion of the circus; another was poſted upon the north and eaſt ſide of the temple; the third upon the weſt, where the king's palace ſtood. When they had thus begirt and hemm'd in the Romans, they made ready for the aſſault. Sabinus was not a little ſurpriz'd at the boldneſs of theſe people, and finding that they were deſperately reſolved either to conquer or die, he ſent with all ſpeed to Varus for immediate relief; for the legion that he had left there would undoubtedly be cut to pieces elſe. He himſelf, in the mean time, got up to the top of a high turret belonging to the caſtle of Phaſael, which was erected in memory of Herod's brother who was ſlain by the Parthians, and from thence gave the ſign with his hand to the Romans to ſally out upon the Jews; expecting that others ſhould expoſe their lives to gratify his avarice, at the ſame time when he himſelf durſt not ſo much as ſhew his head among his friends. But the Romans however made a ſally, from which enſued a ſharp encounter; for tho' the ſoldiers did all that was poſſible for brave men to do, the courage of the Jews was not abated, notwithſtanding a great loſs of their people. They poſſeſs'd themſelves after this, of ſome of the outward galleries of the temple, whence they gall'd the Romans from above, with ſtones and arrows from their ſlingers and archers, as ſpectators rather than actors in that part of the combat; for the Romans below, were out of diſtance of reaching their enemies. The fight continu'd a long time upon this diſadvantage, till in the end the Romans ſet fire to the timber-work under the galleries, and ply'd it ſo hard, by adding fewel to it, that the flame ſhot up to the roof in a moment, and laying hold of the pitch, wax and oils that were employ'd upon the ornament and guilding, put all into ſo furious a blaze, that it was certain death ſo much as to attempt a relief: for what with thoſe that were cruſh'd to death with the fall of the building, and thoſe that were put to the ſword upon the ground, there was not ſo much as one man eſcap'd of thoſe that had poſſeſs'd the galleries. Several of them in deſpair or aſtoniſhment, leapt into the flames in a fright; others caſt themſelves upon the points of their ſwords: and for thoſe that thought to ſave themſelves in holes and hiding-places, they were all cut off by the ſoldiers; for what could their courage avail them without arms? As the fire ſlacken'd, the Romans preſs'd thorough the ruins up to the very repoſitory of the holy treaſure, whereof a conſiderable part was pilfer'd and embezzled by the ſoldiers, and not above four * hundred talents (as Sabinus pretended) brought to him. The Jews were now in a double diſtreſs; partly for the loſs of ſo many of their dear friends, and partly for the ſacrilegious robbery committed upon their temple: but however, in this fit of deſperation, they got a body together of the moſt reſolute men they had, and beſet the palace with them; menacing immediately to ſet fire to it, and to put every man to the ſword that ſhould eſcape the flames, if they did not in that inſtant quit the place and depart; with a promiſe of impunity to Sabinus and all his people, if they went away preſently; the greater part of the court being alſo on their ſide. Rufus and Gratus, with three thouſand of Herod's choiceſt men, went over to the Romans, together with the horſe that were under Rufus's command, which was a ſeaſonable and a conſiderable enforcement; but the Jews ply'd their work yet nevertheleſs, mining the walls, menacing and adviſing the enemy to be gone while they might, without putting a people to the laſt extremity of deſperation, that were reſolv'd at all hazards to maintain their liberties, with the laws and cuſtoms of their forefathers. Sabinus was willing enough to have complied; but being conſcious to himſelf of what he had deſerv'd from the Jews, he durſt not venture himſelf upon their promiſe; beſide, that the conditions were too advantageous to be made good, he thought; and ſo he determin'd to venture the holding of it out, in the hope and expectation of ſuccour from Varus.

They offer an indemnity upon condition of departing.

Rufus and Gratus go over to the Romans.

Several rebellions.

While matters at Jeruſalem were in this poſture, there were ſeveral other inſurrections in different parts of Judea elſwhere, upon the inſtigation either of profit or of a vindictive malice. There was about two thouſand of Herod's disbanded men gather'd together upon this occaſion into a body, with a reſolution to encounter a party of the king's under the command of Ahiab, Herod's nephew; but Ahiab knowing the people he had to do withal to be old ſoldiers and try'd men, he kept off from fighting all that poſſible, by ſhifting into faſtneſſes and defilees, where there was no coming at them.

Judas the notorious robber haraſſes the king's country.

On the other hand there was Judas the ſon of Ezekias, a notorious robber, that held Herod formerly ſo long in play, though at laſt he worſted him. This ſame Judas, with a band of deſperate men that he had gotten about him at Sepphoris, a city of Galilee, made an inroad into the king's country; ſeiz'd his magazines and military ſtores; arm'd all his people to a man; took the king's moneys; made himſelf formidable to the inhabitants; pillaging and ſpoiling wherever he came, and aſpiring, in fine, to the government itſelf; not by any arts and ways of honour (for he had no qualifications of that ſort) but purely upon the encouragement of doing what miſchief he pleas'd, in a licentious manner.

Simon once a ſervant of Herod's, ſets up for king.

While things were in this confuſion, there was one Simon, formerly a ſervant of king Herod's; but a man mightily celebrated for his prodigious ſtrength; the gracefulneſs and the goodlineſs of his perſon and ſtature. This man had the vanity and confidence to venture at the crown; took his guards about him, and and was ſaluted every where by the mad multitude, with acclamations of God ſave the king, and look'd upon himſelf, in fine, to be the fitteſt man in the whole world for the command. And for a prologue to his greatneſs, he began with the burning and the rifling of the palace at Jericho, making the ſame havock in other of the king's houſes; ſtill allow-

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* Four hundred talents weighed forty five thouſand ſix hundred twenty five pounds, and their value in ſilver amounted to one hundred, thirty ſix thouſand eight hundred ſeventy five pounds, and in gold to two millions one hundred and ninety thouſand pounds of our money.

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A ſharp fight betwixt Simon and Gratus. Simon routed taken, and his head ſtruck off.

ing his followers the advantage of the booty. And he would not have ſtop'd there neither, if he had not been ſeaſonably prevented; for Gratus, one of the king's captains, and at that time taking part with the Romans, advanced with his troops againſt Simon, and there paſs'd a very ſharp and an obſtinate fight betwixt them: But Simon's people that came from the other ſide of Jordan, managing the action with more courage than ſkill, were totally routed and cut to pieces, and Simon himſelf being taken priſoner in his flight over certain difficult paſſes; Gratus order'd his head to be ſtruck off.

This humour of the common people was up every where; for the royal palace at Amatha, by the river Jordan, was burnt to the ground too by ſuch another ſort of rabble as thoſe that follow'd Simon. This rage was little better than an epidemical madneſs; and all for want of their own king, by good reaſon and diſcipline, to keep the people in their duty. But upon the bringing in of foreigners to reclaim them, what with their intolerable pride and avarice, the people were only the worſe for it.

Athronges ſits in council with a crown upon his head, and treated in the ſtile of king. Outrageous and cruel.

All taken and ſuppreſs'd.

There was one Athronges too, a man neither of birth, virtue, nor fortune, but one of the meaneſt even of ſhepherds; only a huge bulk of body, and a brutal ſtrength of limbs. With theſe qualifications, he put in for a pretence to the government, with a reſolution to venture his life for the obtaining of a prerogative to do miſchief at will and pleaſure. This Athonges had four brothers, as ſtrong and as gigantick as himſelf, and each of them a troop of ſoldiers under his command, which they look'd upon as a foundation ſufficient toward the gaining of their point. There were vaſt multitudes of people that came in to theſe five brothers; and Athronges made uſe of his four brethren to go upon parties, and to act as his lieutenants, while he himſelf ſat in counſel with a crown upon his head, giving orders and reſolutions in affairs of ſtate. This pageantry continu'd for ſome time, and the royal ſtile and title did not ſeem altogether idle neither; for they did what he would, and there was no diſputing of his commands: Unmercifully cruel, whenever either the Romans or the king's ſoldiers fell into his power: For he hated them both alike; the one for the liberties they had taken under Herod; and the other, for injuries of freſher date. The animoſity grew every day ſo much more mortal and implacable than another, that, betwixt the havock they made for profit and booty, and the cruelties they committed even for cruelty's ſake and to keep their hands in ure, there was no creature ſafe. They fell upon a Roman convoy out of an ambuſh near Emmaus, with corn and arms for the camp; kill'd the commander Arius, with forty of his ſoldiers, all brave men upon the place; and the reſt muſt have expected the ſame fate too, if Gratus had not brought them off with a party juſt in the nick, leaving their dead behind them. They continued skirmiſhing at this rate for a long time, to the great trouble of the Romans, but a much greater to themſelves; for in the concluſion they were all taken; one in an encounter with Gratus, another by Ptolemy. The eldeſt fell into the hands of Archelaus; and the laſt, finding the caſe deſperate, their men ſpent with toil and ſickneſs, and no hope of recruits or redreſs, yielded himſelf to Archelaus upon his oath and honour for the performance of conditions. But this was ſome time after.

In this licence of robbery and confuſion, every new band of mutineers would be ſetting up new kings; which tore the commonwealth to pieces: the Jews that were ſtill dividing into feuds and factions among themſelves, ſuffer'd hereby extremely; but the Romans all this while came off at a cheaper rate.

Varus marches to the relief of Judea. The rendezvous at Ptolemais.

Varus's ſon lays Sepphoris in aſhes.

The Arabians burn Arus, and rifle and burn Sampho.

Emmaus burnt by Varus's order.

The Jews at the approach of Varus.

Sabinus ſhips away before Varus ſets eye on him.

The news that Varus had received from Sabinus of the danger he was in, put him into ſo great an apprehenſion for the third legion (which was the whole number they had in Syria) that he took the other two, and four troops of horſe, with the auxiliaries of the king's, and the tetrarch's, and haſten'd away into Judea to the relief of the beſieged; appointing the rendezvous at Ptolemais, and taking fifteen hundred men along with him from Berytus by the way. There was alſo Aretas the petrean (he that eſpous'd the Roman intereſt out of a pique to Herod) who ſupply'd him with a conſiderable enforcement both of horſe and foot; but when the army was drawn all into a body at Ptolemais, Varus gave the command of part of it to his ſon, and one of his particular friends, with order to march into Galilee, which is not far from Ptolemais. Upon this inroad into the country, he carry'd all before him, wherever he met with any oppoſition; took Sepphoris, laid the city in aſhes, and ſold the people for ſlaves at an outcry. Varus himſelf advanced with his army toward Samaria, but there was no damage done to the city, becauſe he knew them to be well affected; and in their own diſpoſition, peaceable enough. But he encamped in a village call'd Arus, which belonged to Ptolemy. This village the Arabians burnt, in revenge to the very friends of Herod, for Herod's ſake. The army advanced afterward to Sampho, which the ſame Arabians rifled, tho' a ſtrong place, and afterward ſet it on fire; but, in ſhort, there was nothing eſcap'd them, that whole expedition, but all deſtroy'd by fire and ſword. Emmaus was burnt by the order of Varus, in revenge of his ſoldiers that were ſlain there; but the inhabitants had quitted it firſt. Upon his approach from thence toward Jeruſalem, the Jews who had beſieged the legion upon that quarter, immediately upon the ſight of the army, abandon'd their poſt, and in a fright brake up to ſhift for themſelves. Varus fell very ſeverely upon the Jeruſalem-Jews for this ſcandalous uproar; but they had this to ſay in their excuſe, that it falling out in a time when there was ſuch a prodigious recourſe of people to Jeruſalem, it was the ſtrangers made the war, not the inhabitants; and that they did not only oppoſe the Romans, but ran the very riſque with them in the fate of the ſame ſiege. As for Sabinus, he declined coming in Varus's Sight, and withdrew himſelf out of the city toward the ſea.

Varus ſearches out the ring-leaders of this uproar, and puts near two thouſand to death.

Varus, upon this, ſent up and down all over the country to inform himſelf of the ring-leaders of the revolt; and upon clear proofs againſt them, ſome he puniſh'd, others he pardon'd and let go, crucifying about two thouſand upon this occaſion. Varus's ſoldiers had done a great deal of miſchief

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Ten thouſand Jews in a body again. Varus leaves a garriſon at Jeruſalem, and returns to Antioch.

much againſt his will, in the heat and rage of a military licence; ſo that finding no further occaſion for his army, he ſent it away: but hearing afterward that ten thouſand of the Jews were got into a body, he order'd out a ſtrong detachment to fall upon them in their quarters; yet without daring to engage, they deliver'd themſelves up to Ahiab priſoners at diſcretion. Varus ſet the common people at liberty; ſent the heads of the riot to Ceſar, and forgave all the reſt, ſaving only ſome relations of Herod, that had ſo little honour or conſcience, as without any regard to affinity, or juſtice, to engage in ſo wicked a war. Matters being thus compos'd, Varus left the ſame legion ſtill in garriſon at Jeruſalem, and went back to Antioch.

The Jews ſend an embaſſy to Ceſar.

Ceſar gives them audience in the temple of Apollo.

THIS difficulty was no ſooner over in Judea, but Archelaus was encounter'd with another at Rome, that happen'd as follows. "The Jews, with the permiſſion of Varus, ſent an embaſſy to Auguſtus, for leave to live according to their own laws. There were fifty Jews join'd in the commiſſion, and upward of eight thouſand more of the city, that preſented themſelves to ſecond them. Ceſar hereupon, appointed a ſelect number of his friends, and others of the firſt rank in the city, to attend him in the temple of Apollo, a moſt magnificent ſtructure of his own erecting. Thither came the embaſſadors alſo with a long train of Jews after them, and Archelaus, with his friends likewiſe. But the king's relations could not tell which way to turn themſelves: for on the one hand, they abhorr'd Archelaus, and therefore could not ſide with him; and on the other hand, if they ſhould have clos'd with the embaſſadors, they muſt have betray'd themſelves to the king for enemies to a prince of their own blood. There was alſo Philip the brother too, that came out of Syria by the advice of Varus in the proſpect of aſſiſting Archelaus, for whom he had a particular tenderneſs and reſpect: but yet Philip all this while was not without hope, that if the embaſſadors ſhould gain their end, and the dignity come to be divided among Herod's children, he might come to put in for a part of the kingdom himſelf.

An invective againſt Archelaus.

THE firſt thing the ambaſſadors inſiſted upon in their addreſs, was an earneſt requeſt that they might be no longer under the power of kings; and they began with the hiſtory of the miſgovernment and iniquity of Herod. "He was a king (they ſaid) only in name; but in the exerciſe of his power, a tyrant; and not only verſ'd in the common arts of oppreſſion, but fruitful in inventions of his own, to improve the myſtery. It would be to no purpoſe to reckon up how many lives he has taken away, when the ſurvivors were yet more miſerable than thoſe he deſtroy'd; for they liv'd in perpetual danger and terror, under ſo mercileſs and rapacious a maſter, and as much at mercy in their fortunes as in their perſons. What was all the pomp and vanity of his expences upon ſtrangers for? the repairing, rebuilding, beautifying, and enriching of their cities; but a ſingular way he had found out by himſelf of dreining and beggaring his own people at home, to gratify his vanity abroad; and of turning a flouriſhing and a plentiful country into a deſart? how many of the nobility has he put to death, upon falſe, frivolous pretences, without any colour of law or juſtice, and purely for the benefit of their forfeited eſtates! and how many others has he neceſſitated to compound for their lives, with the loſs of their fortunes! and ſo in the matter of tributes, and ordinary taxes, it was not enough for every man to pay according to his aſſeſſment and proportion, without bribes, and preſents over and above, to court-minions, collectors, and other raking officers and ſervants, to prevent further vexation. We ſhall ſay nothing of his brutal practices, both upon virgins and matrons, but paſs them over in ſilence, for the honour of thoſe innocent names that ſuffer'd the abuſe: but, in ſhort, (ſays he) if the fierceſt beaſt in the foreſt had been ſet over us, he would have govern'd us juſt as Herod did: and of all the miſeries that ever this nation indur'd, the calamity of his reign was incomparably the greateſt: wherefore the people might well be allow'd to compliment Archelaus upon the death of his father, for they were ſure beforehand, they could never have a worſe in his place. They were as frankly forward alſo, out of a reſpect to the ſon, in promoting the funeral honours of the father, and ſo in other offices of deference and good manners, which they thought might gain upon the good-will of the ſucceſſor: but Archelaus quickly gave the people to underſtand, that he was his father's own ſon; and they might ſee even before he was in the ſeat, what might afterward be expected from him, whenever he came to govern. His whole fortune was as yet at the mercy of Ceſar; and to give his new ſubjects ſome taſte beforehand of his virtue, modeſty, and juſtice, he ſacrificed three thouſand citizens of his own tribe to the honour of God, in the very temple, with as little regret, as if they had been but ſo many common victims. Let the world judge now of the confidence of this odious man, that can have the face, after the committing of ſo execrable an outrage himſelf, to charge the crime upon others, and at the ſame time to lay claim to the government." The embaſſadors, in fine, ſumm'd up their whole buſineſs in a ſhort requeſt to Ceſar, to change the form of their government, and deliver them from the oppreſſion of a monarchy; annexing them to Syria under ſuch rulers as Ceſar ſhould think fit to appoint: and it would then appear whether they were a people that delighted in broils and innovations, or men of order and obedience; under the authority of lawful governors.

Nicolaus in defence of Herod and Archelaus.

THE embaſſadors having now deliver'd what they had to ſay, Nicolaus ſtood up in the defence, both of Herod and Archelaus. "Pray, under favour, how came it (ſays he) if Herod was guilty of all this, that he ſhould never be call'd to an account for it in his life-time, when they might have appeal'd to the juſtice of Auguſtus for remedy, and ſatisfaction? as for the caſe of Archelaus, it was not properly his act, but an abſolute force put upon him by the contumacy of a faction that firſt trampled upon “the laws in a ſeditious tumult; and then with ſwords and ſtones, cut the throats, and beat out the brains of thoſe that were ſent to quiet them. And what was Archelaus's crime now, but the ſuppreſſing of an outrageous inſurrection by a ſtronger power? but, (ſays he) turning to the accuſers; ye are poſſeſs'd with a ſpirit of diſobedience and licentiouſneſs; ſedition and rebellion are what you moſt delight in, now is there any other nation under heaven whoſe people are of ſuch an obſtinate and refractory temper.

CHAP. XIII.

Ceſar's generoſity in favour of Herod. The portion of the ſons of Herod.

Ceſar's generoſity in favour of Herod. The portion of the ſons of Herod.

WHEN Ceſar had heard both ſides, he diſmiſs'd the aſſembly, and after ſome few days declared Archelaus ſucceſſor to the one moiety of Herod's juriſdiction, but under the title of an Ethnarch, not of a king, with a promiſe yet of the kingdom too, whenever he ſhould make himſelf worthy of that honour. The other half was divided betwixt the two ſons of Herod, Philip, and that Antipas who had the diſpute with Archelaus about the intire ſucceſſion. This Antipas had for his ſhare, Galilee, with the country beyond Jordan, and two * hundred talents a year in revenue. Philip's portion was Batanea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis; and part of the palace of Zenodorus, (as they call'd it) and a hundred † talents in yearly revenue. Archelaus had Judea, Idumea, and likewiſe Samaria; which was diſcharg'd by Ceſar of a fourth part of the duty, for ſtanding loyal when the reſt were in rebellion. There fell to his lot alſo the tower of Straton, Sebaſte, Joppa, and Jeruſalem: for Gaza, Gadara, and Hippon, living in a conformity to the Greek cuſtoms and manners, were no longer dependencies upon the kingdom, but annexed by Auguſtus to Syria. The revenue of Archelaus upon the whole, was ſix ‡ hundred talents a year.

THUS ſtood the patrimony of the ſons of Herod. And for Salome; beſide the cities of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phaſaelis, and five hundred thouſand pieces of minted ſilver, which her brother had given her by will, Auguſtus gave her alſo a palace in Aſcalon, within the dominion of Archelaus; and her income was reckon'd at * ſixty talents a year: all the other legacies to the reſt of the king's relations being made good alſo, according to the will of Herod. Auguſtus beſtow'd likewiſe upon Herod's two virgin daughters, over and above what their father left them, two hundred and fifty thouſand pieces of minted ſilver each, and marry'd them to the two ſons of Pheroras. Nay, and what was yet more magnificent and generous than all the reſt, he divided his own legacies, valued at fifteen † hundred talents, among the ſons of Herod too; ſome few pieces of plate excepted, which he kept to himſelf; not for the value of the thing, but for the memory of the donor.

CHAP. XIV.

A counterfeit Alexander. The management of the impoſture. The cheat paſſes among the Jews for current. He takes up money upon his royal credit. He goes to Rome with a princely train. The Jews flock to him at Puteoli, and elſewhere. Ceſar ſends Celadus to fetch him. Ceſar finds him to be a counterfeit; and he confeſſes the abuſe. The cheat is condemn'd to the gallies, and the adviſer put to death.

A counterfeit Alexander a Jew.

THE buſineſs of the will, and the legacies being now over; there was a certain young man, by nation a Jew, and trained up at Sidon, with a freeman of Rome, who bore ſo exact a reſemblance to Alexander the ſon of Herod, who was put to death by his father, that it was almoſt impoſſible to have diſtinguiſh'd the one from the other. This Jew took the hint by the right handle, and letting fall ſome words pointing at the relation he had to that family, he inſinuated, by this glancing way, ſome remote pretenſion that he might have to the crown. Upon this he form'd a project how to put his pretenſions in execution; to which end he communicated his deſign to a cunning fellow of his own tribe and way: one that had run through all the cabals and intrigues of the court; and endued with a genius for plots and miſchief. Upon laying their heads together, it was this politician's advice, that the young man ſhould ſet up for that very Alexander who was ſaid to be dead; and the ſtory, in ſhort, was to run thus: that the perſon entruſted with the execution of the two brothers, (Alexander and Ariſtobulus) had ſet up two other bodies in their places, and ſo preſerv'd them both. The impoſtor was not only inwardly pleaſed himſelf with the conceit of the part he had to play; but the cheat paſs'd as current upon other people too; inſomuch, that coming to Crete, and after that, to the iſle of Melos, the Jews were all ſo fully perſwaded of the truth of the fact, that he took up ſeveral ſums of money among them, upon the credit of his

Another Jew adviſes him to ſet up for the right Alexander. The management of the impoſture.

At Crete, Melos, and among the Jews, the cheat paſſes for current.

royal

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* Two hundred talents weighed twenty two thouſand eight hundred and twelve pounds ſix ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to ſixty eight thouſand four hundred thirty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings, and in gold to one million ninety five thouſand pounds of our money

† An hundred talents weighed eleven thouſand four hundred and ſix pounds three ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to thirty four thouſand two hundred eighteen pounds fifteen ſhillings, and in gold to five hundred forty ſeven thouſand and five hundred pounds of Engliſh money.

‡ Six hundred talents weighed ſixty eight thouſand four hundred thirty ſeven pounds ſix ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to two hundred five thouſand, and three hundred twelve pounds ten ſhillings, and in gold to three million two hundred eighty five thouſand pounds of our money.

* Sixty talents weighed ſix thouſand eight hundred forty three pounds nine ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to two thouſand five hundred thirty one pounds five ſhillings, and in gold to three hundred twenty eight thouſand five hundred pounds of Engliſh money.

† Fifteen hundred talents weighed one hundred ſeventy one thouſand ninety three pounds nine ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to five hundred thirteen thouſand two hundred and eighty one pounds, and in gold to eight million two hundred twelve thouſand, and five hundred pounds of our money.

He takes up money upon his royal credit.

He goes to Rome with a princely train at his heels.

The Jews come flocking to him at Puteoli;

with compliments every where, and acclamations.

Ceſar ſends Celadus to fetch him.

and upon ſifting the matter finds it to be an impoſture.

Ceſar pinches him ſo cloſe, that he confeſſes the abuſe.

royal extraction. The deluſion had wrought ſo far by this time, that he began now to build caſtles in the air, and to dream of principalities and powers; what favourites he would raiſe, and to what places and preferments. Big with theſe hopes, he embark'd for Rome, attended with a fair troop of his new courtiers and diſciples. When he came to Puteoli, he had no ſooner ſet foot on ſhore there, but all the Jews, every man of them that ever had any friendſhip or acquaintance with Herod, gather'd about him, and receiv'd him as their king: people being naturally curious and credulous, where they have ſuch reſemblances and preſumptions to work upon: for this perſon was ſo very like the prince, that ſeveral of his intimate friends did not only affirm, but ſwear, upon the ſight of him, that this was Alexander himſelf, and could be no other. The rumour of this diſcovery coming to Rome, brought all the Jews out of that quarter to meet him upon the way; with praiſes and thankſgivings in their mouths, for the bleſſing of ſo wonderful and ſo ſurprizing a deliverance. He was carry'd in a ſedan with a princely pomp and equipage, (his friends ſparing for no coſt) follow'd with multitudes of people; loud acclamations, prayers, and good wiſhes, as we ſee commonly in ſuch extraordinary occaſions. But the great honour they did him was for the ſake of his ſuppoſed mother Mariamne. Now Ceſar looking upon Herod as a man not to be eaſily impos'd upon, in a matter of this importance, would not believe one ſyllable of the ſtory; but yet for ſureneſs ſake, he ſent a freeman of his, one Celadus, a contemporary and companion of the two brothers, to fetch this new Alexander, that he might have a ſight of him, which he did; and Celadus was impoſed upon as well as the reſt. But Ceſar after this, was not to be ſo eaſily put upon; for tho' they were as like as like could be upon the main, yet if a man look'd narrowly, he might find ſome particular diſagreements too, as the hands of the falſe Alexander were callous and harden'd with working; the grain of his skin coarſer than theirs are commonly that are brought up in delicacy and pleaſure. Ceſar obſerving alſo how exactly the maſter and the ſcholar agreed in the ſame tale, and that it was all but a made ſtory, asked him what was become of Ariſtobulus; and ſince they were both deliver'd together, how it came to paſs they did not both appear together, and put in for their pretenſions to their inheritance. The impoſtor made anſwer, that Ariſtobulus ſtay'd at Cyprus for fear of the danger of the ſeas; for if they ſhould both have miſcarry'd together, the whole race of Mariamne would have been extinct, and ſo care was taken for Ariſtobulus, in caſe of the worſt. The falſe Alexander affirming this, and the contriver of the ſtory joining exactly with him in the concert, Ceſar took the young man aſide. "Look ye, (ſays he) put none of your tricks upon me at your own peril. Speak truth now, and I'll give you your life. Wherefore tell me immediately what you are for a man, and who it was that put you upon this practice; for you are not old enough to be guilty of forming ſo cunning and malicious a deſign, without ſome other inſtigation." When the fellow found himſelf driven to this extremity, and that there was no evading, he told Auguſtus the whole hiſtory, with the author of the invention, and the manner of the proceeding. So Ceſar was as good as his word to the counterfeit, and condemn'd him only to the gallies, being of a robuſt conſtitution of body, and proper for that ſervice. His adviſer was put to death; and as for the Jews of Melos, they were ſufficiently puniſh'd in the expence they had been at for the honour of ſuch a piece of pageantry: and we are now come to the infamous end of a raſh and a bold impoſtor.

The counterfeit condemn'd to the gallies, and the adviſer put to death.

CHAP. XV.

The hiſtory of Archelaus in his Ethnarchy. Archelaus baniſh'd, and his goods confiſcate. A foreboding dream of Archelaus's. Simon, an Eſſene, expounds it. Glaphyra's dream of her firſt huſband.

The hiſtory of Archelaus in his Ethnarchy.

ARCHELAUS being now returned to Judea, and in poſſeſſion of his Ethnarchy, removed Joazar the ſon of Boethus from the pontificate, for having taken part, (as was pretended) with a ſeditious faction; and ſo confer'd the dignity upon Eleazar his brother. He rebuilt the palace at Jericho, at a moſt magnificent expence, and drew down one half of the ſtream that water'd the village of Neara, to a grove of palm-trees that he had lately planted in the field below. He built alſo a new village, which he call'd Archelais, after his own name; and without any regard to the laws of his country, he took Glaphyra to wife, the daughter of king Archelaus, and the widow of his brother Alexander, to whom ſhe had born ſeveral children; tho' ſuch * marriages with brothers wives are expreſly forbidden by the Jewiſh law; neither had Eleazar any long joy of his dignity; for Jeſus the ſon of Sias was put into his office while he was yet living.

IN the tenth year of the government of Archelaus, the head men of the Jews and Samaritans were ſo diſguſted at his tyrannical adminiſtration, that they join'd in a complaint againſt him to Ceſar. And they proceeded in it with the more confidence, becauſe they knew that extreme ſeverity to be directly contrary to the order and good liking of Auguſtus; who had expreſly charged him to govern his people with tenderneſs, impartiality, and juſtice. Upon the hearing of this complaint he ſent for Archelaus, who was his agent at Rome, to come to him immediately, and bad him go preſently and fetch the other Archelaus to him; without vouchſafing him a letter. Archelaus poſted away as faſt as he could into Judea; where he found the other Archelaus making merry with his friends; ſhew'd him Ceſar's order, and call'd upon him to haſten away. Upon his arrival at Rome, Ceſar heard both charge and defence; paſſed a ſentence of baniſhment upon Archelaus, with confiſcation of all his goods, and ſo ſent him away to Vienne, a city in Gaul.

Archelaus baniſh'd, and his goods confiſcated.

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* That is, to marry the wife of a brother who had iſſue by her; otherwiſe it was not only not forbidden, but expreſly commanded; and the perſon publickly branded with diſgrace and ignominy, who refus'd to do it. See Deut. xxv. 5—10.

A forebording dream of Archelaus's.

THIS Archelaus, a little before his being ſent for to Rome, had this following dream, as he told it himſelf to ſeveral of his friends. He fancy'd that he ſaw ten ears of wheat, all ripe and full, and the oxen eating them. This viſion, upon waking, ſeem'd to portend ſomething extraordinary; ſo that he conſulted ſeveral interpreters of dreams, about the meaning of it: but they being divided, one Simon an Eſſene, with leave of the reſt, gave his opinion upon the ſignification of that dream, which was, that it foreboded ſome misfortune to Archelaus; for the dreaming of oxen, a creature deſign'd for labour and ſlavery, ſeems to import * miſery; and a change of affairs beſide, becauſe upon their turning up of the ground every thing chang'd its place and figure. By the ten ears of corn is intimated the ſame definite number of years, which take their revolutions in courſe, and the reign of Archelaus ſeem'd to be now near an end. This was his interpretation of the dream: and upon the fifth day after this viſion, Archelaus, Ceſar's agent, came into Judea by the order of Ceſar, to ſummon him before Auguſtus.

Simon, an Eſſene, expounds it.

Glaphyra's dream of her firſt husband.

HIS wife Glaphyra, the daughter of king Archelaus, had alſo an odd kind of a dream. This Glaphyra (as we have ſaid before) had for her firſt husband, Alexander, the ſon of Herod, and the brother of Archelaus. Her ſecond husband, after the putting of the firſt to death by his father, was Juba the king of Mauritania; and after his death, living a widow with her father in Cappadocia, Archelaus turn'd off his former wife Mariamne; and falling paſſionately in love with Glaphyra, he marry'd her. During the time of her cohabiting with Archelaus, ſhe had this dream. "She fancy'd that ſhe ſaw her firſt husband Alexander coming toward her; and that when ſhe thought to receive him into her arms, with all poſſible joy and kindneſs, he enter'd with her into this manner of expoſtulation. Glaphyra, (ſays he) thou haſt made good the old ſaying, there's no truſting to women. Was not I the husband of your virginity? and had we not children betwixt us, the pledges of that love? how could you forget that obligation ſo far, as to engage yourſelf in a ſecond marriage? and after that, into a third; and ſo ſhameleſly to break into my family, and take my brother Archelaus for your husband? but, (ſays he) that ancient kindneſs ſhall never be forgotten, and it ſhall be my care to deliver thee from this reproach." She told this dream to ſeveral of her ſhe-friends; and within a few days after departed this life.

HAVING had occaſion in this place to diſcourſe of theſe princes, I thought it might not be improper to mention this circumſtance: eſpecially as the example is very well worth the conſideration; beſide that it is inſtructive alſo, with a reſpect to the divinity of the ſoul, and to the wiſdom of divine providence. He that will not believe this, is at liberty to think what he pleaſes, provided that others may be left to their freedom too, in making a moral uſe of theſe diſcourſes. As to the lands of Archelaus, Ceſar annex'd them to Syria, and ſent Cyrenius, a man of conſular authority, to tax the province, and to diſpoſe of the palace of Archelaus.

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* See Aſtrampſychus in his Oneiro-Criticks.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK XVIII.

From the Year of the World 3973 to 4003.

CHAP. I.

Cyrenius made governor of Syria: And Coponius governor of Judea, ſent along with him. Cyrenius levies a tax: The Jews murmur at it; but Joazar keeps them quiet. Judas, a Gaulanite of Gamala, and Sadducus, a Phariſee, commit horrible outrages, under the colour of a common good. The temple burnt to the ground. The fruit of innovations. Judas and Sadducus ſtart a fourth ſect.

Cyrenius governor of Syria, and cenſor of the tax.

CYRENIUS was at this time ſent governor by Ceſar into Syria. He was a man of eminent fame; a Roman ſenator, and one that had paſs'd through all the degrees and offices of honour, up to the dignity of a conſul. Coponius, who commanded the horſe, went along with him, as governor of Judea; but Judea being already annexed to Syria, it was Cyrenius's province to tax and aſſeſs thoſe people, and to make ſeizure of the monies and moveables of Archelaus.

Cyrenius levies a tax, and ſeizes the eſtates of Archelaus.

The Jews murmur, but Joazar the high-prieſt keeps them quiet.

THE Jews at firſt expreſs'd their diſlike of this way of aſſeſſing; but betwixt the perſuaſion and authority of the high-prieſt Joazar, the ſon of Boethus, they were prevail'd upon to ſubmit and comply without any farther trouble. There aroſe ſoon after this, one Judas, a Gaulanite, of the city of Gamala; who together with one Sadducus a Phariſee, inveigled the people into a revolt. "Taxes, (they ſaid) were only marks of ſlavery, and therefore the whole nation ſhould do well to ſtand up for an univerſal liberty; and one lucky hit would make them free and eaſy for ever, and advance them in their reputation, as well as ſecure them in their poſſeſſions: But in order to effect this, they were to ſtickle for themſelves, and ſtand up in their own defence, otherwiſe they could not expect the aſſiſtance of heaven."

Judas a Gaulanite of Gamala, and Sadducus a Phariſee, ſtir up the people to a rebellion.

Horrible outrages, under pretext of liberty, property, and the common good.

THIS evil counſel diſpos'd the multitude, who liſtened to it with eager ears, to attempt the commiſſion of all ſorts of miſchief and outrage; and it is not to be expreſs'd, the havock theſe turbulent incendiaries made in the nation: What with murders, robberies, depredations, without diſtinction of friend or foe; aſſaſſinates, maſſacres, and what not? under a pretext all this while, of advancing the common good of liberty and property; and nothing at laſt but paſſion and private intereſt in the bottom. And at the ſame time, while the citizens were tearing one another to pieces at home with a civil war in their own bowels, a foreign war upon them from abroad, and a terrible famine to encounter over and above;

Wars and famine.

The temple burnt to the ground.

nothing could yet put a ſtop to the outrageous courſe they were in, of blood and deſolation; till the fire, in the concluſion, laid hold of the holy temple itſelf.

The fruit of innovations Judas and Sadducus ſtart a fourth ſect.

This was the fruit of hankering after new laws and cuſtoms, and quitting eſtabliſh'd foundations. And Judas and Sadducus, out of a capricious ſingularity of humour, would needs be ſuperadding a fourth ſect to the three former; by which bait of innovation, they drew in a mighty party to them, and not only prov'd the occaſion of a preſent confuſion, but laid the foundation of greater miſchiefs to come. Wherefore it would not be amiſs to ſay ſomewhat in this place of thoſe pernicious opinions and principles that have wrought us all this woe.

CHAP. II.

The Phariſees practices and opinions. Men of great reputation with the people. The way of the Sadducees. The Eſſenes; their doctrine, courſe of life and government. A fourth ſect for abſolute liberty, that owns no ſuperior but God.

THERE were of old three famous ſects of religion among the Jews. The Eſſenes, the Sadducees, and thoſe that they call'd Phariſees. I ſhall touch upon them again, in the ſecond book of my wars of the Jews; though it will not be improper to ſay ſomewhat of them alſo in this place.

The Phariſees practices and opinions.

The Phariſees manner of life is ſimple and auſtere, without any luxurious delicacies. They make a conſcience of keeping cloſe to the dictates of their reaſon, and pay ſuch a veneration to the counſels of their elders, that they hearken to them without any contradiction or controul. They aſcribe all things to fate; but not ſo, as abſolutely to exclude free will neither: for though all things are done, they ſay, by God's order and appointment; this does not yet hinder the concurrence of the will, in caſes that have a regard either to good or evil. They believe the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments in another world: The wicked to be condemn'd to perpetual chains and darkneſs, and the good to riſe again with comfort. By theſe doctrines they have advanced themſelves to a mighty reputation among the people; and all things are done in the ſolemn offices of prayer and divine worſhip, according to their ſenſe and preſcription: Such is the veneration the people have for the wiſdom, temperance and integrity of theſe men.

Men of great reputation with the people. The way of the Sadducees

The Sadducees on the other hand, hold that our bodies and ſouls die together; and that we have no other obligation upon us than to obſerve the law: Inſomuch, that they value themſelves upon a right they have to diſpute the higheſt points with their teachers. Theſe people are not many in number, but for the moſt part men of quality, and matters go ſeldom their way; for when they come once to bear offices, how unwillingly ſoever, they are forc'd to go over in a conformity to the Phariſees; for the common people will not ſuffer it to be otherwiſe.

The Eſſenes. Their opinions, courſe of life and government.

The Eſſenes aſcribe the government of the world to God's providence without any exception. They hold the immortality of the ſoul; and celebrate juſtice, both in practice and doctrine, as the ſovereign virtue. They ſend their gifts to the temple, without going thither themſelves; for they offer their ſacrifices apart, in a peculiar way of worſhip, and with more religious ceremonies. As to their converſation, they are men of excellent morals; and their whole buſineſs is husbandry. They are eminent for their juſtice, beyond either Greeks or Barbarians, as a virtue that hath been a long time their application and ſtudy. Their goods are all in common, without any diſtinction of rich and poor among them. They have neither wives, nor ſervants; for they look upon the one as an encroachment upon the natural liberty of mankind, and the other as a circumſtance that carries trouble and uneaſineſs along with it: So that they chuſe rather by a mutual exchange of good offices to help one another. This is their way of life, and they reckon themſelves to be upward of four thouſand ſouls in this ſociety. Their treaſurers and commiſſaries are men of integrity, choſen from among their prieſts; and it is their care to make proviſion out of the fruits of the earth for the feeding and maintaining of the whole body. They live upon the main, much at the rate of the Pliſti among the Dacians.

A fourth ſect for abſolute liberty. They own no king or maſter, but God.

The founder of the fourth ſect of religion was Judas Galileus, and this was much the ſame with that of the Phariſees, ſaving only in the maxim of an uncontroulable liberty; for they own no other lord and ſuperior than God himſelf, and will rather expoſe themſelves and their deareſt relations to the moſt exquiſite of torments, than call any man by the name of maſter. But this is ſo known a truth upon every day's obſervation and experience, that it will need no farther confirmation; beſide that all that can be ſaid of it will fall infinitely ſhort of expreſſing the invincible conſtancy of theſe people, in the contempt of pain: And this animoſity was yet farther inflamed, by the inſupportable cruelties of Geſſius Florus, the governor of Judea, which ended at laſt in a downright revolt from the Romans. And this is all I have to ſay of their ſects.

CHAP. III.

Cyrenius ſells Archelaus's eſtate, &c. Herod and Philip ſettled in their tetrarchy. Herod fortifies Sephoris and Betaramphtha: He beautifies Paleas, &c. He enlarges Bethſaida, &c. The Samaritans prophane the holy temple. Coponius returns to Rome; and Marcus Ambivius ſucceeds him. The death of Salome. Rufus ſucceeds Ambivius. Auguſtus dies, and Nero ſucceeds him, &c. Ananus removed, and Iſmael ſucceeds him. Eleazar comes after Iſmael: Simon, after Eleazar, &c. Gratus returns, and Pilate ſucceeds him, &c. Herod cut off by a conſpiracy. An embaſſy to chuſe one of the hoſtages for king. Vonones beats Artabanus into Media. Vonones totally routed. He flies into Armenia. Ceſar refuſes to aſſiſt him, &c. He is received by Syllanus. Antiochus, the king of Comagena, dies. A diſpute about the form of government. Germanicus ſent to compoſe the controverſy, and he is poiſon'd by Pytho.

Cyrenius ſells Archelaus's eſtate.

AFTER Cyrenius had made ſale of the forfeited goods and eſtate of Archelaus, and ſettled a tax according to his order; which happen'd in the thirty ſeventh year after the battle of Actium, wherein Ceſar got the better of Anthony, the people broke out into a tumult againſt Joazar the high-prieſt, and Cyrenius depos'd him from his dignity, ſubſtituting Ananus, the ſon of Seth, to ſucceed in his place.

Herod and Philip ſettled in their tetrarchy.

Herod fortifies Sephoris, &c.

He enlarges Bethſaida, and calls it Julias.

Herod and Philip, being now ſettled in their tetrarchies, put all things in the beſt order they could. The former began with the fortifying and walling in of Sephoris, which he made the bulwark and the capital of all Galilee; and after that, he fortify'd another town alſo, which at that time was called Betaraphtha; but he changed the name afterward to Julias, in honour of the empreſs. Philip, for his part, beautify'd and enlarged Paleas at the head of the river Jordan, and gave it the name of Ceſarea; and ſo for the village of Bethſaida upon the bank of the lake of Genezareth; he built it up to the bulk and appearance of a magnificent city; enrich'd and peopled it, giving it the name alſo of Julias, out of a reſpect to Julia, the daughter of Ceſar.

In the time of Coponius, the Samaritans prophane the holy temple.

As for Coponius, who was ſent (as we ſaid) with Cyrenius into Judea, there happen'd this diſorder while he was there in his government. It is uſual for the prieſts upon the feaſt of unleavened bread, or, as we call it, the paſchal feaſt, to open the doors of the temple after midnight. Now there was a company of Samaritans that ſtole privately into Jeruſalem; and waiting for the opening of the doors, ſtept immediately into the temple, and threw dead men's bones about into the galleries, and every where up and down. The prieſt took this inſolence for a warning; and after that, kept a better guard.

Coponius returns to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius ſucceeds him.

The death of Salome.

Coponius a little after this returning to Rome, Marcus Ambivius ſucceeded him to the government: in whoſe time died Salome, the ſiſter of Herod, and left to Julia over and above her toparchy, the city of Jamnia, Phaſelis upon the plain, and Archelais, with ſeveral plantations of palm-trees, that bear moſt excellent fruit.

Annius Rufus ſucceeds Ambivius.

The death of Auguſtus.

Annius Rufus ſucceeded Ambivius; and in his time, Auguſtus departed this life. He was the ſecond of the Roman emperors, and ruled the common-wealth fifty ſeven years, ſix months, and two days; having been for fourteen years of the time a partner and companion with Anthony in the goverment; and upon the whole, his age was ſeventy ſeven years.

Tiberius Nero ſucceeds him.

Valerius Gratus, governor of Judea. Ananus removed, and Iſmael high-prieſt in his place. Eleazar comes after Iſmael. Simon after Eleazar: and from Simon to Joſeph (or Caiaphas.)

Tiberius Nero, his ſon-in-law, and the ſon of Livia his wife, ſucceeded Auguſtus, being the third emperor of the Romans. He ſent Valerius Gratus, to be governor of Judea inſtead of Annius Rufus, and remov'd Ananus from the pontificate, putting Iſrael the ſon of Fabius in his place; who was ſoon after depos'd, and the honour transfer'd to Eleazar the ſon of Ananus the high-prieſt: and it was taken from him in one year more too, and given to Simon the ſon of Camith; who after another year, was commanded to deliver it up to Joſeph, whoſe ſirname was Caiaphas. Gratus having been now eleven years in his government, went back to Rome, and Pontius Pilate ſucceeded him.

Herod in favour with Tiberius. He builds a city, and calls it Tiberias.

Encourages the peopling of it.

Herod the tetrarch was now in great favour with Tiberius, and erected a city to his honour by the name of Tiberias. He built it upon the beſt ſpot of ground in all Galilee, on the bank of the lake of Genezareth, and not far from the hot baths at Emmaus. This city was peopled, partly by ſtrangers, partly by Galileans: ſome were fain to live there upon force, and ſeveral of the better ſort took up their habitation there upon choice. And for the peopling of it ſo much the ſooner, there came a multitude thither from all quarters, and of all ſorts, even down to men of the meaneſt condition; and ſeveral of them ſuſpected to be ſlaves: but for their greater encouragement to fix and ſettle there, he gave them very conſiderable privileges and immunities; houſes to ſome, and lands to others, to make the violation of the laws go down ſo much the better; for the place being full of ſepulchres, and polluted with dead bodies, the inhabitants are accounted unclean for ſeven days after.

Phraates murder'd by his ſon Phraataces.

The ſon deſtroy'd by a tumult.

Phraates, the king of the Parthians, was at this time treacherouſly murder'd by his ſon * Phraataces: and the manner of it was this. Phraates, among other preſents that were ſent him by Ceſar, had an Italian woman for one, whoſe name was Thermuſa. He took her at firſt in the quality of a Concubine, but came in time to be ſo charm'd with her beauty and converſation, that having one ſon by her whoſe name was Phraataces, he took her to his lawful bed, having other legitimate children of his own already. This Thermuſa had ſo great an aſcendant over the king that ſhe cou'd perſwade him to any thing ſhe pleas'd; whereupon ſhe form'd a deſign to put her ſon in a way to be king of Parthia; but this ſhe ſaw could not poſſibly be effected without firſt ſending the legitimate ſons out of the way: ſo ſhe mov'd her husband in it, and it was done for the asking; ſo abſolute was the dominion ſhe had over the temper of that man. The young men being ſent away to Rome for hoſtages, Phraataces was train'd up at home alone to an expectancy of the kingdom. But it was ſo tedious a thing, he thought, for him to wait for a crown in reverſion, that he enter'd into a conſpiracy with his mother to ſhorten the buſineſs, by taking away the life of his father, which was accordingly done; and he more than ſuſpected alſo of an inceſtuous familiarity with that lewd woman: but Phraataces made himſelf ſo odious to the people, both for the parricide and for the inceſt, that before he could come to enter upon the government, he was driven out by a tumult, and ſo periſh'd.

The Parthians deſire Herod to take the government. Herod cut off by a conſpiracy.

Now the Parthian nobility, conſidering that there was no living for them without a king, and reſolving with themſelves not to ſet any prince upon the throne, but of the family of the Arſacide (the blood of Phraates being already ſufficiently tainted by the luſts of this beaſtly woman;) they ſent embaſſadors with an invitation to Herod; who was, 'tis true, of the royal line, but ſo hateful withal to the multitude, for the untractable outrageous cruelty of his nature, that a band of conſpirators ſet upon him, and kill'd him; the Parthians never going without their ſwords. Some ſay the execution was done at a ſacrifice or a banquet; but the moſt received account is, that he was kill'd a hunting.

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* Phraates in the verſion of Epiphanius Scholaſticus.

An embaſſy recommending one of their hoſtages.

They diſlike the word hoſtage, and ſend for Artabanus.

Artabanus advances, and Vonones beats him into Media.

Vonones totally routed.

Artabanus follows the blow, and enters into Parthia.

Vonones flies into Armenia.

Ceſar refuſes to aſſiſt him.

Armenia ſides with Artabanus.

Vonones honourably receiv'd by Syllanus.

Upon this, they ſent an embaſſy to Rome, deſiring one of the Parthian hoſtages for their king, to ſupply the preſent vacancy; and making choice of Vonones before the reſt of the brothers, he was recommended as a prince worthy of the honour that was now offer'd him, in the command of two of the moſt glorious empires upon the face of the earth, (the Roman, that is, and the Parthian.) But the Parthians being naturally fickle and haughty, quickly repented of their choice. Their ſtomachs were too big to truckle to a ſlave, they ſaid, for ſo they tranſlated the word hoſtage, and upbraided him at every turn with the reproach of that appellation: for this was not a king, they ſaid, impos'd upon them by any law of arms, but a ſcandalous condition of a ſhameful peace. In this heat of indignation, they ſent for Artabanus, who was then king of the Medes, and of the blood of the Arſacide, who was eaſily prevail'd upon, and came preſently with a conſiderable army. Vonones engag'd him, and beat him back again into Media; the generality of the Parthians ſtanding as yet firm to their duty; but Artabanus being in a ſhort time reinforced, gave a notable overthrow to Vonones in a ſecond battle, ſo that he had much ado with ſome few horſe to ſave himſelf in Seleucia. Artabanus, taking advantage of the conſternation the Barbarians were in, preſs'd upon the purſuit with a terrible ſlaughter, and ſo betook himſelf to Cteſiphon with his conquering army. This action put him in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Parthia. Vonones in the mean time fled into Armenia, with a project in his head to make himſelf maſter there; ſoliciting Ceſar alſo at the ſame time by an embaſſy to aſſiſt him in his deſign; but whether it was that the emperor ſuſpected his courage; or that he himſelf was afraid of diſobliging the Parthians, who then threaten'd a war upon him, Tiberius abſolutely ſtood off, and would not meddle in the matter. This repulſe deſtroy'd all Vonones's hopes; eſpecially finding that the great men of Armenia that border'd upon Niphates, ſided all with Artabanus. So that in the concluſion, he deliver'd himſelf up to Syllanus the governor of Syria, who out of a reſpect to former acquaintance with him at Rome, gave him a very honourable reception and entertainment. Artabanus, being now at eaſe, made his ſon Orodes king of Armenia.

Antiochus the king of Comagena dies.

A diſpute about the form of government.

Germanicus ſent to compoſe the controverſy.

He adjuſts the matter, and is poiſon'd by Piſo.

There happen'd about that time, upon the death of Antiochus king of Comagena, a controverſy betwixt the lords and commons, the former were for reducing the kingdom into the ſtate of a province, and the other for being under a king ſtill, as they were before. Upon this diſpute, Germanicus was order'd away into the eaſt by a decree of the ſenate for the compoſing of this difference, and fortune improv'd this occaſion to the ruin of that excellent prince: for after he had ſettled and quieted affairs in Syria, he was poiſon'd by the practice of Piſo, as we ſhall ſet forth elſewhere.

CHAP. IV.

Standards ſet up in Jeruſalem with Ceſar's image upon them, &c. Pilate demands money out of the holy treaſury, &c. Joſeph's teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt. Decius Mundus falls in love with Paulina; and in deſpair, reſolves to kill himſelf. Ide undertakes to bring it about, and concerts the matter with the prieſts of Iſis. The prieſt gives her an invitation from the God Anubis, and puts one upon her for the other. Mundus twits her for it. The prieſt and Ide are crucify'd, and the temple of Iſis is pull'd down.

Standards ſet up in Jeruſalem with Ceſar's image upon them.

The Jews petition againſt them.

Pilate denies them, and they ſtill perſiſt.

Pilate lays an ambuſh for them.

He gives the word to cut them to pieces unleſs they depart.

The Jews peremptorily refuſe.

Upon this, the images are remov'd.

PILATE the governor of Judea, upon the removal of certain troops from Ceſarea to their winter-quarters in Jeruſalem, brought ſeveral ſtandards into the city with the image of Ceſar upon them, to the ſcandal of the Jewiſh laws, which expreſsly prohibit the uſe of ſuch figures; and for this reaſon it was that no former governors ever brought colours with pictures upon them into this city before. Pilate was the firſt that ever tranſgreſs'd this rule; and they were brought into the town by ſtealth too, and there planted in the dead of the night, when no body was aware of them. But when the citizens came to take notice of them the next morning, they gather'd together in great multitudes, and went their way to Pilate at Ceſarea, with a petition for the removal of thoſe images to ſome other place. After ſeveral days waiting, and Pilate ſtill refuſing, upon a pretext that it was a requeſt not to be granted without an affront to Ceſar, they ſtill perſiſted in their importunities; but the governor, at laſt, upon the ſeventh day of the Jews attendance, commanded a party of ſoldiers to be privately ready in their arms, where he appointed them, and thereupon mounted a tribunal that he had cauſed to be erected in the Circus, as a place the moſt commodious for a ſurprize; the people preſſing him over and over ſtill, about the ſame buſineſs, till Pilate at laſt gave a ſignal to the ſoldiers to advance and ſurround them, order'd them immediately to cut all their throats; if in that inſtant they ſhould not every man depart to his own home and be quiet: but the Jews caſt themſelves all flat upon the ground, and ſtretching out their necks, gave to underſtand that their very lives were not ſo dear to them as the laws of their country. This wonderful conſtancy wrought ſo far upon Pilate, that he preſently cauſed the images to be carry'd back again from Jeruſalem to Ceſarea.

Pilate demands money out of the holy treaſury for an aqueduct.

The Jews gather into a tumult.

Pilate being now upon a deſign of bringing an aqueduct to Jeruſalem, ſome two hundred * furlongs off from the city, demanded money out of the holy treaſury to defray the charge of the work. The people took this ſo heinouſly, that they got ſeveral thouſands of them in a body together, to try what might be done by multitudes and clamour, to divert him from his purpoſe. Some there were in this rabble (as it falls out commonly in popular confuſions) that gave Pilate perſonal provocations, with foul language; inſomuch that he order'd a certain number of ſoldiers to put themſelves in a ring about the multitude, with clubs under their coats, in the habit of country-fellows; telling them what they were to do, upon his giving the word, in caſe of any further reviling or reproach. The rabble went on with their ribaldry; and the word being given, the ſoldiers fell on with their clubs, and went in truth beyond their commiſſion too, for the innocent eſcap'd no better than the guilty. The encounter, in fine, was ſo unequal, betwixt men with weapons on the one ſide, and naked men on the other, that the Jews were ſome killed; others wounded and diſpers'd, and ſo an end put to the tumult.

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* Two hundred furlongs amounted to twenty five miles and three hundred geometrical paces; that is, fifty paces above twenty five miles and a quarter Engliſh meaſure.

The ſoldiers diſperſe them

The author's teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt.

At the ſame time there was one Jeſus, a wiſeman, if one may juſtly ſtile him a man. He was a great worker of miracles, and a teacher of thoſe that were curious and deſirous to learn the truth, and he had a great many followers, both Jews and Gentiles. This was the Chriſt that was accuſed by the princes and great men of our nation. Pilate deliver'd him up to the croſs; and notwithſtanding all this, thoſe that lov'd him at firſt did not forſake him. He was ſeen alive again the third day after his crucifixion, as had been foretold by ſeveral prophets; with other wonders that he wrought; and there are a ſort of people that to this day bear the name of Chriſtians, as owning him for their head.

Paulina the wife of Saturninus, a lady of unſpotted virtue. Decius Mundus falls in love with her:

and in deſpair reſolves to ſtarve himſelf. One Ide taking notice of his paſſion, bids him hope the beſt.

He gives her money in hand toward the bringing of it about.

About the ſame time there was another misfortune beſel the Jews, and likewiſe a moſt ſcandalous paſſage diſcover'd at Rome, upon occaſion of a ſacrifice to Iſis; but I ſhall begin with this, and proceed afterward to what concerns the Jews. There was at Rome one Paulina, a woman no leſs eminent for her virtue, than ſhe was for her birth; rich, lovely, and in the very bloom of youth and beauty; and withal of a modeſty beyond exception. She was marry'd to one Saturninus, a husband well deſerving of ſuch a wife; and one Decius Mundus, a Roman knight, and in the prime of his age, was fallen deſperately in love with her. This Paulina being a perſon above the temptation of money or preſents, the young man was the more enflam'd by the deſpair of gaining her; but proceeded ſo far however as to offer her two hundred † thouſand drachma's for only one night's lodging. When he found this would not do, and that the rage of his love grew more and more intolerable, he took up a reſolution of putting an end both to his paſſion, and to his life together, by ſtarving himſelf. There was one Ide, a freed woman belonging to the father of Mundus, of a cunning and intriguing temper, and one that underſtood more tricks than were for her credit. This woman ſaw what he was about; and finding that there was no taking of him off by the force of argument and reaſon, ſhe went another way to work by wheedling and encouraging him up to hope the beſt; for ſhe did not yet deſpair, ſhe ſaid, of putting Paulina into his arms; and that ſhe believ'd a preſent of fifty thouſand * drachma's might do the work. Mundus was abundantly ſatisfy'd with the propoſal, and gave her the money ſhe deſired; but that was not the way ſhe knew to deal with Paulina: So that reflecting upon it, how paſſionate a reverence ſhe had for the goddeſs Iſis, ſhe had recourſe to this invention: She got together ſeveral of the prieſts of Iſis, and having firſt ſworn them to ſecrecy; and which is more, ſecur'd them of a reward of twenty five thouſand drachma's down in hand, and as many more when the work was done; ſhe told them the buſineſs of the amour, and moſt earneſtly beg'd their aſſiſtance toward the bringing the young man and his miſtreſs together. The charms of the money were ſtrong and tempting, ſo that they promis'd fair; and the eldeſt of the company went preſently to Paulina, where being admitted, he told her in a private audience, that he came with a meſſage from the god Anubis, who was fallen extremely in love with her, and ſhe muſt needs give him a viſit. She made the meſſenger very welcome, and was ſo elated with the honour, that ſhe could not forbear boaſting of it among her ſhe-companions, how great a kindneſs the god Anubis had for her. She alſo acquainted her husband with it too; and that the aſſignation was already paſs'd for them to eat, and lie together: Which the good man was well enough pleas'd withal, conſidering the proof he had of his wife's inſuperable and inviolable virtue. Paulina, in purſuance of this fancy, went into the temple; where, after ſupper, about ſleeping time, ſhe was lock'd up by one of the prieſts, and in the dark encounter'd, it ſeems, Mundus inſtead of Anubis, in whoſe arms ſhe lay all that night; making no doubt all the while, but ſhe had ſpent her time in the embraces of a god. Mundus left her the next morning before the prieſts got up that were privy to the plot, and Paulina went back in the morning to her husband, big with the ſtory of this divine encounter; and the women after that, had the ſecond part of it in moſt magnificent terms. The caſe was ſo extraordinary that they could hardly believe it; and yet Paulina's modeſty on the other hand, was ſo untainted that they knew not how to doubt it neither. Upon the third day after this fact was committed, it was Mundus's hap to meet his miſtreſs. O Paulina! ſays he, how much am I beholden to you for ſaving me the two hundred thouſand drachma's that I would have given you, and yet I enjoy my will of you nevertheleſs. What do I care whether you love Mundus, or no, ſo long as you will do the ſame thing for me in the name of Anubis! With theſe words he went his way. When the woman came to reflect upon it, how ſhe was trepann'd, ſhe tore her garments; carry'd the whole hiſtory to her husband, and begg'd him, as ever he had any love for her, not to ſuffer ſo impious an indignity to paſs unpuniſh'd. The husband repreſented the matter to Tiberius; who, upon a full inquiry and information, caus'd thoſe holy impoſtors the prieſts, to be crucified, together with Ide, the authoreſs and inventreſs of the plot, and the main inſtrument in the infamy of this virtuous woman. He commanded the temple of Iſis to be pull'd down, and her ſtatue to be thrown into the Tyber; but contented himſelf with the baniſhment of Mundus, as a young man that was overborn by the force of an invincible paſſion. Let this ſuffice for the ſtory of Iſis. And I ſhall come now to what I promis'd, of the miſerable calamities of the Jews that liv'd at Rome in that revolution.

Ide concerts the matter with a prieſt of Iſis.

The Prieſt carries Paulina an invitation from the god Anubis.

The prieſt carries her to Mundus inſtead of Anubis.

Mundus twits Paulina afterward with the miſtake.

The husband petitions Tiberius for juſtice.

The prieſts and Ide are crucify'd and their temple pull'd down.

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† Two hundred thouſand drachma's amounted to about five thouſand eight hundred pounds of our money.

* Fifty thouſand drachma's amounted to about one thouſand four hundred and fifty pounds of Engliſh money.

CHAP. V.

Profligate Jews ſet up for doctors. The women follow them. They gather money for the temple, and then keep it to themſelves. Saturninus complains of it to Tiberius. The Jews are all baniſh'd upon it. A Samaritan impoſtor. Tirathaba beſieg'd. Pilate cuts them to pieces. The Samaritans excuſe themſelves to Vitellius. Marcellus made governor of Judea, and Pilate ſummoned before Ceſar.

Four profligate Jews ſet up for doctors of the law.

The women follow them, and one Fulvia a good woman among the reſt.

They gather her money for the temple, and keep it to themſelves.

Saturninus complains of this to Tiberius.

The Jews are all baniſh'd upon't.

THERE was a certain Jew, one of the wickedeſt wretches upon the face of the earth, that was forc'd to fly his country to avoid the ſtroke of publick juſtice. This man paſs'd at Rome in thoſe days for a kind of Rabbi, in concert with three more of the ſame ſtamp and cabal: and theſe four held forth for readers and expoſitors upon the laws of Moſes. By this pretence, they gain'd ſeveral diſciples, and among others, one Fulvia, a woman of quality and conſcience, and one who had embraced the Jewiſh religion. This woman having deliver'd herſelf up to their authority and diſcipline, was by them prevail'd upon to ſend oblations of gold and purple to the holy temple at Jeruſalem, which from time to time they converted to their own uſe, as they ever intended it. When this abuſe came to be made known to Tiberius, by his friend Saturninus, in a complaint againſt them, by the [*] inſtigation of his wife Fulvia, he commanded all the Jews forthwith to depart the city. There were four thouſand ſoldiers enter'd upon the Conſul's roll, and ſent away for Sardinia; beſide a vaſt number of thoſe that made a conſcience of bearing arms, becauſe of their religion; and theſe were put to grievous torments: ſo that for the ſake of four flagitious hypocrites, the Jews were all baniſh'd to a man.

A Samaritan impoſtor.

They beſiege Tirathaba.

Pilate cuts them to pieces.

The Samaritans excuſe themſelves to Vitellius, and turn it upon Pilate.

Marcellus made governor of Judea, and Pilate to appear before Ceſar.

AND the Samaritans were not without their troubles too; for there was at that time a certain impoſtor who made no ſcruple to invent lyes and fantaſtical ſtories to draw the rabble together; and this fellow gave it out, that if the people would but meet at mount Garizin, a ſacred place in the eſteem of the country thereabouts, he would undertake to ſhew them the holy veſſels which Moſes had cauſed to be bury'd there ſo long ſince. Theſe credulous fools betook themſelves to their arms, and beſieged Tirathaba, waiting for others to come in and join them, and ſo to march up the mountain together with a conſiderable army. But Pilate prevented them, and with a ſtrong body of horſe and foot preposſeſs'd the mountain, whence they made a charge among the Samaritans that were gotten together about the village, routed and killed great numbers of them; took, and carry'd away a multitude of priſoners; and for thoſe among them that were of intereſt or quality, Pilate ſtruck off their heads. The principal men of the Samaritans, apply'd themſelves upon this defeat to Vitellius, a perſon of conſular dignity, and at that time governor of Syria, with a complaint againſt Pilate; and charging him with murder. For they inſiſted upon it, that their meeting at Tirathaba was no defection from the Romans, but the ſeeking for a refuge for themſelves againſt the violence of Pilate. Vitellius, upon this, ſent his friend Marcellus to take charge of the government of Judea, and order'd Pilate to Rome, to anſwer before Ceſar the accuſations that were exhibited againſt him. He had now been ten years in his government; and upon this order which he cou'd not diſobey, put himſelf upon a journey to Rome; but Tiberius dy'd before he got thither.

CHAP. VI.

The Jews very civil to Vitellius; who eaſes them of ſeveral duties, and puts the prieſts in poſſeſſion of the pontifical robes as before. Hyrcanus builds a caſtle, and lays them up there, &c. Caiaphas removed, and Jonathan put in his place. Vitellius makes a league with Artabanus. Vitellius tampers the Iberians and Alanians againſt him, &c. Armenia totally loſt. Artabanus betray'd, but reinforced, and recovers his kingdom. A treaty betwixt Tiberius and Artabanus, upon the Euphrates. Darius ſent in hoſtage, &c. Vitellius returns to Antioch. Herod and Tiberius anticipate Vitellius, &c.

The Jews treat Vitellius at Rome with great reſpect.

He remits ſeveral duties to them; puts the prieſts in poſſeſſion of the pontifical robes as formerly.

VITELLIUS went into Judea, and ſo to Jeruſalem, (this being at the feaſt of the paſſover, as we call it) where he was received with great honour; and very graciouſly remitted to the inhabitants the whole duty upon fruits. He reſtor'd to the prieſts alſo the keeping of the pontifical robes and habits in the temple again, as they had them of old, being as then depoſited in the caſtle of Antonia upon this occaſion.

Hyrcanus builds a caſtle, and lays them up there.

Herod gives this caſtle the name of Antonia.

He found the holy ſtole there, and keep it there.

HYRCANUS the high-prieſt, and the firſt of that name, having built himſelf a tower near the temple, ſpent the greateſt part of his time there; keeping in his own cuſtody, the pontifical ſtole and ornaments, that no body was to uſe but himſelf: and upon changing of his habit, he ſtill laid up his ſacred veſtments in that caſtle, as his ſucceſſors for a long time after did the like. But Herod, upon his coming to the crown, was ſo well pleas'd with the ſituation of this fort, both for ſtrength and beauty, that he put himſelf to a mighty expenſe for the farther improvement of it, and call'd it by the name of Antonia, in honour of Anthony his particular friend. In this caſtle he found the holy ſtole, and there he kept it, upon an opinion, that the having that in his poſſeſſion, ſhould thereby the more eaſily keep the Jews in awe. Archelaus, his ſon and ſucceſſor, did the ſame thing too, and upon the ſame conſideration; and ſo did the Romans alſo, after the reduction of the kingdom into a province; and theſe pontifical veſts [†] were laid up in a cabinet that was made on purpoſe for that wardrobe, under the ſeal of the prieſts, and the keepers of the holy treaſury; the governor of the caſtle being obliged to have a lamp ſtill burning before the place. Upon the ſeventh day, preceding the three ſolemn feſtivals, he ſtill deliver'd out the ſtole to the high-prieſt; who having gotten it well purg'd and cleans'd, did the holy office in it afterward in courſe, and the next day return'd it to the place where it was before; and this was done upon three feſtivals every year, and upon the ſolemn faſt.

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[*] See Cotelerius's notes to the ſecond Volume of his Monumenta Eccleſ. Gr. p. 645.

[†] See Bonferrius's commentaries upon Leviticus, p. 648.

Caiaphas removed, and Jonathan put in his place.

But Vitellius was now pleas'd, in favour of the Jews, to give up all the pontifical habits into the poſſeſſion of the prieſts again, and to diſcharge the governor from being any farther anſwerable what became of them. After this, he took away the high-prieſthood from Joſeph call'd Caiaphas, and gave it to Jonathan the ſon of the high-prieſt Ananus, and ſo returned to Antioch.

Vitellius order'd to make a league with Artabanus.

Vitellius tampers with the Iberians and Alanians againſt him. The Alanians break in upon Artabanus. Armenia totally loſt.

Artabanus finds himſelf betray'd.

Artabanus reinforc'd by the Dahi, and Saci, recovers his kingdom.

At the ſame time he receiv'd letters of direction from Tiberius, to make a league with Artabanus; for he was afraid, if he ſhould make himſelf maſter of Armenia, that it might be dangerous to the empire: but this to be done only upon condition of one of the king's ſons for an hoſtage. This put Vitellius upon tampering with the kings of Iberia and Alania, by great ſums of money to engage them immediately in a war with Artabanus. The Iberians could not be prevail'd upon any farther, than to leave the Alanians a free paſſage through their city, and ſo by the Caſpian mountains to open them an inroad into the kingdom of Artabanus. Upon this irruption, the Parthians preſently loſt Armenia; and that blow was follow'd with ſo deſperate a ravage upon their own country, that the nobility was almoſt entirely cut off; together with the king's ſon, and ſo many thouſands of the common people, that they were in a manner unpeopled by this invaſion. Artabanus found by this time, that he was betray'd under his own roof, and that his very friends and relations were brib'd into a plot with Vitellius to deſtroy him: ſo that not knowing whom to truſt, for fear of treachery under the mask of friendſhip, and being convinc'd that men of the firſt rate and quality were in the practice, he made his eſcape out of hand into the upper provinces, where he was not only protected, but reinforc'd with ſo conſiderable an army of the Dahi and Saci, that he not only overthrew his enemies, but recover'd his kingdom.

A treaty of alliance betwixt Tiberius and Artabanus. The treaty concluded upon a bridge. Darius the ſon of Artabanus ſent in hoſtage with rich preſents. Eleazar a Jew ſeven cubits high.

Upon this turn of affairs, Tiberius propos'd an alliance with Artabanus, and the king and Vitellius, each with his guards, met by conſent to treat about it, upon the middle of a bridge over the river Euphrates. At the concluſion of the treaty, Herod the tetrarch gave them both a very ſplendid and magnificent treat, in a tent that he had erected at a great expenſe upon the ſame river; and Artabanus ſent his ſon Darius not long after, as an hoſtage to Tiberius, with variety of preſents; and one among the reſt was a man of ſeven [*] cubits in height, and by profeſſion a Jew, whom, for the prodigiouſneſs of his ſtature, they called Eleazar the giant. Vitellius, after this, return'd to Antioch, and Artabanus to Babylon.

Herod ſends Tiberius the whole ſtory to anticipate Vitellius.

Vitellius coming too late, Ceſar tells him he ſends him no news.

Herod had a great mind to be the firſt author of the good news of this agreement about the hoſtages, and ſo diſpatch'd away a meſſenger with all poſſible ſpeed, with every particular of the treaty, to Tiberius; which was ſo circumſtantially exact, that there was nothing left for Vitellius, a conſular governor, to ſay farther; ſo that Ceſar, upon the receipt of a later intelligence from Vitellius, return'd only this ſhort anſwer, that he had ſent him no news; for Herod had given him a full account of the proceedings before. Vitellius took this officious anticipation very ill, but ſmother'd his reſentment of it till Caius came to the government.

Philip, Herod's brother, dies at Julias. Philip's character and way of living.

Philip, the brother of Herod, dy'd alſo at the ſame time in the [†] twentieth year of Tiberius, and when he himſelf had been thirty ſeven years in the tetrarchy of Trachonitis, Gaulanitis, and Batanea: a man of great moderation, and a lover of his eaſe and quiet; for he ſpent his whole life within the compaſs of his own juriſdiction. He hardly ever went abroad but in company with ſome few of his ſelect friends, with a chair after him; which upon ſeveral occaſions he made uſe of as a ſeat of juſtice. And if he happen'd to meet any body upon the way that had need of his aſſiſtance, he betook himſelf ſtill, without delay, to the examination of his cauſe, and either condemn'd or acquitted him, as he found him guilty or innocent. He dy'd at Julias, and was bury'd with great pomp and expenſe in a monument of his own preparing for himſelf: but dying without iſſue, Tiberius annexed his eſtate to Syria, upon condition that the tributes to be rais'd in that tetrarchy ſhould not go out of the country.

CHAP. VII.

A war betwixt Herod and Aretas. Herod marries the daughter of Aretas; and falls in love with Herodias, &c. Aretas reſents it. Herod routed by Aretas. A judgment upon Herod and his army. St. John the Baptiſt put to death. Vitellius marches towards Petra, &c. Vitellius, Herod, &c. go to Jeruſalem to worſhip. The high-prieſthood transfer'd from Jonathan to Theophilus. News of Tiberius's death. Vitellius ſwears the people to Caius, &c. Vitellius goes back to Antioch. The family of Herod the Great.

A war betwixt Herod and Aretas. Herod marries the daughter of Aretas; and falls in love with Herodias.

He propoſes to marry Herodias, and part with the other.

There happen'd a war, at this time, betwixt Herod and Aretas the king of Petra, upon this ground: Herod the tetrarch marry'd the daughter of Aretas, and they had now liv'd a long time together; but being call'd afterward to Rome, he took Herod his brother-in-law in his way; (the ſon of the daughter of Simon the high-prieſt) where he fell ſo paſſionately in love with [‡] Herodias, his brother's wife, and the daughter of Ariſtobulus, their brother, who was alſo the ſiſter of Agrippa, afterwards king; that he had the confidence to make a propoſal of marriage to her upon his return from Rome, and of parting with his wife, the daughter of Aretas; which was agreed to on both ſides, as the condition of their marriage. After this, he proſecuted his voyage for Rome: and ſo ſoon

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[*] The Jewiſh cubit, according to Calmet, as we have before obſerv'd, being near twenty two inches, ſeven cubits muſt be upwards of twelve Engliſh feet: this man therefore muſt be above three yards high.

[†] Scaliger in his book de Emendat. Tempt. ſhews that it ſhould be read in the twenty ſecond year. But Caſaubon in his Exercitations defends the vulgar reading.

[‡] See Caſaubon's Exercitations againſt Baronius. ann. xxxi. num. xlvii.

His wife finds it out, and gets leave to go to Macherus.

Her guards ready laid to carry her to her father.

Aretas reſents the indiguity done to his daughter.

Herod routed by Aretas.

Tiberius orders Vitellius to make war upon Aretas.

as he had diſpatch'd the buſineſs he went about, he return'd home again. His wife having by this time got intelligence of his intrigue with Herodias, diſſembling her intentions, ſlily ask'd him to give her leave to go for ſome time to Macherus, a caſtle upon the borders of Aretas's dominions. Herod, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting the matter, gave way to her going. Now Macherus being a place belonging to her father, every thing was there in readineſs for her journey; ſo that the governor of the place furniſh'd her immediately upon her arrival with Arabian guards that conducted her with all imaginable ſpeed, ſafe to her father's palace: Where ſhe gave him at large the hiſtory of Herod's new amour. This begot a heart-burning, and there being a controverſy a-foot at that time about the bounds and abuttals of ſome lands in Gamala, and two armies ready in the field to diſpute the queſtion, they laid hold of this pretence, and by their deputies brought it to a battle, where Herod was utterly routed by the treachery of a certain band of refugees, that came over from Philip and were at that time in Herod's pay. This prince had no ſooner given Tiberius intelligence of the diſaſter, but he preſently in a rage order'd Vitellius to make war upon Aretas for this inſolence; and either to bring him alive to Rome, or to ſend his head.

A judgment upon Herod and his army.

St. John the Baptiſt put to death at Macherus by Herod's order.

Now the generality of the Jews were of opinion that this was only a juſt judgment of God upon Herod and his army, for the buſineſs of John, ſirnamed the Baptiſt, which excellent man this tetrarch murder'd: And what was his crime, but only his exhorting the Jews to the love and practice of virtue; and in the firſt place, of piety and juſtice, and to a regeneration by baptiſm and a new life, not by abſtaining from this or that particular ſin, but by an habitual purity of mind, as well as of body! Now ſo great was the credit and the authority of this holy man, as appear'd by the multitude of his diſciples, and the veneration they had for his doctrine; (for he had them intirely at his devotion) that Herod did not know how far the reputation of a man of his ſpirit might influence the people toward a revolt. So that for fear of the worſt, he choſe rather to take him out of the way in time before any hurt was done, than to put it to the hazard of an unprofitable repentance when it ſhould be too late. Wherefore he ſent him away bound to Macherus, (the place beforementioned) with order to have him put to death, which was accordingly executed; and that impious fact was follow'd with a divine vengeance upon Herod, for the blood of that juſt man, as the Jews reaſonably enough perſuaded themſelves.

Vitellius marches towards Petra by the way of Judea.

The Jews are ſcandaliz'd at the images in the Roman colours. Vitellius marches about by the way of the great plain.

Vitellius, Herod, &c. go up to Jeruſalem to worſhip.

The pontificate transfer'd from Jonathan to Theophilus. On the fourth day comes news of Tiberius's death. Vitellius ſwears the people to Caius Caligula, and calls back the army.

Vitellius was now preparing for the Arabian war; and upon his march toward Petra with two legions and all the auxiliaries, horſe and foot, of the Roman allies. When he was advanced as far as Ptolemais, and thinking to take his paſſage a-croſs Judea, the great men of the country met him upon the way with earneſt ſupplications that he would ſteer ſome other courſe; for the images the Romans carry commonly in their colours, were a great ſcandal and offence to the Jewiſh laws and religion. The general was prevail'd upon, and ſo ſent his army about by the compaſs of a great plain; while he himſelf, with Herod the tetrarch and his friends, went up to Jeruſalem to worſhip upon a publick feſtival that was then at hand. His entertainment was with as much honour and reſpect as poſſible, and he made three days ſtay there; in which time he transfer'd the high-prieſthood from Jonathan to his brother Theophilus. Upon the fourth day came letters to him of the death of Tiberius; upon which intelligence he made the people ſwear allegiance to Caius Caligula, the ſucceſſor, call'd back his troops, and order'd them into winter quarters; putting a ſtop to the war upon this change in the government.

The ſoothſayers foretel the event of this undertaking. Vitellius goes back to Antioch.

There goes a report, that upon the news of this expedition of Vitellius, Aretas conſulted the ſoothſayers and diviners about the event of this undertaking; who gave him this reſolution; "That the army now upon their "march ſhould never come up to Petra; for "either one of the princes ſhould die; or he "that commanded the army; or he that exe"cuted that command, or the perſon againſt "whom it was carry'd on. And ſo Vitellius "went back to Antioch."

Agrippa the ſon of Ariſtobulus, had been now a year at Rome, attending Ceſar about ſome important affair. But it will be more to my preſent purpoſe to ſay ſomewhat in the firſt place of Herod and his family, who was certainly a remarkable inſtance of the power and wiſdom of divine providence. For what ſignify the bleſſings of a plentiful iſſue, royal dignity and power, or a ſplendid fortune, without piety and juſtice? as we find it in Herod's caſe here, who in a hundred years time had hardly any remains left of ſo numerous family. This may ſerve for a check to the arrogant pretenſions of vain fleſh and blood, and to the raiſing of a ſober man's conſideration upon the wonderful advance of Agrippa out of a private fortune, and beyond all men's expectation, to ſo glorious a degree of power.

We have touch'd upon this formerly in general, but we ſhall now be a little more particular. Herod the Great had by Mariamne, the daughter of Hyrcanus, two daughters; Salampſo the one, who marry'd Phaſael, the ſon of Phaſael, the king's elder brother, with the father's conſent. The other's name was Cypros, who marry'd Antipater, the nephew of Herod by his ſiſter Salome.

The family of Herod the Great.

Phasael had by Salampſo, five children; Antipater, Herod, Alexander; and two daughters, Alexandra and Cypros; who marry'd Agrippa the ſon of Ariſtobulus; but Alexandra was marry'd to one Timius, a nobleman of the iſle of Cyprus, who dy'd without children. Agrippa had by Cypros, two ſons and three daughters. The daughters were Berenice, Mariamne and Druſilla: The ſons were Agrippa and Druſus; the latter dying in his minority. Agrippa the father was brought up under his grandfather Herod the Great; together with his brothers, Herod and Ariſtobulus; and ſo was Berenice alſo, the daughter of Salome and Coſtobarus. The children of Ariſtobulus were at that time infants, when their father and his brother Alexander (as we have ſaid before) were put to death by Herod. But after they grew up, this Herod the brother of Agrippa marry'd Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias (who was king Herod's daughter) and of Joſeph, Herod's brother, by whom he had Ariſtobulus. Now Ariſtobulus, the third brother of Agrippa marry'd Jotape the daughter of * Sampſigeram, king of the Emeſenes, by whom he had a daughter that bore her mother's name and was born deaf. Theſe were the children of the three brothers; but Herodias their ſiſter, marry'd Herod, the ſon of Herod the great, whom he had by Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high-prieſt, and from thence came Salome; after whoſe birth, Herodias made no ſcruple, in defiance of all law and conſcience, to take Herod the tetrarch of Galilee for her ſecond huſband, though her huſband's brother by the father's ſide; having alſo abandon'd a former huſband that was yet living. Salome the daughter marry'd Philip the ſon of Herod the tetrarch of Trachonitis, who dy'd without children, and then ſhe marry'd Ariſtobulus the ſon of Herod and the brother of Agrippa, by whom ſhe had three ſons, Herod, Agrippa, and Ariſtobulus. Let this ſuffice as to the family of Phaſael and Salampſo.

Cypros had, by Antipater, a daughter of the mother's name, who was marry'd to Alexas Selcius, the ſon of Alexas, and by her he had one daughter, Cypros. But Herod and Alexander, who (as I told you) were the brothers of Antipater, dy'd without iſſue. Now Alexander the ſon of king Herod, that was put to death by his father, had by Glaphyra the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, Alexander and Tigranes.

This Tigranes was that king of Armenia that had an accuſation brought againſt him by the Romans, and dy'd without children. Alexander had a ſon Tigranes alſo, after the name of his uncle, whom Nero advanc'd to be king of Armenia, and had a ſon Alexander, who marry'd Jotape, the daughter of Antiochus king of Comagena, and was made king of † Leſis in Cilicia by Veſpaſian. The race of Alexander quickly declin'd from the Jewiſh laws and diſcipline to the religion of the Greeks; and the other daughters of Herod the great left no children behind them.

Having thus run through the poſterity of this prince, as far as to the reign of Agrippa, I ſhall now trace the hiſtory of Agrippa himſelf, and the wonderful variety of accidents in his fortune, that brought him in the end to ſo glorious a degree of dignity and power.

CHAP. VIII.

The riſe of Agrippa, &c. Agrippa goes to Flaccus, &c. Flaccus caſts off Agrippa, who is hard put to it for his debts, &c. Agrippa goes to Tiberius at Capree, &c. He is made governor of Tiberius Nero, &c. The dilatory humour of Tiberius, &c. Agrippa put in chains, and the guards drag him to priſon in his robes, &c. Antonia makes Agrippa's condition eaſy to him. Tiberius falls deſperately ſick, &c. Caius generally belov'd. Tiberius conſults the oracle about his ſucceſſor, &c. He gives Caius the government, and bids him be kind to his brother, &c. Tiberius dies, and Caius ſucceeds him. The character of Tiberius, &c. Ceſar's declaration. Caius orders Agrippa to be diſcharg'd. Caius takes the body of Tiberius to Rome with him. A magnificent funeral. Agrippa crown'd, &c. Marcellus made governor of Judea.

The riſe and humour of Agrippa.

A little before the death of Herod the great, Agrippa, being then at Rome, and frequently in the emperor's family, was got much in favour with his ſon Druſus, and ſo likewiſe in the good graces of Antonia, the wife of Druſus the elder, by the means of his mother Berenice, for whom, Antonia had a ſingular value. He was naturally of a liberal and generous diſpoſition; but while his mother liv'd, kept within compaſs, for fear of incurring her diſpleaſure. Till coming at laſt, by her death, to be left to his own conduct, what with expenſive treats, and extravagant bounties and profuſions; eſpecially among the emperor's freedmen and domeſticks, (where he made his chief intereſt) he had run himſelf ſo deſperately in debt, that he durſt not ſhew his head any longer in Rome. Tiberius, at the ſame time alſo loſing his ſon, would not endure any of Druſus's favourites ſo much as in his ſight, to mind him of his loſs.

His vaſt profuſions.

When he had thus by ill conduct ſquander'd away his money and his reputation, his creditors alſo preſſing hard upon him, and no means of ſatisfaction, he returned into Judea; and partly out of deſpair of retrieving his fortune, partly out of ſhame for ſo inconſiderate a folly, he retired to Malatha, a caſtle in Idumea, with a reſolution, ſome way or other, there, to put an end to his miſerable life. Cypros finding her huſband deſperately out of humour, and that his melancholy grew ſtill more and more dangerous, ſhe try'd all ways in the world to prevent miſchief, and in particular wrote to her ſiſter Herodias about it, with a very punctual account of his neceſſitous condition; adjuring her by all the ties of honour and affinity of blood, to give him ſome aſſiſtance. "She did what ſhe could herſelf "(ſhe ſaid) and deſired her ſiſter to follow "her example." This wrought ſo far upon Herodias, that both ſhe and her huſband ſent away preſently to fetch Agrippa to them; gave him a penſion in money, and the command of Tiberias for his preſent ſubſiſtance: But Herod did not long hold in this mind; and Agrippa, on the other hand, was not thoroughly ſatisfy'd neither: Inſomuch that being in their cups once at Tyre, Herod contemptuouſly reflected upon Agrippa for his poverty, and caſt it in his teeth, that it was his purſe that maintain'd him.

He retires to Malatha.

Cypros writes to Herodias on his behalf.

Herodias gets him a penſion, and the command of Tiberias.

Herod in his cups twits Agrippa with his poverty.

Agrippa could not digeſt this indignity, and ſo he betook himſelf to Flaccus, an antient friend and acquaintance of his at Rome, and at that time governor of Syria. He gave him a frank reception and entertainment, having Ariſtobulus with him in the houſe before, who, though Agrippa's brother, was yet his enemy; but this animoſity betwixt the brothers did

Agrippa goes to Flaccus upon it.

His brother Ariſtobulus in the houſe with him.

The two brothers enemies; but Flaccus a common friend to both.

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* The old interpreter has Sigerammus.

† So the Latin interpreters have it. In the Greek Ἰοτάπην, νήσιδος τῆς ἐν Κιλικίᾳ &c. from whence Mr. Harduin, in his Nummi Antiqui illuſtrati. p. 588. conjectnres that it ſhould be read, νησιάδος τῆς ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, inſulæ ſive peninſulæ in Cilicia, viz. Sebaſte.

Ariſtobulus undermines Agrippa. A diſpute betwixt Damaſcus and Sidon

not hinder Flaccus from dividing his favours and civilities indifferently betwixt them. Ariſtobulus however kept up the grudge, and would never be quiet till he had wrought Flaccus into an ill opinion of Agrippa; which was thus brought about. There was a diſpute betwixt the people of Damaſcus, and thoſe of Sidon about the limits of their territory. The cauſe was to be try'd before Flaccus; and the people of Damaſcus being told that Agrippa and he were all one, they could not do better, they thought, than to engage Agrippa for a ſum of money in their intereſt. They ſtruck the bargain, and promiſes paſs'd on both ſides: So that Agrippa was to do all that lay in his power for Damaſcus againſt Sidon. Ariſtobulus, finding his brother had agreed for a ſum of money with the people of Damaſcus, to uſe his intereſt in their favour, went and complained of him to the governor; who upon examination and proof of the matter caſt off Agrippa, and left him in his extreme neceſſity to ſhift for himſelf in the wide world again: So that he return'd to Ptolemais, with a reſolution for pure want of bread, to go back again into Italy.

Flaccus caſts off Agrippa at the inſtance of Ariſtobulus.

In this extremity he engaged Marſyas, a freeman of his, to take up a ſum of money of the uſurers upon any terms, to ſupply his preſent occaſions.

He is hard put to it for his debts.

So he went to Protus, a freeman of Berenice the mother of Agrippa, and his late patroneſs, who in her laſt will and teſtament, had recommended him to the ſervice of Antonia; and ſo propounded the matter to him for the lending of a ſum of money to Agrippa, upon his bond. The other told him that he was indebted to him already: But yet for all this, he ſqueezed out of Protus twenty * thouſand Attic drachma's upon bond: That is to ſay, juſt ſeventeen thouſand five hundred pieces; diſcounting the other two thouſand † five hundred to himſelf, for procuration money; which Agrippa was not in condition to diſpute. Upon the receipt of the money, Agrippa went to Anthedon, where he met with a ſhip for his purpoſe, and prepar'd himſelf to put to ſea.

He goes a board at Anthedon for Alexandria, and gives his creditors the ſlip.

But this coming to the ear of Herennius Capito, the procurator of Jamnia, he ſent ſoldiers to him to demand payment of a debt of 300000 pieces of ſilver, that he borrow'd out of the emperor's exchequer when he was at Rome. This unexpected rub did, for ſome time, retard his journey; but Agrippa however promis'd them fair, and ſo ſoon as it was dark, cut his cable, and put to ſea, ſtanding his courſe for Alexandria. When he came thither, he deſir'd Alexander the head officer about the revenue, to furniſh him with 200000 pieces upon his ſecurity. “As for your own part (ſays “the officer) I will not truſt you with ſuch a “ſum; but your wife ſeems to be an excellent perſon, and a very good woman; and “if ſhe will ſtand bound for the money, ſhe “ſhall have it.”

He takes up money upon his wife's credit.

So it was, in fine, that upon the ſecurity of Cypros, Alexander ſupply'd Agrippa with five ‡ talents at Alexandria, and letters of credit for the reſt at Puteoli; for knowing his profuſeneſs, he was not willing to venture the whole ſum in his hands together for fear of his miſpending it. Cypros found by this time, that there was no hindering her huſband's journey; ſo that ſhe and her children went back again to Judea by land.

Agrippa goes forward for Rome, and Cypros back to Judea.

Agrippa, upon his coming to Puteoli, gave Tiberius Ceſar to underſtand by a letter, being then at Capree, that he was come ſo far to pay his reſpects and duty to him, deſiring leave to wait upon him. Tiberius without any delay ſent him back the kindeſt anſwer in the world, congratulating his ſafe return to Capree: And upon his arrival, Ceſar took him with great tenderneſs into his arms, introduced him into his palace, and ſeconded the frankneſs of his invitation with the generoſity of his reception and entertainment; but on the day following, Ceſar receiv'd letters of complaint from Herennius againſt Agrippa; ſetting forth, that being “three hundred thouſand pieces in the emperor's debt, and the “money long ſince due, he had only demanded ſatiſfaction on the bond, and Agrippa “gave him the ſlip upon it: So that Ceſar was “now in danger to loſe his money.”

Agrippa receiv'd graciouſly by Tiberius at Capree:

Charg'd with defrauding the emperor,

Tiberius took this ſo heinouſly, that he order'd the officers of his bed-chamber not to open a door to Agrippa till he had paid the debt.

and forbid the court till he pays the debt.

Agrippa, on the other hand, took no notice of the emperor's diſpleaſure, but addreſs'd himſelf to Antonia, the mother both of Germanicus and of Claudius, who came afterwards to the empire; and acquainting her with the exigency of his affairs, and how he was like to loſe Ceſar's favour for want of three hundred thouſand pieces, as aforeſaid, ſhe lent him the money in honour to the memory of Berenice, and of the friendſhip that had ever paſs'd betwixt them; beſide that Agrippa and her ſon Claudius had been brought up together from children, as play-fellows and companions.

He tells Antonia his caſe, and ſhe lends him the money.

With this money Agrippa diſcharg'd the debt; and without any farther obſtacle or contradiction, reinſtated himſelf in the emperor's favour.

Agrippa pays the arrear, and ſets himſelf right with the emperor.

This politick conduct gain'd ſo far upon Ceſar, that he committed his grand-child Tiberius Nero, the ſon of Druſus, to Agrippa's government and care; deſiring him to be ſtill about him, and watchful over him.

Agrippa made governor to Ceſar's grand child Tiberius Nero.

Agrippa was ſo ſenſible of the obligations he had to Antonia, that he made his court in the firſt place however, to her grand child Caius, whom all people had a great honour and eſteem for, both for his own ſake, and for the reverence they bore to the memory of Germanicus, his his father.

He makes his court in the firſt place to Caius Antonia's grand-child.

There was at that time one Allus, a freeman of Ceſar's, a Samaritan, who gave Agrippa credit for a million of pieces; part of it went to the payment of Antonia, and the reſt toward the expence of his entertainment

A Samaritan furniſhes Agrippa with a ſum of money.

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* Suppoſing the Attic drachma to be worth ſeven pence three farthings of our money, which is the higheſt value put upon it by any author of note; twenty thouſand muſt amount to ſix hundred forty five pounds ſixteen ſhillings and eight pence:

† And two thouſand five hundred to eighty pounds fourteen ſhillings and ſeven pence of our money.

‡ Admitting the talents here meant to be the common Egyptian ones, one of them, according to Calmet, weighed ſeventy ſix pounds ten pennyweights; five therefore muſt weigh three hundred and eighty pounds two ounces ten pennyweights; the value of which in ſilver, amounted to one thouſand one hundred and forty pounds twelve ſhillings and ſix pence; but if the Alexandrian (which is more probable) is underſtood, one of them weighing ninety one pounds fifteen pennyweights, five muſt weigh four hundred and fifty five pounds three ounces fifteen pennyweights; and their value in ſilver, reckoning ſilver at five ſhillings per ounce, amounts to one thouſand three hundred and ſixty five pounds eighteen ſhillings and nine pence.

Agrippa Caius's favourite.

in his attendances upon Caius, who had now taken him into the greateſt confidence and friendſhip imaginable.

Eutychus overhears dangerous words betwixt Agrippa and Caius.

He informs Piſo, and is ſent bound to Tiberius. The dilatory humour of Tiberius:

and his reaſons for't.

As they two were one day together alone in a chariot, there happen'd to be ſome occaſion of mentioning Tiberius: “ Ay, (ſays Agrippa) I could wiſh with all my heart it would “ pleaſe the heavens that Caius were in his “ place.” Theſe words were over-heard by Eutychus, Agrippa's freeman, and at that time charioteer; but for the preſent he made no words of it. Not long after, this man was charg'd with robbing his patron, and running away with ſome of his clothes; which in effect was true, and the man taken up upon it, and carry'd to Piſo, the governor of the place, to be examin'd about it. Piſo, upon the examination, ask'd him what made him run away. He made anſwer that Ceſar's life was in danger, and that he was going to make a diſcovery of the plot. Eutychus, upon this, was ſent bound to Capree, and there kept in chains by Tiberius, who was in all ſuch caſes the moſt unſettled dilatory man that ever was born, either prince or uſurper. He would not ſo much as admit embaſſadors, without delay, nor ſupply vacancies in governments of provinces, till the former deputies or governors were certainly dead. He had a way of letting priſoners lie a long time unheard too; and he gave his friends theſe reaſons for it. “ If I “ ſhould give embaſſadors (ſays he) too quick, “ and too eaſy admittance, the ſooner they “ are receiv'd the ſooner they are diſmiſs'd; “ and the ſooner new ones would be ſent in “ their places; ſo that I ſhould have nothing “ elſe to do at this rate, but to give audiences, “ and ſpend my whole time in admitting and “ diſcharging embaſſadors. As for officers, “ when places are once fill'd, it is eaſier to the “ ſubject to keep them ſo than to change them; “ for all magiſtrates are naturally covetous; “ and eſpecially where they are upon their “ behaviour for the keeping of their employments; for the leſs aſſurance they have to “ continue in an office, the more haſte they “ make to grow rich upon it; and to this purpoſe he made application of an old fable. “ As a poor man (ſays he) lay wounded upon “ the way, hardly in condition to help himſelf, and ſwarms of flies upon his ſores, ſucking and tearing him, a compaſſionate goodnatur'd creature happening to paſs by, offer'd him his ſervice to drive them away, “ and eaſe him of his tormentors. No, no, “ (ſays he) pray let them alone; for theſe flies “ now their bellies are full are not near ſo “ ſharp upon me as new comers will be that “ are ſtarv'd and empty. This is the caſe, “ (ſays he) betwixt ſubjects and freſh magiſtrates, who are but new tormentors.” That this is the true character of Tiberius, needs no other proof than, that in two and twenty years time of his reign, he ſent only two governors into Judea; that is to ſay, Gratus, and his ſucceſſor Pilate; and that he proceeded after the ſame dilatory manner in all other parts of the empire. The reaſon he gave alſo for the delay of bringing priſoners to their tryal, was to keep them the longer in pain, and to puniſh them for their paſt crimes, by a lingering torment worſe than death itſelf.

Agrippa puts Antonia upon preſſing Tiberius to bring it to a hearing.

This was the true cauſe of Eutychus being kept ſo long in chains before Ceſar would vouchſafe to hear him; but Tiberius, after ſome time coming from Capree to Tuſculanum, about an hundred * furlongs from Rome, Agrippa deſired Antonia to move for Eutychus, that he might have a hearing, to the end it might be known once, what he had to object againſt his patron. Now Tiberius had a very great honour for Antonia, partly for nearneſs of blood, as being his ſiſter-in-law, and the widow of Druſus, and partly for the reputation of her modeſty and virtue in the refuſal of a ſecond marriage, tho' ſhe was earneſtly put upon it by Auguſtus himſelf; and this in the prime of her years too: Her whole converſation, in ſhort, being exemplary, without the leaſt blemiſh or ſcandal. Now Tiberius, over and above all other reſpects, had perſonal obligations alſo to Antonia never to be forgotten. For if it had not been for her ſagacity, faith, and induſtry, that deſperate plot of his minion Sejanus, had certainly coſt him his life; for he was a man of power and credit; the captain of his guards, and had engag'd ſeveral conſiderable men of the ſenators; divers of Ceſar's freemen, court-favourites, and military officers in the conſpiracy. In ſhort, he eſcap'd narrowly at laſt, and it was Antonia's vigilance and reſolution that defeated the treaſon, and brought him off; for ſo ſoon as ever ſhe heard of ſuch a practice a-foot, ſhe took minutes of every particular of the contrivance, and ſent them away from time to time to Capree, to Tiberius by the means of Pallas, a try'd ſervant and confident of Tiberius. By virtue of this diſcovery, both the confederacy itſelf, and the actors in it were laid open, and juſtice done upon Sejanus and his complices. If Antonia had a great hand with Tiberius before this mighty piece of ſervice, her power muſt be certainly much greater after it. So that upon the importunity of Agrippa, ſhe preſs'd Tiberius over and over to give Eutychus a hearing. “ Well! ſays “ Tiberius, if this fellow has bely'd Agrippa, “ in any thing, let him content himſelf with “ the puniſhment he has ſuffer'd already; but “ let him have a care how he carries the proſecution too far, for fear the miſchief he “ deſigns to Eutychus, ſhould upon a full examination of the matter, come at laſt home “ to himſelf.” Antonia gave Agrippa this caution; and the more ſhe inclin'd to moderation, the more eager was he to bring it to a ſcrutiny: inſomuch that Antonia, when ſhe ſaw he would not be ſaid nay, took her opportunity as Tiberius was paſſing by in a chair after dinner, Caius and Agrippa marching before him, to advance directly up to Tiberius; with a requeſt, that Eutychus might be call'd and hear'd: to which Tiberius gave her this anſwer: “ I do here call the Gods to witneſs, (ſays he) that what I am now about “ to do, I do unwillingly, and only to gratify your deſire.” With theſe words, he commanded Macro the ſucceſſor to Sejanus in his commiſſion for the guards, to cauſe Eutychus to be brought thither. And immediately upon his coming, Ceſar put this queſtion to him. “ What have you to ſay, (ſays he) “ againſt your patron Agrippa, who gave you

Ceſar at laſt yields to it, tho' unwillingly.

Macro bri[illegible]s Eutychus to Ceſar.

Eutychus delivers his information.

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* An hundred furlongs amounted to almoſt thirteen Engliſh miles.

“ your

Ceſar commands Macro to put Agrippa in chains.

The guards drag him to priſon in this robes.

your freedom?” “Sir, (ſays Eutychus) as I was driving Caius and Agrippa one day in their chariot, and ſitting at their feet to do my office, I overheard ſeveral diſcourſes that paſs'd betwixt them, and among other paſſages, Agrippa, I remember, ſpoke theſe words to Caius. Ah, (ſays he) that we could but once ſee the old man's exit, and you left maſter of the world; for when he's gone, his grandchild Tiberius might be eaſily taken off; and over and above the univerſal comfort it would bring mankind, I myſelf might hope to come in for a part of the bleſſing.” Tiberius was apt enough to believe this information, for it ſtuck terribly in his ſtomach, that when he had ſo expreſly recommended Tiberius, his grandchild by Druſus, to the particular care and kindneſs of Agrippa, he ſhould never ſo much as look after him; but dedicate himſelf wholly to the ſervice of Caius. Tiberius, upon this, turning to Macro, “Put him in chains,” ſays he; but Macro not underſtanding of whom he ſpoke (for he could not imagine any ſuch thing of Agrippa) made a little pauſe to be better informed in his meaning. Ceſar, in the mean time, after a turn or two in the Circus, ſeeing Agrippa ſtill at liberty, call'd to Macro again: “Did not I order, ſays he, that man to be put in chains?” Which man, ſays Macro:” “That man, Agrippa, ſaid Tiberius.” Agrippa then betook himſelf to prayers and ſupplications, adjuring Tiberius by the tenderneſs he had for the memory of his ſon, with whom he had the honour to be ſo well acquainted, and for the ſake of the ſervices he had been ſo happy as to render to his grandſon Tiberius, to vouchſafe him his pardon: but all to no purpoſe, for the guards dragg'd him away to priſon in his robes of honour, as they found him. The weather being extremely hot, and Agrippa ready to periſh with a burning raging drought, for want of drink, he ſpy'd one Thaumaſtus, a ſervant of Caius, with a pitcher of water in his hand, and call'd to him for a draught of it to quench his parching thirſt. He gave it him readily, and when he had taken it off: “Well! Thaumaſtus (ſays he) ſince you have been ſo kind as to do me this ſervice in my bonds, with the ſame frankneſs you formerly ſerv'd me in my better fortunes, depend upon it that you ſhall never repent this good office; for ſo ſoon as ever I get over this difficulty, I will be anſwerable to you that Caius ſhall give you your liberty;” and he was afterward as good as his word; for ſo ſoon as ever he came to the crown, he begg'd Thaumaſtus of Caius, and made him free; entruſting him alſo with the management of his eſtate, and at his death recommended him to his ſon Agrippa, and to Berenice his daughter, to continue him in that charge, wherein he acquitted himſelf with great honour and eſteem all the remainder of his life.

An owl perches over Agrippa's head.

A German's prediction upon it.

Tiberius inexorable. Antonia prevails with Macro to make Agrippa's condition eaſy to him.

As Agrippa was ſtanding in his chains before the palace, with other of his fellow-priſoners in the ſame condition, and leaning in a melancholick poſture upon a tree, there came an owl, and perch'd upon it. A German that was there in bonds taking notice of it, enquir'd of one of the ſoldiers who that man there in the purple was; and being given to underſtand that he was a Jew of the firſt quality, from an honourable extraction, he deſir'd the ſoldier to let him come a little nearer him; for he had a great mind to learn ſomething from him of his country. This being granted, and an interpreter allow'd him, the German ſpoke to him after this manner. “Young man, (ſays he) this ſudden and ſurprizing change of your fortune makes you ſad I perceive, and you will not eaſily believe how near you are to your deliverance under the favour and protection of a divine providence that watches over you. I call all the Gods to witneſs, both yours, and ours, by whoſe permiſſion it is that we are here in bonds, that I do not ſpeak this to amuſe and flatter you with vain hopes; for I know very well that prognoſticks of this kind, if the event does not anſwer the prediction, do a great deal more hurt than good. But I reckon it my duty, at what hazard ſoever, to tell you, that you ſhall ſee ſuch a turn of times and things, as ſhall advance you out of this calamitous condition, to the moſt glorious height of honour and power, and render you the envy of thoſe that either deſpis'd or pity'd you before. The remainder of your days ſhall be happy, and you ſhall leave children behind you to ſucceed to your good fortunes. But now remember what I tell you further, whenever you come to ſee this bird again, the fifth day after it will be your laſt. This is the ſhort ſum of what heaven gives you to underſtand by this good omen. My revelation is certain, and I deliver you the truth of the matter, to ſupport you in your preſent trouble, with the hope of better things to come. And I am now to beſeech you further, that when you find all this come to paſs, you will not forget your fellow ſufferers; but conſult the deliverance of thoſe you leave behind you.” This German's prophecy appear'd as ridiculous to Agrippa upon the telling of it, as it was afterwards wonderful in the accompliſhment. Antonia all this while laid the hard uſage of her friend extremely to heart; but taking for granted that Tiberius was not to be wrought upon, and conſequently that all applications and interceſſions would be but ſo much time caſt away, ſhe had no more to do, than by the means of Macro, to try if ſhe could make his priſon eaſier to him, by getting civil and good-natur'd ſoldiers about him, and leave to eat at the table with the officer that had him in cuſtody, allowing him the uſe of the bath every day, and the acceſs of his friends and freemen to viſit him: all which was granted accordingly, inſomuch that Silas, his friend, and Marſyas and Stychus, two of his freemen, brought him the diet ſtill that he loved beſt, and blankets (under a pretence of expoſing them to ſale) to lay under him in the night, the ſoldiers giving way to it, according to the hints they had from Macro.

Tiberius falls deſperately ſick, and orders Evodus to bring his children to him early the next morning.

When Agrippa had been a priſoner in this ſort for a matter of ſix months, Tiberius returning from Capree, was taken at his firſt coming back with a faint indiſpoſition, which by degrees grew worſe and worſe, till he was quite given over. And now perceiving his caſe deſperate, he ſent Evodus his favourite-freemen to fetch his children to him early the next morning, to take the laſt leave of their dying father. I ſpeak of his adopted children;

Caius generally belov'd.

for he had none of his own: Druſus, his only ſon being dead and gone. But Druſus's ſon Tiberius, ſirnamed Gemellus, was yet alive; and ſo was Caius the ſon of his brother Germanicus, who was now at man's eſtate; a young man of letters, and excellently qualify'd for all honourable purpoſes: beſide, that he was the darling of the people, upon the account of the very reverence they had for the memory of his father's virtues; a prince of a wonderful modeſty in his manners, and gentleneſs in his converſation, without arrogating any thing to himſelf above others. By the reputation of this illuſtrious character, he did not only gain the favour of the ſenate and people, but of the provinces in general, whom he obliged with all manner of good offices and reſpects. His death, in fine, was not celebrated ſo much with pomp and ſhew, as with tears of tenderneſs and affection, and an inward ſorrow of heart: for the whole body of the people lamented the death of their prince, as if every particular man had loſt his own father. The reputation of Germanicus was of great advantage every way to his ſon Caius; but eſpecially among the ſoldiers, that were all ready to lay down their lives at his feet to ſerve him.

Tiberius conſults the oracle, which to make his ſucceſſor. The oracle bids him chuſe him that comes to him firſt next morning.

Caius was the man.

Tiberius mightily addicted to wizards and fortune-tellers.

A ſtrange inſtance in Galba. Tiberius took this encounter as a foreboding.

He gives Caius the government, with a charge to be kind to his brother.

Caius promiſes fair, but takes away his brother's life upon the death of Tiberius.

Tiberius, after this, order'd Evodus to have his ſons come to him early the next morning, and put up a prayer to the Gods of his country to direct him by ſome particular token, which of the two he ſhould chuſe for his ſucceſſor, wiſhing with all his heart that the lot might fall upon Tiberius; but he durſt not venture, however, to prejudge and determine ſo high a point, without conſulting his oracle. And ſo he propoſed to govern himſelf by this token, that he of the two that came firſt to him in the morning, ſhould be his ſucceſſor. This reſolution being taken, he gave it in charge to his grandchild's tutor, to be ſure to bring his pupil to him by break of day, taking for granted, that heaven would declare itſelf in favour of Tiberius: but it fell out otherwiſe; for upon the emperor's ſending out Evodus by break of day next morning to look for his ſons at the door, and to bring him in firſt that he ſaw firſt, he found only Caius there, and told him that he muſt come to his father, and ſo took him in along with him. Young Tiberius, it ſeems, not imagining his Grandfather's buſineſs, ſlipt his time by ſtaying to take his breakfaſt. The emperor was not a little ſtartled at the ſight of Caius, to conſider how providence had defeated him in his deſign of diſpoſing of the government, by ſetling it contrary to his inclination: and the croſſing of his will was not the worſt of the caſe neither; for he was more concerned for the perſonal ſafety of his grandſon, than for the loſs of the empire. For where dominion is the queſtion, the longer ſword carries it; ambition knows no kindred; and among rivals for power, the one can never think himſelf ſafe, but in the ruin of the other. Tiberius was moſt ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to fortune-tellers, judicial aſtrologers, and that ſort of people; and govern'd his life in a great meaſure by their advice and direction. As he happen'd to caſt his eye upon Galba once, turning to ſome particular friends about him: “That man, (ſays he) will be emperor of “Rome.” Upon the whole matter, none of the emperors ever put ſo much confidence in ſoothſayers and diviners as Tiberius, ſome of whoſe predictions were not altogether idle, as he ſometimes found by experience. But nothing ſtruck him deeper than this foreboding encounter of the two competitors; which wrought ſo ſenſibly upon him, that he gave his grandchild already for a dead man; and no body to blame neither, but himſelf, for giving heed to omens, when he might have liv'd free and eaſy, without preſſing into the ſecrets of God's hidden councils, and blaſting the peace of his life with unwarrantable hankerings after the knowledge of things to come; and this itch of preſcience was the plague he labour'd under. This unexpected diſappointment of the ſucceſſion, put his head quite out of tune for ſpeeches, but yet ſomewhat or other was to be ſaid, tho' never ſo much againſt his ſtomach, upon this occaſion; ſo that he deliver'd himſelf to this effect: “I ſhall “not need to tell you, my ſon Caius, (ſays “he) that Tiberius is the nearer to me in “blood of you two; but yet upon conſulting the good pleaſure of the immortal Gods, “and my own reaſon, I do here transfer the “rule of the Roman empire into your hands: “but I do likewiſe adjure you, that in the “exerciſe of this power, you do never forget “the obligation you have to him from whom “you receiv'd it; and that you ſhew your “gratitude to your patron, by all demonſtrations of love and friendſhip to your brother “Tiberius. I aſk nothing more, in return for “the dignity I have now confer'd upon you; “(for next to the Gods, you owe it all to me) “than that you be not wanting in any thing “to him, whom nature itſelf hath made almoſt inſeparable from me. And I am to “mind you farther alſo, that it is as much “your intereſt as your duty to do what I adviſe you to: for the ſecurity and ſplendor “of your own fortune depends in a great “meaſure upon the life and well-being of your “brother; and the day of his death will be “the eve to that of your miſery. Sovereignty is a giddy and a ſlippery height, and it “is a dangerous place for a man to ſtand alone “upon; beſide that ſins againſt the ties and “inſtincts of conſanguinity and nature, never “fail of being follow'd by a divine vengeance.” Theſe were the laſt words of Tiberius to Caius, who promis'd to pay a punctual obedience to all his orders, but never intended it. For ſo ſoon as ever he was poſſeſs'd of his command, he put his brother to death, according to the preſage of Tiberius, and he himſelf a few years afterwards was taken off by a conſpiracy.

Tiberius dies, and Caius ſucceeds him.

Tiberius dy'd within a few days; declaring Caius his ſucceſſor, after a reign of two and twenty years, five months and thirteen days. Caius ſucceeded him, and the fourth in the roll of the emperors. The rumour of the death of Tiberius was joyful news to the Romans; but they durſt not build too much upon the truth of it; not that they did not wiſh it true with all their hearts, and would have given all the world long before to have had it ſo, but they were afraid of being over-credulous, and of diſcovering the ſatisfaction they conceiv'd upon it before they were ſure of the thing itſelf; for there were ſo many ſpies and informers up and down, The character of Tiberius.

that ſuch a miſtake would have been certain death. He was fierce and implacable, to the higheſt degree; never any man was ſo tyrannically rigorous to the nobility. He had his inexorable averſions upon no other ground than meer humour and caprice; and ſo brutally cruel in his very inclination, that as he order'd it, death was a mercy from him. Wherefore it concern'd the people to be cautious how they ſeem'd pleas'd with the news, conſidering the mortal danger of it, if it ſhould be found a miſtake.

Marſyas carries the news of his death to Agrippa.

The tidings of this emperor's death were no ſooner come to Marſyas, Agrippa's freeman, but he poſted away immediately to carry the bleſſed news to his patron, whom he found going into a bath, and whiſper'd him in Hebrew, theſe words; "The lion, (ſays he) is dead." Agrippa eaſily apprehended his meaning, and in a kind of extaſy of joy: "Well! (ſays he) how ſhall I ever be able to requite thee for this, and ſeveral other good offices that thou haſt render'd me, if it be as thou ſay'ſt?"

Agrippa tells it in confidence to his keeper.

The captain that had him in cuſtody, obſerving what haſte Marſyas made to deliver his errand, and how well pleas'd Agrippa was with what he had told him, made no doubt but there was ſomething more than ordinary in the matter, and ſo deſir'd Agrippa to tell him the buſineſs; who made ſome difficulty at firſt, but upon preſſing him farther, Agrippa, in a kind of confidence, told him the whole ſtory. The officer joy'd him of the good news, and treated him with a ſplendid ſupper: but as they were in the middle of their jollity and cups, comes a meſſenger with intelligence that Tiberius was paſt danger, and would quickly come to town. Theſe words went to the very heart of the captain, who being conſcious to himſelf that he had forfeited his head for making merry with a priſoner, upon the news of Ceſar's death, puſh'd Agrippa in a rage from his ſeat, and in a menacing tone ſaid: "Do you think to come off thus with your lies, and your tricks? and could you find no body but me to impoſe your fictions upon, of the death of Ceſar? no no, (ſays he) this ſawcineſs of your tongue ſhall coſt you dear:" and ſo he call'd to have him put in chains again, and kept ſtricter than before. When Agrippa had paſs'd the whole night in this condition, the report of Ceſar's death was reviv'd the next day: every body talking of it publickly, and people offering up ſacrifices for joy.

Caius informs the ſenate of Ceſar's declaration.
Caius orders Agrippa to be diſcharg'd.

Soon after this, there came two letters from Caius; one to the ſenate, to inform them that Tiberius had declar'd him his ſucceſſor; and the other to Piſo, the governor of the city, to the ſame purpoſe; appointing alſo that Agrippa ſhould be diſcharg'd of the priſon, and allow'd the liberty of the houſe wherein he liv'd before; ſo that he was now out of all danger and apprehenſion; for tho' he was ſtill in cuſtody, he was in all other reſpects in a ſtate of freedom.

Caius goes to Rome, and takes the body of Tiberius with him.
A magnificent funeral.

Upon the return of Caius to Rome, and the body of Tiberius along with him, the funerals were celebrated with all magnificence and ſolemnity. The emperor would have diſcharg'd Agrippa the ſame day; but Antonia was againſt it, not for want of good-will to the man, but it would be an indecency ſhe thought, to do it ſo haſtily; and a kind of diſreſpect to Tiberius, to releaſe a priſoner of his committing all in a hurry.

Agrippa crown'd, and other marks of honour confer'd upon him.
Caius gives him a golden chain, of the weight of his iron one.
Marcellus made governor of Judea.

But it was not many days after this, however, that he took him home; had him ſhav'd, new rob'd, and a crown put upon his head, as ſucceſſor to the Tetrarchy that Philip had; created him king, with an addition to him of the Tetrarchy of Lyſania; and beſtowing upon him a golden chain of the ſame weight with the iron one he had before; ſending alſo Marallus governor into Judea.

In the ſecond year of the reign of Caius, Agrippa obtain'd leave of Ceſar to go for a while, and ſettle affairs at home; with a promiſe to be back again by ſuch a time. It was a wonderful ſurprize to them, to ſee Agrippa with a crown upon his head; a remarkable inſtance of the inſtability of fortune, and the uncertainty of human affairs, in this change of his condition from one exceſs to another: ſome look'd upon him to be a wiſe and a happy man, and ſtanding ſo firm againſt all diſcouragements; but others were ſo amaz'd at the circumſtances of this revolution, that they could hardly believe what they ſaw.

CHAP. IX.

The envy of Herodias. She preſſes her huſband to beg ſomething for himſelf. Herod and his wife ſets out for Rome. Agrippa ſets Fortunatus for a ſpy upon them. Herod and Fortunatus come to Puteoli together. Articles exhibited againſt Herod: The conſpiracy of Sejanus, &c. Herod is remov'd from his government, and condemn'd to perpetual exile. Ceſar's reſpect to Herodias; and her generous refuſal of it. She is baniſhed and confined with her huſband Caius aſſumes to himſelf divine honours.

Herodias envies her brother's being above her huſband.

IT was ſo intolerable a mortification to Herodias, (the ſiſter of Agrippa, and the wife of Herod the Tetrarch of Gallilee and Perea, the country beyond Jordan,) to ſee her brother, who was forc'd but the other day to run away from his creditors, now upon his return ſo much advanced above her huſband in ſplendor, dignity, and power, that the haughtineſs of her ſpirit was not able to brook it; eſpecially to ſee him in the pomp of his royal ſtate and robes, ſhewing himſelf to the people, and the mulitude crowding about him. The envy that this thought and ſpectacle gave her, was ſo inſupportable, that in the violence of her paſſion, nothing would ſerve her, but her huſband muſt immediately go to Rome, and never leave Ceſar till he had got the like honour and preferment for himſelf.

She preſſes him away to Rome to beg ſomething for himſelf.

"It would be the breaking of her heart (ſhe ſaid) to ſee her huſband that was the ſon of a king, and ſo fair both in the affections of the people, and in his own reaſonable pretenſions to ſucceed him, ſtand tamely looking on like a private contented wretch; and at the ſame time Agrippa the bankrupt ſon of Ariſtobulus, a criminal that had ſuffer'd under the hands of juſtice, advanced to a throne: but my dear huſband (ſaid ſhe) if you have had the patience hitherto, to live below the birth and quality of your father's ſon, it is certainly high time now, however, to bethink yourſelf of doing ſome ſort of right, both to your credit, and to your family, without truckling to a perſon

“ that owes his very bread to your charity. Never let it be ſaid that Agrippa, under the preſſure of the moſt pinching and ſcandalous neceſſities, rais'd his fortunes above Herod's, who had all the advantages of reputation and plenty on his ſide. It will not ſtand with your dignity, ever to own that man for your ſuperior, that you yourſelf have kept from ſtarving. Wherefore, without any more ado, let us ſpare for neither money nor pains, but haſten to Rome together; for gold and ſilver is not valuable barely for itſelf, but for the power and ſatisfaction it brings us upon the well-diſpoſing of it.”

Herod was a great lover of his eaſe, beſide that he had no great opinion of the court of Rome; ſo that he try'd all manner of ways to divert his wife from ſuch a reſolution, perſuading her to reſt ſatisfy'd with their preſent fortunes and enjoyments; but the more earneſt he was one way, the more eager was Herodias the other; having taken up an uncontroulable reſolution to purſue her point at any rate. She followed him ſo cloſe, in fine, that he was wrought upon at laſt, even in his own defence, to comply with her importunities, and ſo they ſet out for Rome together, with an equipage ſuitable enough to the occaſion. Agrippa being aware all this while of every thing that paſs'd, bethought himſelf of this way of countermining them. He kept his freeman Fortunatus in readineſs with letters and preſents for the emperor, who, ſo ſoon as ever Herod ſhould ſet ſail from Rome, was to put to ſea after him, with particular inſtructions how to behave himſelf when he came there. Fortunatus had a quick paſſage, and arriv'd at Puteoli juſt with Herod; but Caius happened to be at that time at the Baie, a little Town in Campagne, about five * furlongs from Puteoli; a place famous for royal palaces; the emperors that frequented the hot baths there, ſome for their pleaſure, others for their health, ſtriving to outdo one another in the ſtate and curioſity of their buildings. Upon coming to this place, Herod made his reverence to the emperor, and Fortunatus within one minute after preſented him his letters. Caius upon the peruſal found them to contain a direct accuſation of Herod: Firſt, for being a party to the conſpiracy of Sejanus againſt Tiberius; and now again for ſiding with Artabanus the Parthian againſt Caius, offering this for a proof againſt him, that he had at that inſtant a magazine of arms for ſeventy thouſand men. Ceſar, preſently in a paſſion, demanded of Herod whether he had ſuch a proviſion of arms or not? The thing was ſo plain and evident, that he could not deny it; ſo that the emperor never look'd further for any proof of the treaſon; but took away his government and gave it to Agrippa, with his money alſo, as a reward for his diſcovery. As for Herod, he ſentenced him to a perpetual baniſhment and confinement in Lyons, a famous city in France; but for Herodias, whom he knew to be Agrippa's ſiſter, he gave her the command of whatever belong'd to her, and without making her a partaker of her husband's calamity, he promis'd to treat her favourably for her brother's ſake; whereupon ſhe told him: “ Sir, (ſays ſhe) you ſpeak like a great emperor, and pray give me leave to behave my ſelf like an indulgent wife. I am not in a condition to enjoy the benefit of this bounty; for I do not think it reaſonable or honeſt, after the ſhare I have had in my husband's better fortunes, now to abandon him in his adverſity.” This greatneſs of mind in a woman gave ſuch an offence to Caius, that upon the ſenſe of this indignity he baniſh'd, confiſcated, and confined Herodias, together with her husband. And this was the vengeance that God brought upon Herodias for the malignity of her envy to the ſucceſs of her brother; and likewiſe the puniſhment that God inflicted upon Herod for being ſo eaſily overrul'd by a giddy, ſpiteful, and impetuous woman.

Herod oppoſes it, but yields at laſt.

Agrippa ſets Fortunatus a ſpy upon them.

Herod and Fortunatus comes to Puteoli both at one time.

Herod addreſſes to Caius, and Fortunatus immediately preſents him his letters.

Articles againſt Herod.

The conſpiracy of Sejanus; ſiding with Artabanus againſt Caius.

70000 Arms.

Herod confeſſes the arms.

His money given to Agrippa.

Condemned to perpetual exile.

Ceſar's reſpect to Herodias.

Her generous refuſal of it

She is baniſh'd and confin'd with her husband.

The reign of Caius, for the firſt and ſecond year of his government, was temperate and prudent, and gain'd exceedingly upon the people, both at Rome itſelf, and in the Provinces: but ſuch was the pride and vanity of his heart, in the contemplation of his greatneſs and power, that after a while he aſſum'd to himſelf to be more that fleſh and blood, blaſphemed the Gods; and in contempt of any other Deity, uſurp'd divine honours to himſelf.

The moderation of Caius for the firſt two years.

His arrogance and vanity in aſſuming divine honours.

CHAP. X.

A controverſy betwixt the Jews and Greeks at Alexandria. They ſend ſix ambaſſadors to Caius about it; three of a ſide. Apion and Philo the chief. Apion accuſes the Jews for refuſing to pay divine honours to Caius. A brave and a bold ſpeech of Philo's.

THERE happened at Alexandria, betwixt the Jews and the Greeks, an unhappy difference, and ſix ambaſſadors, three of each ſide, were ſent to Caius about it; of which, Apion and Philo were the chief. Among other things that Apion objected againſt the Jews, this was the main; That “ whereas temples and altars were erected all over the world to Caius elſewhere; and the ſame adoration paid to the emperor, as to the reſt of the Gods; only the Jews ſtood out, and abſolutely refus'd either to dedicate Images to Ceſar, or to ſwear by his holy Name.” Apion began with this invective, and did all he could in the world to inflame Ceſar againſt the Jews. Philo the brother of Alexander, overſeer of the cuſtoms, a perſon every way extraordinary, and a man of letters, being now about the reply on the behalf of the Jews, as their firſt commiſſioner upon the embaſſy, Ceſar, in a rage, little ſhort of violence bad him be gone. Philo upon this cholerick repulſe, turning to the Jews about him, bad them have a good heart; for, (ſays he) “ Now Caius is againſt us, God will be for us.”

A controverſy betwixt the Jews and Greeks at Alexandria.

They ſend ſix embaſſadors to Caius about it.

Apion and Philo the chief.

Apion's charge againſt the Jews.

Philo not permitted to ſpeak in their defence.

A brave and a bold ſpeech of Philo.

CHAP.

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* There being eight furlongs in a mile, five muſt be near half a mile and half a quarter.

CHAP. XI.

Caius thinks himſelf affronted. Petronius order'd to ſet up his ſtatue. The Jews beg of Petronius not to preſs them in it, &c. Ariſtobulus, and other eminent Jews ſide with them. Petronius lays the caſe before Ceſar, &c. Petronius's letter to Ceſar. Agrippa at Rome, when Ceſar receiv'd it. He preſents Ceſar with a ſplendid treat, &c. Agrippa begs the recalling of his order to Petronius. Caius grants his requeſt, and writes to Petronius. A commotion among the Jews. Caius writes a menacing letter to Petronius: But the news of Caius's death came to his hand before the letter. Petronius deliver'd by Providence.

Caius takes himſelf to be affronted. He ſends Petronius to Judea, to ſet up his ſtatue in the temple there. Petronius follows his orders.

CAIUS took it for ſuch an affront, to find that the Jews were the only people in the world who contemn'd his commands, that he preſently ſent away Petronius into Syria, in the place of Vitellius, with orders to enter Judea with a ſtrong army, and ſet up his ſtatue in the temple there. If they ſubmitted to it, well and good! But in caſe of refuſal, his orders were to force it upon them by dint of arms. Petronius took upon himſelf the adminiſtration, and made what haſte he could towards the putting of Ceſar's commands in execution: That is to ſay, he got a body of auxiliaries together, and two Roman legions, which he put into winter quarters in Ptolemais, to be ready to march early the next ſpring. Caius had an account of his proceedings from time to time, and gave him thanks for his induſtry, bidding him go on boldly, for he was reſolv'd he ſaid to bring down the contumacy of that ſtubborn people.

The Jews beg of Petronius at Ptolomais not to preſs them in it. They expoſtulate with Petronius.

There came at this time vaſt multitudes of Jews to Petronius at Ptolemais, begging of him for Heaven's ſake not to preſs them upon any thing againſt their conſciences, and the rules of their profeſſion. Or if it was of indiſpenſable neceſſity that a ſtatue muſt be ſet up in their temple, they deſired he would take away their lives firſt, and then he might do afterwards what he pleaſed. But ſo long as they had breath in their bodies, they could never ſuffer the violation of thoſe laws and precepts that had been handed down to them thro' ſo many generations from their famous progenitors. Petronius reply'd quick upon them, "This that you ſay might have ſome "influence upon me, (ſays he) if I were at "my own liberty; but being under Ceſar's "command, I muſt obey Ceſar's order, and I "dare do no other." To this the Jews reply'd, "That if he could not depart from his "maſter's orders, neither could they from "theirs; and that by the grace of God "they were reſolv'd to tread in the ſteps "of their foreſathers, as they had ever hitherto done. We are not ſo mean (ſaid they) "as for the ſaving of a miſerable temporary "life to hazard the forfeiture of a bleſſed "eternity, by prevaricating with the laws of "God. No, no, Sir, let but our laws and "our religion be ſafe, and what becomes of "our carcaſſes, and our fortunes, we matter "not. Our truſt is in God, and in the "aſſurance of his providence and protection, "we are reſolv'd to abide all hazards, "whether we ſhall rather chuſe to incur a "perpetual infamy by our cowardice, on the "one hand, or the wrath of God by our "diſobedience on the other; and in ſhort, "whether we ſhall obey the voice of heaven, "or the voice of Caius, and which of the "two, be you the judge."

Petronius informs himſelf in the Jewiſh cuſtoms. The Jews draw into a body, and deſire Petronius to deſiſt. They reaſon the caſe with Petronius.

Petronius gathering from his diſcourſe the inflexible ſtiffneſs of theſe people, and that it was impoſſible for him to ſet up Ceſar's ſtatue, but by the laſt extremity of blood and ſlaughter, he took ſome of his friends and domeſticks about him, with whom he went to Tiberias to be within diſtance of being more particularly inform'd in the manners, cuſtoms, and affairs of the people he had to deal with. This approach of the Romans put the Jews in a great dread of a war; but in a greater, for fear of an invaſion upon their cuſtoms and religion. So that upon this alarum, ſeveral thouſands of them in a body went directly to Petronius, deſiring him with moſt paſſionate inſtances not to drive the multitude upon deſperate neceſſities, by offering to prophane their holy city with forbidden images. "What, "ſays Patronius, and will you then raſhly ingage in a war with Ceſar, without ſo much "as conſidering either his ſtrength, or your "own weakneſs?" They told Petronius, No; they did not propoſe to fight, but rather die themſelves than to ſacrifice their laws; caſting themſelves down upon the ground at the ſame time, and baring their necks, as who ſhould ſay, "ſtrike when you "will, we are ready for you." They continued at this paſs for a matter of forty days without either ploughing or ſowing, or attending any office of husbandry, tho' the ſeaſon of the year requir'd it: For they were all unanimouſly agreed upon it, rather to die than to admit the ſtatue.

and in the mean time neglect their tillage.

Ariſtobulus and ſeveral eminent Jews ſide with them.

They deſire Petronius to lay the caſe before Ceſar.

While matters were in this ſtate, Ariſtobulus, the brother of king Agrippa, and Elcias ſirnamed the Great, with ſeveral noblemen of the family, and others of the firſt quality among the Jews, apply'd themſelves to Petronius; "deſiring him to conſider, that they "were an obſtinate ſort of People he had to "do withal, and how dangerous it might be "to hurry them into deſpair: But their advice was for him to inform Caius of the difficulties of the caſe; the ſtubbornneſs of the "party, how reſolutely bent they were againſt "the ſetting up of the ſtatue, and how they "neglected the tillage of their land at the "proper ſeaſon of the year, not with any "thought of a rebellion, but in a determination rather to die than to blaſt the integrity of their religion; that this neglect of "their husbandry muſt of neceſſity expoſe the "country to robbers and rapines, and diſable "them from paying their taxes. They ſuggeſted that poſſibly this might make Ceſar "relent, and conſequently remove all colour "for a rebellion: or if nothing could divert "him from carrying on the war, that might "be done at laſt as well as before." Thus far went Ariſtobulus.

Petronius was no ſtranger to the intemperate and revengeful humour of Caius; eſpecially where any ſtop or delay was put to the execution of his commands; but yet ſuch was the awe and reverence he had for God, and his own conſcience, and ſuch the horror he had to think of ſacrificing ſo many lives to the fury of a madman, that was with theſe conſiderations, together with the credit of the interceſſor, the importance of the affair, and the danger of tranſporting an obſtinate ſort of people into deſperation, he came to a reſolution of writing plainly to Caius all the difficulties of the caſe, at what hazzard ſoever; for he thought thus with himſelf: "What if all this ſhould do no good now! what if inſtead of reaſoning him into a better mind, theſe trifling expoſtulations ſhould rather provoke and enſlame him, and bring the ſtorm upon my own head, that I am now labouring to avert from others! I ſhall have this comfort yet at the worſt, either that I dye in the poſt of an honeſt man, or at leaſt that I did not decline the expoſing of my life, even to an appearing certainty of ruin, in the diſcharge of a publick duty, and for the common ſafety of an innocent people."

Petronius deliberates upon the matter.

He ſummons the Jews to Tiberius.

Petronius, upon this deliberation, ſummon'd a meeting of the Jews at Tiberius, where they attended in prodigious numbers; and that which he had to ſay to them was this: "It is not of my own head, (ſays he) that I have undertaken this expedition; but upon the command of Ceſar. I ſhall not need to tell you the danger of deferring the execution of my orders, for ſovereign powers will not be trifled with: to ſay nothing of the equity and reaſon of the thing, in my ſubmitting to the authority of a prince that has been the raiſing and the making of me. But yet after all this now, as the caſe ſtands, I no not ſo much conſider my own perſonal ſecurity, or my credit with my maſter, as I do the welfare and preſervation of a conſcious people in the warrantable defence of their worſhip and laws. Neither do I approve of the prophaning of God's holy houſe at the pleaſure of lawleſs princes. Wherefore I am now ſending an expreſs to Caius, to let him know your final reſolution about the ſtatue. And it ſhall be none of my fault neither, if the emperor does not comply with you in every thing elſe that you can honeſtly deſire. May the divine providence that over-rules all human powers and purpoſes, preſerve your religion ſacred and inviolate, and grant that the emperor's exceſſive affectation of glory in this particular, may never be charged to his account. As for my on part, if it ſhall be my lot to fall under his diſpleaſure for this liberty; tho' to the loſs of life and fortune, I am prepared for it: provided only that I may never live to ſee ſo many good men deſtroy'd only for well doing. Wherefore let every man betake himſelf to his own home and buſineſs. Go to your lands and tillage again, and leave me to manage with the emperor. I am juſt now ſending away to him; and you may depend upon it, that nothing ſhall be wanting to your ſatisfaction, that I myſelf and my friends are able to do for you." With theſe words he diſmiſs'd the aſſembly; bad them hope the beſt, and take care of their husbandry. Petronius had no ſooner made an end of ſpeaking theſe comfortable things to the Jews, but the goodneſs of God appeared in ſo extraordinary a providence, that every body look'd upon it as a manifeſt declaration from heaven, in favour of what Petronius was now a doing; for ſo ſoon as ever he had deliver'd himſelf, there fell a ſhower to the admiration of all people, in as clear a day as ever ſhin'd, and without one cloud to be ſeen. This happened after ſo long a drought, that they were almoſt out of hope of having any more rain; and tho' now and then they ſaw perhaps a flying cloud, it blew over yet without any effect. This wonderful relief beyond all thought and expectation, was look'd upon by the Jews as a bleſſing upon Petronius's prayers, and as an earneſt of more to come: Neither was any body more ſenſible of it than Petronius himſelf, either of the prodigy, or of the interpretation of it: for it was ſo convincing an evidence from heaven in favour of the Jews, that it would not bear the leaſt doubt or contradiction. Petronius was very particular in his report to the emperor in this whole affair, and laid all the neceſſary points before him. As what might be the conſequence of purſuing ſuch a multitude of ſtubborn people to ſuch extremities, and making ſo many thouſand men deſperate; for nothing but abſolute violence could ever force them into a compliance: Beſide that in the violent proſecution of them, Caius would but ſink his own revenue, and puniſh himſelf, which would turn afterwards to his eternal reproach: Subjoining likewiſe to all the reſt, that the Jews were a people acceptable to God, who had given many wonderful inſtances of his peculiar care over them.

A ſtrange Providence in favour of Petronius.

Petronius's Letter to Ceſar.

Agrippa at Rome when Ceſar receiv'd it.

Agrippa preſents Ceſar with a ſplendid treat; who promiſes a large requital.

When Petronius's letters came to Ceſar, king Agrippa happen'd to be at Rome, and every day more and more in the good graces of the emperor; a kindneſs that he cultivated by all the ſtudy and application imaginable. As in particular, he made Caius one treat, that for expenſe, variety, curioſity, delicacy, order, and contrivance, out-did all that ever was heard of before him; not excepting the moſt ſplendid entertainments even of Ceſar himſelf. Caius was ſo taken with the generous magnificence of this collation, and with the hearty good will of it too; for to come up to it, Agrippa had expended even more than he could well afford, that he reſolved to enter into a kind of competition, and vie good offices with him. When the wine hand a little warm'd him, the humour took him in the head, to make Agrippa merry alſo, and ſo he accoſted him thus: "Agrippa (ſays he) this is not the firſt proof I have had of your friendſhip and affection. In the days of Tiberius I had many evidences of it to your hazard; and you have now oblig'd me to your coſt; and in ſo exceſſive a manner too, that you have conſulted my honour and pleaſure, more than your own convenience. It would be a baſe thing for me now to ſuffer myſelf to be overcome by benefits, and therefore I am reſolved at preſent to make you ſome amends for any thing that I ever fell ſhort in before; and the addition that I intend to my former bounty, ſhall be ſuch as will very much advance the condition of your life and fortune for the future." Caius expected, upon this frank and unlimited promiſe, that Agrippa ſhould preſently have begg'd lands, commiſſions, nay whole provinces, and ample revenues. But Agrippa, on the other ſide, though prepar'd beforehand what to aſk, ſuſpended

Agrippa contents himſelf with the bleſſing of Ceſar's favour

Caius preſſes Agrippa to aſk him ſomething or other.

Agrippa begs the recalling of his order to Petronius.

Caius grants his requeſt. The ſum of Caius's letter to Petronius.

A commotion among the Jews.

Caius writes a ſecond denouncing letter to Petronius.

Petronius receives the news of Caius's death before the letter.

ſuſpended the declaring of it a while, till it might fall in afterward with the better grace as by the by. “Sir, (ſays he) as I had no private ends of my own, in the little ſervices I did you in the time of Tiberius; ſo I propoſe nothing more to myſelf at preſent, than the comfort of your favour. You have done more for me already than I could reaſonably either hope, or ſo much as wiſh for; and though I very well underſtand that you have greater things yet in your power; give me leave however to make this profeſſion with acknowledgments for what I have receiv'd, that I neither deſerve nor ſeek for any thing farther.” Caius was ſo amazed at the modeſty and moderation of the man, that he the more earneſtly importun'd Agrippa to aſk him ſome boon or other, and let it be what it would, it ſhould never be deny'd him. “Well ſir, (ſays Agrippa) ſince you are ſo generous as to lay this kind command upon me, I ſhall preſume to offer you one requeſt; and it ſhall be neither wealth nor honour; for by your favour, (ſays he) I have enough of both already: But the granting of that which I have to deſire will eſtabliſh you in the favour both of God and man; and it will be to my own immortal glory too, if I may but obtain this conceſſion, after ſo many others, to crown all the reſt. My deſire is only this, that you will recal your order to Petronius for ſetting up your ſtatue in the temple of the Jews.” Agrippa knew well enough that this propoſal was like the chance of a die, for life or death, as that was the hazard of croſſing any of Caius's decrees; but yet however, betwixt the obliging influence of the treat, and the ſhame of refuſing a requeſt that he himſelf had ſo publickly extorted, together with a juſt deference to the virtue of a man that ſet a higher value upon the comfort of a good conſcience, and the peace of his country, than upon the ſplendid vanities of wealth and power; the emperor granted him what he aſk'd, and ſo wrote to Petronius; approving all he had done in drawing his troops together, and obſerving his orders. “As for the ſtatue, (ſays he) if it be ſet up already, let it ſtand; and if it be not, trouble yourſelf no farther about it; but diſcharge your army, and go back again to Syria. I am content to remit this diſobedience for Agrippa's ſake, for whom I have ſo great an honour and reſpect that I can deny him nothing.” This was the ſubſtance of the emperor's letter to Petronius, which was written before there was any ſuſpicion of an inſurrection intended among the Jews: But Caius, being a man without either honeſty or ſhame; and ſo abandon'd to the extravagant liberties of a furious choler, that he accounted it a mark of dignity and greatneſs to be ſwaggering and outrageous; this man, I ſay, upon the rumour of a commotion among the Jews that follow'd ſoon after, broke out into ſuch a paſſion to ſee his authority ſo affronted by that rebellious people, that he immediately chang'd his ſtile, and wrote a ſecond letter to Petronius to this effect. “Since you have thought fit to do more for the Jews money than for my commands, as appears by your neglecting the one to gratify the other, be you yourſelf the judge what you are to expect now from my indignation and juſtice. I am reſolv'd to make an example of you, both to the preſent age and to poſterity, to give the world to underſtand that ſovereign power is not to be dally'd with.” This letter was ſent to the preſident while Ceſar was yet alive, but not delivered till afterwards; the bearer of it having a ſlow paſſage: So that the death of Caius came firſt to Petronins, to whom God was infinitely merciful and gracious, in conſideration of the zeal he ſhew'd, and the dangers he underwent, for his honour, and for the religion of his people the Jews: But Caius, being cut off in the career of his blaſphemous vanity, for uſurping to himſelf divine honours, Petronius had the thanks of the Romans, as well as of the provincials, for his eminent ſervices to the publick upon that occaſion; and more eſpecially the acknowledgments of the prime men of the ſenate, whom Caius took a pride as well as a delight to torment and trample upon, in a more particular way of inſolence and ſcorn. He was cut off ſoon after that denouncing letter to Petronius: But as to the ground of the conſpiracy, and manner of executing it, we ſhall ſet it forth in another place. The news of the emperor's death to Petronius was follow'd with the letter that brought him the menace of his own: And as he could not under thoſe circumſtances but rejoice at the former; ſo neither could he but magnify and admire the goodneſs and providence of God, that in the ſame inſtant rewarded the veneration he had paid to the honour of his holy temple, and likewiſe deliver'd the Jews out of their diſtreſs. By this wonderful providence was the life of Petronius preſerv'd.

CHAP. XII.

The Jews of Meſopotamia, and Babylon, a miſerable people, &c. Aſineus and Anileus, two brothers, run away from their maſters, and gather'd a ſtrong party, &c. Aſineus gives the Parthians a great overthrow. Artabanus courts the two brothers to an alliance, &c. They go to the king together. Aldagaſus asks leave to cut Aſineus's throat. The king oppoſes it, &c. Anileus falls in love with a Parthian lady; kill's her husband, and takes her to his bed, &c. Aſineus chides his brother, and the woman poiſons Aſineus. Anileus breaks in upon Mithridates, and takes away a vaſt booty, &c. He takes Mithridates priſoner, and routs his army. Mithridates ſet at liberty, and his wife teizes him into a war. Mithridates gives Anileus a total defeat. Anileus recruits, and falls into Babylon, &c. He is ſurprized and put to the ſword, &c. The Jews are forced into Seleucia. Perpetual bickerings betwixt the Greeks and the Syrians, &c. Upward of fifty thouſand Jews ſlain. The remainder withdraw to Cteſiphon, and thence to Nearda, and Niſibis.

The Jews of Meſopotamia and Babylon, miſerable people.

THE Jews of Meſopotamia and Babylon were at this time in ſo miſerable a ſtate of calamity and confuſion, that we read of nothing like it in any their former hiſtories: But this ſtory cannot be written exactly (which I propound to do) without tracing it down in a line from the original. There is in the province of Babylon, a city they call * Nearda, a place wonderfully populous, and the ſoil fruitful enough to maintain the inhabitants. The town is well wall'd and fortify'd, with the river Euphrates about it; and not far from it, another ſtrong city call'd Niſibis, upon the ſame river. There was no fear or danger of any enemy breaking in upon this quarter: So that the Jews laid up in theſe two places the common ſtock of their holy treaſure, as it was dedicated and brought in from time to time according to cuſtom. From hence it was tranſmitted to Jeruſalem in the proper ſeaſon, under ſtrong convoys, for fear of the Parthians upon the road, who were then maſters of Babylon. There were among the Jews of Nearda, two brothers; Aſineus, and Anileus: Their father was dead, and their mother had put them out to the weaving trade, of learning to make ſail-cloth, which is accounted no diſparagement among thoſe people where the men are us'd to card and ſpin. Theſe brothers coming one day late to work, their maſter gave them correction for it, which they took ſo heinouſly, that they preſently arm'd themſelves with what came next in the houſe, and fled away to a place upon the parting of the river, where was great plenty of corn, graſs, fruit, and all manner of proviſions for a winter ſtore. While they lay in this retreat, there gather'd about them a neceſſitous crew of bold luſty young fellows, that armed and liſted themſelves under their command; no body daring to controul them. With the aſſiſtance of this party they erected an impregnable fort, and then they appointed officers and collectors whom they ſent up and down the neighbourhood to raiſe contributions; with ample aſſurances of friendſhip and protection to thoſe that comply'd, againſt all oppoſers whatſoever, and threatening deſtruction both to man and beaſt in caſe of refuſal: So that the people were under a kind of neceſſity of doing whatever they would have them; being by this time grown ſo numerous and powerful, that they were not able to reſiſt them: Inſomuch that the king of Parthia was ſtartled at this commotion.

Nearda a ſtrong city of Babylon.

Niſibis a ſtrong hold upon the ſame river. In theſe two places the Jews depoſited their holy treaſure.

Aſineus and Anileus two brothers: by trade, ſail-weavers.

They run away from their maſters upon correction.

They gather a ſtrong party;

Build an impregnable fort, and lay the country under contribution.

The king of Parthia takes the Alarum.

The prince of Babylon, upon this intelligence, finding himſelf concern'd to nip the ſedition in the bud, drew his troops together both out of Parthia, and Babylon, and march'd away preſently with the groſs of his army to get up with the mutineers time enough to ſurprize them. When he was advanced by defilees and by-ways, to the skirts of a mooriſh piece of ground, he made an halt; and depending upon it, that the next day, being the ſabbath, they would not venture a battle, he moved gently forward; propounding to fall upon them at unawares, and make ſure of a victory. While Aſineus was at this time repos'd upon a bank with his companions about him, and his arms lying by: "Hark ye fellow ſoldiers (ſays he) methinks I hear the neighing of horſes: Not ſuch a neighing, as if they were ſcattered and at paſture, but the neighing of horſes preſſing to a battle. Nay I fancy I hear the champing of their bits too; and had beſt have a care we be not circumvented: Wherefore for certainty ſake, let ſome body go out this inſtant for diſcovery: And I wiſh I may find myſelf miſtaken." Scouts were ſent out accordingly, and in a very little time came back again upon the ſpur, with news that Aſineus was in the right, for the enemy was at hand; and upon the very point of executing their revenge. They have horſes enough, ſays the ſcout, to over-run and trample us all under foot: Beſide, (ſays he) that we are but ſo many naked men, and forbidden by the very laws of our religion to prophane the ſabbath with any ſort of reſiſtance. But Aſineus was quite of another opinion, and told them it was an unreaſonable thing for them to ſtand ſtill, and have their throats cut only to gratify a barbarous enemy. "No, my friends, (ſays he) conſult your courage, and the ſovereign law of all laws, your preſent neceſſity. Wherefore follow my example, that at the worſt we may not fall unreveng'd, and ſo let us commit the reſt to providence." Upon this exhortation and encouragement, he betook himſelf to his arms, and led his companions to the combat, where finding the enemy careleſs and ſecure, and in a poſture, rather to take poſſeſſion of a victory, than to diſpute it, they took them unprovided; made a great ſlaughter upon the place, and put the reſt to flight.

The prince of Babylon marches to ſurprize them upon the ſabbath day.

Aſineus hears the neighing of horſes.

The ſcouts give notice of an enemy at hand.

The law of neceſſity is a diſpenſation to that of the ſabbath.

Aſineus falls on, and gives the enemy a great overthrow.

The bravery of the two brothers gave the king of Parthia, upon the news of this defeat, ſuch a curioſity and impatience to have an interview, and to exchange ſome diſcourſe with them, that he ſent them one of his guards that he moſt confided in, with this meſſage. "I have a commiſſion from Artabanus the king of Parthia to tell you, (ſays he) that tho' you have been very injurious to him in making this inroad into his dominions, he is yet ready to bury all paſt controverſies in the eſteem he has for the character he hath heard of your perſons. And I am farther to acquaint you in my maſter's name, that without any fraud, or indirect meaning, he deſires to join in a league of friendſhip with you. And I am likewiſe to offer you upon his faith and honour, all aſſurances that you yourſelves can deſire for your ſafe paſſage and ſecurity, in your journey back and forward. You will find the king a munificent and a generous prince, and ready upon all occaſions to give you farther proofs of his gracious inclination and bounty." Aſineus was not over fond of the journey, notwithſtanding the frankneſs of the invitation; but he ſent his brother Anileus however upon the compliment, with ſuch preſents, as he was able to furniſh. Upon his coming to the king, he found his acceſs open and eaſy; but Artabanus taking notice that he came alone, ask'd him why he did not bring his brother along with him: ſo Anileus gave the king to underſtand, that he was ſafe in the bog where he was, and not willing to truſt himſelf any where elſe at mercy. The king underſtanding diffidence to be the cauſe, ſwore by his Gods, that not a hair of either of their heads ſhould be touch'd: And for a ratification of his oath, he gave Anileus his right hand upon it; which, with the Barbarians, is the moſt ſacred tye of good faith that can be given: for after that ceremony paſt, they are ſo far from any apprehen-

Artabanus courts the two brothers to an alliance.

Aſineus ſends his brother on the errand.

Anileus tells Artabanus the reaſon of his coming alone.

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* Naarda according to Stephanus Byzant.

ſion of being deceiv'd, that there's no room after it, even for jealouſy itſelf, or the very ſuſpicion of falſe dealing. Artabanus, upon this aſſurance, ſent Anileus back again to bring his brother; in contemplation of the ſervices they two might do him by keeping thoſe provinces in awe, that were wavering toward a revolt in the king's abſence, by the aſſiſtance of the party they brought along with them. And he did not know neither, but that when he himſelf was employ'd in the ſuppreſſing of a rebellion on the one hand, Aſineus might be fortifying himſelf with men and ſtrong forts, and doing miſchief about Babylon on the other. This was the reaſon of the king's ſending for Aſineus.

Anileus on the king's oath, fetches his brother.

Now Aſineus underſtanding by the report of his brother, how great a tenderneſs Artabanus had expreſs'd for them both, and with what earneſtneſs of oaths and proteſtations he confirmed the ſincerity of all his profeſſions, was eaſily prevail'd upon to wait upon the king with Anileus, and ſo they went together. Artabanus received them with great eaſineſs and good will; but upon comparing the dignity of Aſineus's mind with the ſimple appearance, and in truth the diſagreeable figure of his perſon, he was not a little ſurpriz'd at the diſproportion; and ſaid to ſome of his friends, that the ſoul of that man was never made for his body. He took occaſion one day as he was at the table to ſpeak of him to Abdagaſus, his general, of his martial performances, and feats of arms, very much, in fine, to his advantage. Abdagaſus made no other reply, but only to beg his majeſty's leave to cut his throat in revenge for the affront he had put upon the Parthians. “No, (ſays the king) I ſhall never ſuffer ſuch a thing as that, certainly, to a man that has committed himſelf to my honour, and whom I am bound both by oath and contract to protect. But, (ſays he) if you have ſuch a mind to exerciſe your courage, you may find a way of vindicating the Parthians without making me forſworn. You have no more to do, than to attack him in his return without making me privy to your purpoſe.” The next morning early the king call'd for Aſineus again.” “It is time young man, (ſays he) for you to go home again, before the animoſity of my officers run too high, for you may have miſchief done you, and not in my power perhaps to prevent it. Pray let me commend Babylon to your care, and do what you can to maintain peace there, and preſerve the province from robberies. Once for all, you have committed your life into my hands, and your ſafety ſhall be to me as that of my own heart:” And ſo with thoſe words, and a competency of honourable preſents, the king diſpatch'd him away to take charge of his command, where he apply'd himſelf inſtantly to the buſineſs of his commiſſion, in building of forts; repairing and fortifying as he ſaw occaſion; acquitting himſelf, in fine, to ſo univerſal a ſatisfaction, that never any man before him arrived at ſuch a degree of reputation and power in ſo ſhort a time, and from ſo ſlender a beginning: and this, not only among the great men of Babylon, but the Parthian governors and commanders had likewiſe the ſame eſteem for him; his authority all this while increaſing with the ſtrength of his arms and party: inſomuch that Meſopotamia was as good as entirely under his direction.

The two brothers go to the king together.

Abdagaſus the general, asks Artabanus leave to cut Aſineus's throat.

The king oppoſes it.

Artabanus adviſes Aſineus to be gone, and gives him the command of Babylon.

Aſineus departs, and betakes himſelf to the buſineſs of his commiſſion.

The brothers gain a general eſteem.

THINGS went on in this proſperous way with the two brothers, for a matter of fifteen years, highly to the ſatisfaction of the world, and their own glory. But when they came once to decline in their piety and manners, and abandoning the ſtudy of virtue, and the diſcipline and precepts of their forefathers, to give themſelves up to ſenſual pleaſures and foreign innovations, they ſunk then in their credit too. As for example: There happen'd to come into theſe provinces a certain Parthian governor, and his wife along with him: a miracle of a woman, as well for her admirable qualities, as for the charms of her perſon and beauty. This woman (whether upon fame, or upon ſight, is uncertain) Anileus fell deſperately in love with; and in the impotency of his paſſion, having no other way to compaſs his end, he made war upon her husband; kill'd him upon the firſt encounter; got poſſeſſion of the woman, and ſo took her to his bed. This adventure was the ſource of all the terrible calamities that befel them afterward. This woman, whether ſhe was at home or abroad, had conſtantly about her certain images of Barbarian Gods. She was now a widow and a priſoner, and having privately conceal'd ſome of theſe idols, ſhe took her opportunity of worſhipping them for a while, only by ſtealth. But upon Anileus's taking her to himſelf, and owning her publickly for his wife, ſhe did as publickly own the exerciſe of her religion too, without carrying the buſineſs any longer as a ſecret. The beſt friends that the two brothers had, were moſt horridly diſguſted at the licence of this abominable practice in the marrying of a barbarous woman, and an idolatreſs, in ſo audacious a defiance of the rites, laws and cuſtoms of the Jews. Let this ſerve for a caution to princes in time to come, how they depart from their duty to God, to gratify their carnal pleaſures. But there was no room left here for the good offices of reaſon and wholeſome counſel; for one of the moſt eminent adviſers was ſtabb'd to death upon the place, only for the honeſt liberty of diſcharging his conſcience; breathing out his laſt with this prophetical imprecation in his mouth againſt the brothers and their complices: “May a vengeance fall upon them, (ſays he) for the indignities they have committed both againſt religion and againſt friendſhip; may their enemies repay them with the ſame meaſure they have meted to others: the brethren, as the capital authors of this violence; the reſt, for aſſiſting toward the barbarous murder of the patron of their laws and liberties, whom they ought to have defended.” Not but that they were all extremely afflicted for the death of this good man, but the paſt kindneſſes of the brothers, and the ſenſe they had of an obligation to them for the advantage of their preſent condition, made them ſtifle their reſentment. They kept however for a while within ſome tolerable bounds, till at laſt the barefac'd and impudent profeſſion of idolatry put the affront paſt all ſufferance; inſomuch that the people, upon that ſcandal, came in crowds and tumults to Aſineus, with heavy complaints againſt his brother; telling him plainly, that tho' it had been better let alone at firſt, yet ſince the thing

But upon falling off from their religion and manners, they loſe it again.

Anileus falls in love with a Parthian lady. He kills the husband and takes the woman to his bed.

He marries a Barbarian, and an idolatreſs.

A bitter curſe.

The defection come at laſt to a downright profeſſion of idolatry. The people clamour at it to Aſineus.

This defection comes at laſt to a downright profeſſion of idolatry.

The people clamour at it to Aſineus. Aſineus chides his brother, and bids him ſend his wife back again.

The woman poiſons Aſineus.

was done, he ſhould do well to take ſome ſevere courſe in time to prevent further miſchief: for it would certainly put all in a flame elſe. The marriage, they ſaid, was ſo manifeſt an uſurpation upon their religion, that no perſon could approve it; and then for the idolatrous practice of this lewd woman, it was as groſs an encroachment upon the worſhip of the true God. Aſineus could not but own himſelf to be fully convinc'd of the dangerous conſequences both to himſelf and to his people, of this his brother's wickedneſs; yet what with the tenderneſs of ſo near a relation in the caſe, and what with an allowance for human frailty, in ſo invincible an affection, he palliated the matter, without proceeding to any exemplary ſeverity upon it. But finding himſelf day after day more and more perſecuted and clamour'd at, he was ſo plain with his brother, as to check him for what was paſt, and to caution him for the future; charging him without any more ado, to ſend the woman home to her friends again: But this wrought nothing upon him; for the woman finding the mutinous humour of the people to increaſe, and conſequently fearing that ſome miſchief might befal Anileus for her ſake, ſhe poiſon'd Aſineus, making no doubt of coming off well enough herſelf when a doting husband ſhould be her Judge.

Anileus makes an inroad upon Mithridates, and carries off a vaſt booty. Mithridates draws out to give Anileus battle: Anileus gets intelligence how Mithridate's army lay; ſurprizes him, takes him priſoner, and routs his army.

Anileus having now gotten the whole power into his hands, made an incurſion with his army into the country of Mithridates; a perſon of prime quality among the Parthians, and the ſon-in-law of Artabanus. He found money, ſlaves, and cattle there in abundance, beſide other rich booty that he carried away, to a prodigious value. Mithridates was not far off at that time, and hearing of this inroad and ravage, and how it was managed, not only without any ſort of provocation, but in a contemptuous freak of inſolence and ſcorn, he drew together a body of his choiceſt troops, and ſo march'd away with his army to give Anileus battle. The next day being the Jews ſabbath, which they moſt religiouſly celebrated for a day of reſt, he ſtopt ſhort at a village that night, with an intent to fall upon them by ſurprize on the day following. A Syrian that liv'd there in the neighbourhood, gave Anileus inſtance of the deſign, and particularly where Mithridates was to be that night, at a ſolemn entertainment. Anileus, upon this advice, order'd his people to go to ſupper, marching afterwards that night up to the enemy, to take them at unawares: Wherein he ſucceeded to his wiſh; for about the fourth watch, he fell into their quarters, and ſome he took aſleep; others in a conſternation were put to ſhift for themſelves in the dark. Mithridates alſo was taken alive, made priſoner, and mounted naked upon an aſs; which the Parthenians look'd upon as the higheſt degree of ignominy. When they had carried him thus into a certain wood, ſeveral of Anileus's friends were for killing him out of hand; but he himſelf was againſt it, and gave his reaſons for his opinion. "This perſon, (ſays he) is one of the greateſt men of the whole country, and match'd, you ſee, into the royal family. Give him his Life now you have him at mercy, and you may depend upon it, that he will forgive all paſt affronts, and never forget the obligation: Beſide the preſerving of an intereſt, that in caſe of the worſt, will be able to procure an accommodation. And on the other hand, if you put Mithridates to extremities, you may beſure the king will never reſt till he has avenged his blood upon all the Jews in Babylon: And thoſe are a people whom we ought to be tender of, both for ſanguinity ſake, and in point of common prudence: For the chance of war is uncertain, and it is good, even in caſe of any diſaſter, to make ſure of a retreat." The whole multitude, in fine, were of the ſame mind, unanimouſly with Anileus: So that Mithridates, by conſent, was ſet at liberty and diſcharg'd. But his wife perceiving at his coming back, upon what terms he was return'd, welcomed him home with a thouſand reproaches. "You (ſays ſhe) the ſon-in-law of a king! after ſo many notorious battles, and diſgraces put upon you by the Jews, and now at laſt their priſoner, to have ſo mean a ſoul as but to own a life upon the title of their charity! Either redeem your honour, (ſays ſhe) or by thoſe powers I ſwear that guard the thrones of kings, I'll have no more to do with you." Now ſo it was, that betwixt the bitterneſs of theſe daily taunts, and the apprehenſion that this high-ſpirited woman would proceed to divorce, he put himſelf, how unwilling ſoever, at the head of an army; but with this conviction upon him, that the Parthian did not in truth deſerve to live that would truckle to a Jew. So ſoon as Anileus heard that Mithridates was marching towards him, he made a point of honour of it, not to take advantage of the faſtneſſes he was poſſeſſed of, but rather to put it to the iſſue of a battle in the plain field: ſo that Anileus marched forward to meet the enemy at the head of a body of men that ſcarce knew what it was to be worſted; for over and above their veteran troops, they were joined alſo by ſeveral inforcements that fell in with them for the ſake of booty: And upon the whole matter, they reckon'd the day as good as their own, before ever they came to diſpute it. In this confidence they travell'd about ninety * furlongs into a dry ſandy country; and when they were now ſo ſpent with the drought of the place, the fatigue of the march, and the heat of the day, that they were hardly able to ſtand upon their legs, Mithridates fell upon them with freſh men; put them to a total rout, and cut off ſeveral thouſands of them upon the chace. Anileus, with a band of the choiceſt men he had, got off, making to a foreſt there near hand, in the greateſt confuſion imaginable, and leaving Mithridates in the happy poſſeſſion of an abſolute victory. There came in to Anileus, after this defeat, ſuch multitudes of looſe deſperadoes, that his army was not long a recruiting up to its former number; but they were raw, undiſciplined men, and not comparable for valour to thoſe that fell. With theſe men however he march'd into the quarters of the Babylonians, and laid waſte all before him. Hereupon the Babylonians ſent to the Jews at Neerda, to deliver up Anileus to ju-

Mithridates ſet at liberty.

His wife teaſes him into a war.

Mithridates gives Anileus a total defeat.

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* Ninety furlongs amounted to eleven miles and a quarter and 132 paces of Engliſh meaſure.

Anileus recruits, and falls into Babylon.

ſtice; but this could not be obtain'd; for in truth, the man was not in their power. The next propoſal was to invite him to a peace, or at leaſt to a treaty; to try if they could accommodate matters upon terms. This they agreed to, and ſent commiſſioners on both ſides, Jews as well as Babylonians, to manage the debate. The Babylonians taking ſtrict notice of the place where Anileus and his companions were together, broke in upon them in the dead of the night by ſurprize; and finding them drunk and drowſy, they kill'd all in their way without any oppoſition, and Anileus himſelf among the reſt.

The Jews and Babylonians treat about an Alliance.

Anileus, and his people ſurpriz'd and put to the Sword.

The Babylonians and the Jews can never agree.

The Babylonians and the Jews were perpetually at variance one with another upon the ſubject of differing rites, cuſtoms, and ways of living, and ſome times one would get the better of it, ſometimes the other: So that the controverſy ended commonly in a kind of drawn battle. But the Babylonians that were kept in ſome ſort of awe while Anileus was yet living, and his complices about him, took heart now upon this riddance and execution, to affront the Jews at every turn, and made them weary of their lives: Inſomuch that they forced them by their intolerable inſolences to quit their habitations, and to withdraw themſelves to Seleucia, the capital city of that province; and ſo called from Seleucus Nicanor the founder of it, being a place of liberty, where Macedonians, Greeks, and Syrians, liv'd promiſcuouſly together in abundance. The Jews were quiet and eaſy enough here for the firſt five years; but the plague breaking out at Babylon in the ſixth, thoſe that had remain'd were forced to withdraw in great numbers to Seleucia; which prov'd the occaſion of the greateſt miſery they had felt yet, as ſhall be made appear in few words. The Greeks and the Syrians in this city could never agree; but in all their bickerings the Greeks had ſtill the advantage, till upon the coming in of the Jews, being a bold and warlike people, the Syrians with their aſſiſtance got the upper hand. The Greeks finding themſelves over-power'd, and their condition wholly deſperate, unleſs they could break this amity betwixt the Syrians and the Jews; they dealt clandeſtinely with ſome particular friends and acquaintances they had among the Syrians to think of ſome way of accommodation, and how they they might bring matters to a better underſtanding betwixt them. This propoſition was well enough receiv'd, and the conſideration of it refer'd to ſome leading men on both ſides to adviſe upon the expedient; who without much difficulty put an end to the controverſy, upon this condition, that the Greeks and Syrians ſhould join in a league offenſive and defenſive againſt the Jews. In purſuance of this agreement, they fell upon the Jews by ſurpriſe, and kill'd upwards of fifty thouſand of them, not a ſoul eſcaping; but thoſe that were ſav'd and protected by ſome neighbour or friend. The miſerable remainder withdrew to Cteſiphon, a Greek city near Seleucia, where the king of Parthia commonly keeps his reſidence in the winter, and the greater part of his rich furniture. In this place they took up their abode, not doubting of their ſecurity within the verge of the king's court and palace; but the Jews were under ſuch a terror from both Babylonians and Seleucians, over and above the conſpiracy of the Syrians againſt them, that the greater part of them betook themſelves to Neerda and Niſibis, depending upon the ſtrength of the places, and the bravery of the men that were to defend them. This was the ſtate of the affairs of the Jews at that time in Babylon.

The Jews are forced into Seleucia.

Perpetual bickerings betwixt the Greeks and the Syrians.

The Greeks and Syrians in a league againſt the Jews.

Upwards of 50000 Jews kill'd by ſurprize.

The remainder withdraws to Cteſiphon; and thence to Neerda and Niſibis.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK XIX.

From the Year of the World 4003 to 4009.

CHAP. I.

The outrages of Caius upon the Jews, &c. Claudius accuſed by his bond-man. Three conſpiracies againſt the life of Caius. Caius reproaches Chereas with cowardice; who meditates a revenge, and tells Popedius of it, &c. A generous diſcourſe of Chereas, &c. Sabinus promiſes to ſtand by him, &c. [LIBERTY] the word, &c. Chereas goes to Ceſar for the word. Caius ſacrifices, and then goes to the theatre, &c. The conſpirators poſted in their ſtations. The manner of the execution, &c. The conſpirators ſlip away, &c. The German ſoldiers beſet the theatre all in a confuſion. The death of Ceſar publiſhed by proclamation, &c. The ſenate meets, and inclines to ſet up for itſelf.

The barbarous outrages of Caius upon the Jews.

THE barbarous and inhuman outrages of the emperor Caius upon the Jews, were not confin'd to Jeruſalem alone, and the neighbouring provinces, but moſt induſtriouſly propagated over ſea and land, from one end of the Roman empire to the other; and with ſuch deliberate cruelties as were never heard of in ſtory before. Neither did any place ſuffer more under his ſavage brutalities than Rome itſelf; the ſenators and patricians, eſpecially; and the reſt of the nobility: Thoſe alſo that they call'd the equites or knights, a degree of men for wealth and dignity next under the ſenators; the ſenators themſelves being likewiſe choſen out of that order. What delight did he take to torment thoſe people with all manner of indignities, contumelies, baniſhments, murders, confiſcations! making it death to have any thing to loſe. He took upon himſelf the majeſty and appellation of a God; and nothing leſs would ſerve him from his ſubjects than divine adoration. He had the confidence, in the capitol itſelf, which is the moſt celebrated of all the temples in Rome, in reſpect of the dedication of it, to ſalute Jupiter by the name of brother, and he was as vain and mad to a thouſand other purpoſes. He had a deſign once to paſs from Puteoli, a city of Campania to Miſenum, a ſea town on the other ſide of the water, and looking upon it as a derogation to his dignity to croſs it in a galley, he laid a bridge over from one Promontory to the other, and ſo paſs'd and repaſs'd in his chariot, triumphing that he had ſubjected the ſea as well as the land, in a way becoming the greatneſs of his divinity.

His extravagant pride and vanity challenging adoration and the majeſty of a God.

He calls himſelf Jupiter's brother.

He lays a bridge from Puteoli to Miſenum.

He rifles all temples for ornaments to his palace.

THERE was not ſo much as one temple in Greece, that he did not rifle of all the curious paintings, ſculptures and other precious donatives and dedications; with orders for the tranſporting of the ſpoil to his palaces, gardens, and houſes of pleaſure: "For where "ſhould the choiceſt rarities in the world be "depoſited, but in the moſt glorious city or "cabinet in the univerſe." Nay he had the confidence to ſend to Memmius Regulus for the ſtatue of the Olympian Jupiter, to have it brought to Rome: That admirable piece of Phidias, the famous Athenian ſtatuary, and ſo called from the place in Greece, where it is ſo

He orders Memmius Regulus to ſend the Olympian Jupiter's ſtatue to Rome.

ſo much adored. But this was not yet done; for the great maſters told Memmius Regulus, to whom the care of doing it was committed, that it was impoſſible to move the image out of the place without ſpoiling it, and there goes a tradition too, that while Memmius had it under conſideration, he was frighted from the doing of it by an incredible prodigy or viſion; and this made him delay it, as he gave Caius to underſtand in a letter by way of excuſe: But that excuſe would have coſt him his head, if the death of the emperor himſelf had not prevented it.

His girl is ſet upon Jupiter's knee in the capitol.

He was puff'd up, in fine, to that degree of a beſotted madneſs, that upon the birth of a daughter, he had the child carry'd into the capitol, and placed upon the knee of Jupiter, as if Jupiter and Caius had been partners in the girl; and expoſing himſelf to the company to judge, which was the more honourable father of the two.

His uncle Claudius accuſed by his bondman, and Caius upon the bench to encourage it.

These inſolent and extravagant vanities were ſo rank and groſs, that all people ſaw through them, and yet how tamely they ſubmitted to them! He did not only give ſlaves leave, but encouragement, to accuſe their maſters of what crimes they thought fit; and which is worſe, they had both his authority and his thanks for ſo doing. As Claudius was charged with a capital crime by his bondman Pollux, and Caius upon the bench to countenance the accuſation, againſt the life of his own uncle: Nay, and with a reſolution to have taken it away too, if he could have carry'd it.

By this licence that he gave to calumniators, ſycophants and informers, in the advancing of ſlaves above their patrons, he did but provoke the ſame practices againſt himſelf which he countenanc'd againſt others. For people fell to plotting againſt him on all hands; ſome to be reveng'd for injuries receiv'd, others by way of precaution to prevent miſchiefs to come. Nothing being more certain than that publick juſtice would be baniſh'd out of the world, unleſs he was taken off. Corruption and power carry'd all before it; and it was come to that critical point, in fine, that either Caius muſt ſink or the commonwealth: the Jews eſpecially; who, by the ſeaſonable death of this man, were moſt miraculouſly reſcu'd from the very jaws of utter ruin. It will be matter of uſe now and edification as well as of curioſity, to be very particular in this part of my ſtory; for over and above the concurrence of ſo many wonderful providences in the diſpoſition of things, it will ſerve for an inſtructive conſolation to good men, never to deſpair in what extremity ſoever, of God's infinite power and mercy: And ſo likewiſe for a leſſon of caution to the great ones of this world, not to build their hopes upon falſe foundations, or ſet their hearts upon tranſitory enjoyments, that lead only to miſery, and diſappointment in the end; but on the contrary, to contain themſelves within the bounds of modeſty and virtue.

Three conſpiracies againſt the life of Caius.

Emilius Regulus, Caſſius Chereas, and Annius Minucianus.

There were three famous conſpiracies contriv'd againſt the life of this beaſtly man, and every one of them had a perſon of eminent note at the head of it. Emilius Regulus, a Spaniard of Corduba, commanded one party, and he had a troop of reſolute fellows about him to aſſiſt in the enterprize. Caſſius Chereas, the tribune had another detachment; and ſo * Annius Minucianus had another party; and they were all reſolutely bent upon the deſtruction of this tyrant; for they all look'd upon Caius, as a moſt abominable monſter. Regulus hated him, purely out of a natural averſion to all manner of iniquity; being a perſon of a generous diſpoſition, and one that had the ſoul of a man of honour. Minucianus was his enemy, partly in revenge for the death of Lepidus his ſingular friend, and a citizen of a moſt unſpotted reputation, whom Caius moſt barbarouſly put to death: and he was partly inſtigated to this practice, for fear Caius ſhould begin with him firſt; for he knew this tyrant's hatred to be mortal, wherever it fell. Chereas cou'd not digeſt the affront of being twitted by Caius for his effeminacy, and unmanlineſs, upon ſeveral occaſions: beſide the perpetual danger his life was in, by the relation he had to the ſervice of a violent, furious maſter ſo near his perſon: ſo that laying things together, he was in a manner forc'd to do what he did in his own defenſe. But after all theſe particular grudges, they agreed all three in this one common end of delivering their country and the world, from the outrages of ſo bloody a tyrant; for they reckon'd upon it, that the ſucceſs of this deſign would be the ſaving of the publick: and that it was but the duty of a loyal patriot to lay down his life for his country.

But none ſo hot upon the exploit as Chereas, partly out of an ambition of acquiring to himſelf a great name, and partly out of an advantage he had above others (being tribune) of executing his purpoſe by a freedom of acceſs to the emperor's perſon. They were now in the ſolemnity of their Circus games and exerciſes; an entertainment that the people of Rome are wonderfully delighted with. Now it having been formerly the cuſtom, for the multitude to come thronging into the place, and to petition their emperors, at liberty, for what they thought fit, and hardly ever receiving a denial, they came now in crowds, earneſtly praying to be eas'd of their tributes and taxes. Caius was ſo enraged, both at the requeſt and at the clamour, that he commanded his guards immediately to ſeize the people that made the outcry, and put them to death; and this order coſt many a man his life. The people patiently ſuffer'd all this, and made no more noiſe; taking it for a warning not to venture their lives to ſave their money, ſeeing how many had ſuffer'd for it already. Theſe horrible barbarities animated Chereas more and more, to haſten the attempt, and ſo put an end to the bloody rage of this brute of a man. Chereas had it many times in his thought to diſpatch him at the table; but ſtill put it off from time to time, not upon any change of mind, but only to wait for an opportunity of more ſurely executing his purpoſe, without any danger of a miſcarriage. He had been captain of the guards a long time already, and being now in commiſſion for the collecting and receiving of monies about the revenue, he fell under Ceſar's diſpleaſure for not being ſo quick upon thoſe that were in

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* Some read Marcus.

Caius reproaches Chereas with cowardice;

arrear, (how poor and inſolent ſoever) as Caius would have had him; who caſt it in his teeth, that he was a ſlothful indolent fellow, and had not the courage to enforce the payment of it. And this was not all neither, for when he came at any time to him for the word, he would ſtill be giving him ſome word or other that reflected effeminacy upon him. Tho' Caius at the ſame time made no difficulty himſelf to dreſs, curl, powder, and in one word, to play a woman's part in all the formalities of a diſguiſe.

who meditates a revenge, and tells Popedius of it.

Popedius accuſed by Timidius, upon the evidence of Quintilia.

Quintilia put to the torture, and Chereas to execute it.

She ſtands it out, and Popedius is acquitted.

This enraged Chereas the more, to ſee himſelf made ridiculous to the reſt of the officers; for he never brought them the word from Ceſar, but it ſet them a laughing; and they expected ſome ſuch thing they ſaid before-hand. This was ſo unpardonable a provocation, and ſo juſt an incitement to a revenge, that Chereas could not any longer forbear the taking of ſome friends and confidents into the ſecret; and Popedius for one, a member of the bench of ſenators; one that had gradually gone through all his degrees of honour: and as to the reſt, a diſciple of Epicurus, and a lover of his eaſe. This Popedius had been accuſed of ſcandalous and dangerous words againſt Caius: his accuſer was his profeſs'd enemy, Timidius; and the accuſation founded upon the pretended teſtimony of Quintilia, a very beautiful perſon of a woman, and an actreſs. This Quintilia being generally belov'd, had the fortune to be highly in the good graces alſo of Popedius, among the reſt. The charge being a contrivance, and Quintilia refuſing to take away the life of her lover by a falſe evidence, Timidius, call'd out to have her put to the torture, and Caius at next word commanded Chereas to ſee it done immediately; making choice of him the rather for thoſe inhuman ſervices, in hope that it might inſtigate him to a more unmerciful cruelty, to ſhew that he was not ſo daſtardly a wretch as he was taken to be. As they were carrying out Quintilia to the torment, ſhe ſet her foot upon the toe of one of the conſpirators in her paſſage, giving him to underſtand by that hint, that he was ſafe, and that ſhe would confeſs nothing. It was much againſt the inclination of Chereas to execute that office, but lying under ſuch a neceſſity, he was forc'd to torment her with great ſeverity. And finding that ſhe ſtood it out, he conducted her to the preſence of Ceſar, miſerably torn and disfigur'd: even to ſuch a degree, that the emperor himſelf had a compaſſion for her, and diſcharg'd Popedius upon it; preſenting the woman alſo with a conſiderable ſum of money to comfort her in ſome meaſure for the calamity ſhe had ſo reſolutely and ſo happily undergone.

Chereas breaks his mind to Clemens and Papinius.

A generous and a bold diſcourſe of Chereas.

This tenderneſs of Caius was yet a farther aggravation to the affliction of Chereas, to think of the ſcandal it had brought upon him, in being the inſtrument of ſo merciless a cruelty as the emperor himſelf relented at. When things were come to this point, Chereas could hold no longer, but broke his mind to Clemens and Papinius; the latter of them a tribune, as well as himſelf, and the other a captain of the city troops. “Clemens (ſays he) “ it is well known that you and I were never “ wanting in our duty to the emperor; and “ that it has been our care and buſineſs to diſcover and to defeat ſeveral conſpirators “ againſt him. Some we have put to death; “ others to tortures, till he himſelf had pity'd them: but are theſe commiſſions for “ ſoldiers and men of honour, or for butchers?” Clemens reply'd not one word, but betray'd in his countenance the confuſion of his ſoul, for miniſtring in ſo infamous a drudgery, yet durſt not ſo much as utter one word of reflection on Ceſar's mercileſs and extravagant behaviour. Chereas however took heart, and expreſs'd his ſentiments more fully, continuing his diſcourſe in the following manner: “I ſhall not need, (ſays he) to run through “ the hiſtory of the miſeries, either of the “ city, or of the empire. They are too notorious to be concealed, and common fame “ makes Caius to be the author of them; but “ if a body may ſpeak the truth of the matter, I myſelf am effectually the cauſe of “ all this miſchief; and Papinius here, and “ you, Clement, more than us both. We are “ the men that have brought this ruin upon “ Rome, and upon mankind, in the execution “ of other people's orders. And now when “ we might put an end to theſe outrages, “ both upon the citizens and upon the reſt of “ the ſubjects, if we had but a hearty mind “ to it, we proſtitute ourſelves to the meaneſt of ſervile offices, fitter for hang-men “ than ſoldiers. And we do not ſtand up either for the Roman empire or liberty; but “ in the defenſe of thoſe that bring us both “ bodies and ſouls into ſlavery. And what's “ our buſineſs, but to do the journey-work “ of a tyrant, in committing bloody murders, and inflicting execrable torments upon “ others, till ſome body elſe ſhall take the “ office out of our hands, and do as much for “ us! for this abject reſignation of ourſelves, “ is look'd upon as an act, not of kindneſs, “ but of fear and force; and conſequently “ renders us rather ſuſpected than beloved. “ He is ſo wonted to human blood, that he “ never conſults the reaſon of things, but acts “ according to the extravagance of his preſent humour, and the crime is the leaſt part “ of the queſtion. We are all to be deſtroy'd “ one after another, and our own turn will “ probably be next, if we do not provide in “ time for the ſecuring both of our lives, and “ the common liberty.”

Clemens, tho' he could not but approve of the opinion and reſolution of Chereas, caution'd him to ſecrecy; knowing that the leaſt word of the plot, if divulg'd before it came to execution, would be the death of every man concern'd in it. “But, ſays he, time “ and patience bring forth opportunities. As “ for my own part, my ſighing days are over, “ and the ſafeſt counſels are beſt; but honeſter “ I am ſure you can never take.” Clemens with theſe words went his way home, turning every thing over in his own thoughts that he had both heard and ſaid.

Chereas ſuſpects Clemens, and poſts away to Sabinus.

This coldneſs of Clemens made Chereas begin to ſuſpect that he was not in ſafe hands, and ſo he poſted away preſently to Cornelius Sabinus, his brother-tribune, whom he knew to be a man of value; an aſſerter of his country's liberty, and as much unſatisfy'd as any man with the preſent ſtate of things. He made no doubt, either of his integrity, or of his judgment in the caſe, and ſo reſolv'd to conſult him upon the whole affair. He had ſome jealouſy, as I told you, of Clemens, and therefore preſs'd the buſineſs to a diſpatch, without any farther delay. When he found that Sabinus and himſelf were both of a mind, as to the main, ſaving only that he kept the ſecret to himſelf, there was no need, he ſaid, of deliberating what to do with a man that was come to a reſolution upon the matter before-hand: inſomuch that Sabinus promis'd him, not only good faith and privacy, but his helping hand too, which more and more confirmed Chereas in his purpoſe.

Sabinus promiſes to ſtand by him.

Chereas and Sabinus confer with Minucianus.

They were both of opinion for puſhing it immediately to an iſſue, and ſo went to Minucianus together, a man of their own genius and temper, both for greatneſs of mind, and a ſevere love and reverence for virtue. Caius had alſo a jealouſy of him upon the account of the death of Lepidus, his moſt intimate friend; beſide the hatred he bore him, as a perſon of honour and quality, which was a quarrel he had in common to all men of that character. They did effectually know one another's minds beforehand, by ſeveral words they let fall that reflected upon the government, tho' they did not think fit then to make proclamation of their diſguſt of Caius: but ſo it was, in fine, that they underſtood, and lov'd one another, by a kind of inſtinct, for the ſake of the ſame inclination and cauſe. Now ſuch was the reſpect that Chereas and Sabinus had for the eminent dignity, virtue and merit of Minucianus, that as they formerly paid him all deference upon other occaſions, ſo they deſir'd him upon this meeting alſo, to direct them how to ſet about their enterprize. "Well then, (ſays Minucianus to Chereas) what was the word the emperor gave you to day? (for it was in every body's mouth, how Caius us'd to inſult and ridicule Chereas upon that occaſion.) Chereas laid hold of the hint; and ſpeaking with all liberty, having the honour of Minucianus for his ſecurity: whatever the emperor's word was, (ſays he) let yours be Liberty; and I give you a thouſand thanks for putting it into my head to attempt to do the thing I had ſo great a mind to do. It is encouragement ſufficient to me, to find that you and I agree in the ſame thought, and that we did ſo even before we met. This ſingle ſword of mine, (ſays he) will ſerve us both; wherefore let us about our buſineſs, and be you pleaſed only with your prudence and courage to lead the way; with this aſſurance, that whatever you command me ſhall be moſt heartily and readily obey'd. A brave ſoul never wants arms, but itſelf rather ſupplies them; for 'tis not the weapon, but the hand, and the will, that does the execution. All time is loſt methinks till we are in action; and for the event, whether I ſtand or fall in the attempt, the care is taken. For I have ſomewhat elſe to think of, and to do, than to ſtand calculating and computing upon my particular ſafety or fortune, when the laws of my country, and the lives and liberties of ſo many worthy men are in danger to be ſwallow'd up by this mercileſs tyrant. And I hope you will not envy Chereas the honour of a part at leaſt, if not that of ſtriking the blow itſelf, in an exploit that has the warrant of your approbation." Upon this frank and generous declaration, Minucianus took him into his arms; bidding him go on and proſper, and ſo with an interchange of mutual aſſurances, they embrac'd and parted.

The word Liberty.

A reſolution taken.

They agree, embrace, and part.

A voice heard bidding them go on in God's name.

We have a ſtory of a wonderful paſſage in confirmation of the conſpirators in their deſign. There was a voice heard among the people, they ſay, as Chereas was entring into the palace, calling out to him to go on in God's name with what he had undertaken. It gave Chereas a jealouſy at firſt, that he was betray'd; but he found it afterward to be either an animating hint from ſome of the complices, or elſe a providential declaration from heaven in favour of his purpoſe.

There was at this time gather'd together ſome of all ſorts that were well-wiſhers to the deſign; as ſenators, knights, ſoldiers, and in truth who not; for all mortals were agreed in this, that either Caius muſt periſh, or the commonwealth: ſo that every man wrought for himſelf in a kind of competition who ſhould do moſt, either by word or by deed, toward the ſaving of his country; or, which was all one, toward the deſtruction of Caius: nay Calliſtus himſelf, Caius's freeman and favourite, made one of the party. This man had a mighty power with the emperor, which he abuſed to ſuch a degree, that all people equally hated and dreaded him; for he behaved himſelf more like a partner of the government, than a ſubject. He was grown vaſtly rich, upon corruption and bribes; but with all this, he could not think himſelf ſafe under that prince, for he knew him to be fickle and implacable; and when he had any miſchief in his head, never to be mov'd. He was in danger upon many accounts, but moſt of all for his wealth, which in thoſe days was a temptation hardly to be reſiſted. This Calliſtus finding Caius ſo ſlippery and uncertain, thought he could not do better than make a friend in time of the next ſucceſſor, and in that proſpect to ingratiate himſelf with Claudius: ſo that over he went privately into that intereſt; telling him in confidence, how Caius had been ſeveral times putting him upon it to poiſon him; but that he ſtill found out ſome device or other to ſhift it off. Now for my own part, I ſhould rather take this for an invention of Calliſtus's to curry favour with his new patron, than any real matter of truth and fact: for if Caius had had a mind to murder his uncle, Calliſtus's excuſe would never have brought him off, and Calliſtus himſelf ſhould never have eſcap'd neither for being ſo remiſs and dilatory in the diſcharge of his duty; but Claudius look'd upon him however as the inſtrument of providence for his deliverance, and very thankful to him he was for juſt nothing at all.

The execution put off from day to day.

The confederates, all this while were ſo ſlow and tardy, that the main execution was ſtill put off from day to day, tho' much againſt the will of Chereas; for he was of opinion that no opportunity was to be loſt for the doing of a thing ſo neceſſary to be done. "He would not have wiſh'd a better time or place, (he ſaid) than the capitol itſelf, when he was ſacrificing for his daughter; or to have pitch'd him headlong from the battlements of his palace at any time, when he was ſcattering his donatives among the peo-

"ple:

Chereas impatient of the delay;

and offers to take it ſingly upon himſelf.

The day for the execution off and on.

Chereas animates his companions.

"ple: or he might as well have been taken off he thought, upon any ſolemnity, at his own private ceremonies. For Caius was ſecure and careleſs to admiration, when at the ſame time his domeſticks and the people about him were almoſt all traitors in their hearts." Chereas was ſo impatient of theſe delays for fear of ſlipping his time, and miſcarrying at laſt, that he upbraided the confederates by way of reproach; telling them that if they made any difficulty of going through with the work, upon a ſuperſtitious opinion that there was any thing ſacred in the perſon of Caius, he would take the diſpatch of it upon himſelf in his own ſingle perſon, and be anſwerable for the doing of it even without a weapon. His aſſociates could not but highly approve of his zeal for the common cauſe, but they were yet for putting it off a little longer, till the celebration of the games that were inſtituted in honour of Auguſtus, he that firſt took the ſovereign power from the people into his own hands. There was a theatre erected before the palace, for the Roman nobility, with their wives and children, in the preſence of the emperor himſelf. Upon this occaſion, there would be ſo many thouſands of people crouded into ſo narrow a compaſs, that the thing might be done, they thought, with all the eaſe in the world, and the guards not get in time enough to the reſcue, tho' they had never ſo much a mind to't; whereas upon an attempt at a venture, there would be the riſque of a miſcarriage; the city in an uproar about it, and betwixt ſearchers and ſoldiers, the whole party ſeiz'd and cut off, and the contrivance finally diſappointed. Chereas agreed to the matter; ſo that a reſolution was taken to do the deed on the firſt day of the publick ſhews: but fortune over-rul'd in the caſe, and put it off to the third, which was the laſt day of the ſpectacles. And they would have had much ado to get over it then too, if Chereas had not call'd his companions together, and put new mettle into them, with an inflaming ſpeech to this purpoſe. "We are here met together (ſays he) in a righteous cauſe, and upon a very honeſt and honourable occaſion; but betwixt cowardice and lazineſs, to our ſhame be it ſpoken, without advancing one ſtep in our buſineſs. Here's a great deal of time loſt, and that's not all neither, but our country, our lives, liberties and fortunes are all in danger to be betray'd and ruin'd, beyond all recovery by this delay, and all to ſet up Caius more triumphant than ever: and what's the fruit now of this faint-heartedneſs, but loſs of liberty, and increaſe of tyranny? whereas we ſhould attain our own ſecurity in the firſt place, the welfare of the publick in the next, and an immortal glory to ourſelves in the concluſion." After this diſcourſe, he gave them ſome time to conſider upon it; but there did they ſtand as if they were mop'd, without one word ſpeaking, either of contradiction or reply. So that to rowze them up once again, "Hark ye gentlemen, (ſays he) what do you mean by theſe continual heſitations and demurs, one after another thus? do you know that this meeting is upon the very point of breaking up, and that Caius is going for Alexandria to take the tour of Egypt, ſo ſoon as it is over? would it not be to our eternal diſhonour, do you think, to part with the ſcandal of mankind but of our hands, as if we had ſent him all over the world to make publication what ſlaves the Romans are, and to have ſome free-ſpirited Egyptian do that right to mankind upon this bloody oppreſſor, that we were afraid to do ourſelves? Come, come, my friends, 'tis paſt deliberation time of day, and I'll expect no longer, but do the part of a man, and put it to an immediate iſſue; for I will not allow any fleſh living to diſpute with me the glory of ſubduing this monſter."

A final reſolution.

Chereas goes to Ceſar for the word.

Caius ſacrifices and then goes to the theatre.

A deſcription of the theatre.

These words ſet them all on fire to have the deed done immediately, and Chereas himſelf in the ſame heat, put on his ſword and went to court, as the tribunes uſually do in the like caſes; it being his turn that day in courſe, as captain of the guard, to go to the emperor for the word. The people were now preſſing in mighty multitudes toward the palace, crouding, thruſting, and juſtling one another to get places; and Caius himſelf not a little pleas'd with the ſight of this ſcuffle and confuſion; for here were no ſeats nor benches kept apart for ſenators, knights, or other degrees of people, according to their qualities; but men and women, maſters and ſlaves ſat all promiſcuouſly together, and firſt come firſt ſerved. This ſolemnity being dedicated to the honour of Auguſtus, Caius went now, and offer'd up a ſacrifice to the imperial patron: and it ſo happen'd, that upon, the fall of the victim, ſome of the blood ſpringing out, dropt upon the robe of Aſprenas, one of the ſenators. Caius made himſelf merry with the omen, but others were troubled at it; and it was his lot, purſuant to that foreboding, to be ſlain in the following tumult. It was much taken notice of, and wonder'd at, that Caius was in better humour this day than ordinary. So ſoon as the ſacrifice was over, he took his friends about him, and went to the theatre, which was only a frame of wood-work to be taken to pieces and put together again, as it was every year upon this occaſion. It had two gates to it; one toward the open court, and the other over againſt the paſſage, for the actors to go in and out by, without troubling the ſpectators; and near at hand there was a kind of box or partition, for the players and the muſick. When the multitude had now taken their places, and Chereas with the reſt of the tribunes, not far from Ceſar, who ſat upon the right wing of the theatre, Bathabius, a ſenator and a military man, asked Cluvitus ſoftly in his ear, a man of conſular dignity who ſat next him, if he had heard any news or not; he told him, none at all. Why then, ſays the other, I am to tell you that the tragedy of the tyrant is to be plaid to day. Cluvitus bad him in a verſe out of Homer, have a care that none of the Grecians over-heard him. They came then to the frolick of throwing apples, birds, and other vulgar curioſities down to the people for them to ſcratch and ſcramble; which Ceſar was much delighted with. And after this there follow'd two circumſtances that had the countenance of an unlucky preſage; the one was the repreſentation of a lewd, and a corrupt judge brought to publick juſtice; and the other was the tragedy of Cinyra, wherein ſhe herſelf and her daughter

ter [*] Myrrha were both kill'd, and a great deal of blood ſpilt for the decorum of the action, both about the gibbet and about Cinyra: and this, they ſay, was upon the anniverſary to the day whereupon Philip the ſon of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, was kill'd by his friend Pauſanias upon entering the theatre.

Now this being the laſt day of the ſpectacle, Caius was in ſome doubt with himſelf whether he ſhould ſtay it out while he was there, or go off for a while to waſh and eat, and ſo come back again. Minucianus taking his place near Caius, and ſeeing Chereas go forth, roſe from his ſeat to encourage him in his reſolution for fear of loſing the preſent opportunity; but Caius taking him gently by the ſkirt, asked him in a friendly way, whither is this good man a going? ſo Minucianus ſat him down again, but a while after roſe once more under the former apprehenſion, and Caius let him go, not knowing what neceſſary buſineſs it might be that call'd him aſide. Aſprenas, upon this, being all along privy and aſſiſting to the plot, propoſed it to Ceſar to go out, and waſh, and eat, and refreſh himſelf, as he was uſed to do, and afterward to return.

The conſpirators poſted.

The manner of the execution.

Chereas, having by this time poſted the conſpirators in their proper ſtations, and given them their neceſſary inſtructions, was ſo impatient of any longer delay, being already paſt three in the afternoon, that he was for going back to the theatre again, and aſſaulting Ceſar as he ſat, tho' he knew very well that it muſt of neceſſity coſt the lives of a great many knights and ſenators to go through with it: but he reckon'd upon the deliverance of the publick to be a benefit infinitely more valuable than the loſs of ſo many particular men's lives. As Chereas was marching toward the theatre, the word was given in the croud that Ceſar was up, and returning to his palace. The conſpirators call'd out to make the emperor way, as if it had been by order and direction; but in truth to get themſelves more elbow-room for the execution of the enterprize. Claudius, the uncle went firſt, and then Marcus Minucianus, the husband of his ſiſter, and Valerius Aſiaticus; Perſons, whoſe quality gave them a privilege of precedency without any interruption: Caius himſelf with Paulus Aruntius following them. When he came at laſt to enter the palace, he left the ordinary way, which Claudius and the reſt had taken before him, and where his officers and ſervants attended to receive him; and ſo turn'd off into a by-way leading to the baths to ſee ſome boys there that were ſent him out of Aſia for their ſkill in the ſinging and compoſing of holy hymns, and in the Pyrrhick [†] way of dancing. In this narrow paſſage, Chereas came up to Caius for the word; which (according to cuſtom) was ſo foul and ignominious, that the tribune return'd the indignity with language in his own way; and upon that, gave him a terrible cut with his ſword, but the wound yet not mortal: ſome will have it to be done on purpoſe to make his death the more miſerable and tormenting, by the repetition of the blows; but this ſeems to me very unlikely, for this was not an action to be drawn out at length: or if Chereas had any ſuch thing in his thought, or intention, he muſt have been the greateſt fool certainly in nature, to prefer the gratifying of a wild and an intemperate paſſion, by ſo dangerous a delay, when he might have ſecur'd both himſelf, and his complices, by the diſpatch; for ſo long as Caius had life in him, ſo long had his guards and his friends time to conſider of ſuccouring him: ſo that he endanger'd himſelf

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[*] See Sam. Petiti Leges Atticas, p. 248.

[†] The Pyrrhick was a military dance; according to Ariſtotle and Pliny, firſt invented by Pyrrhus the ſon of Achilles; according to others, by one Pyrrhus of Crete, or by Pyrrhicus a Lacedemonian. Some have fix'd its original much higher, and refer'd it to Minerva, who led up a dance in her armour after the conqueſt of the Titans: others to the Curetes or Corybantes, Jupiter's guard in his cradle, who leap'd up and down claſhing their weapons to keep old Saturn from hearing the cries of his infant ſon. Tho' the reader may perhaps look upon theſe laſt accounts as fabulous, yet they prove, however, its antiquity to be of very early date, which is farther confirm'd to us by plain evidence from Homer, who, as he hints at it in ſeveral deſcriptions, ſo particularly makes the exact form and manner of it to be engraved on the ſhield of Achilles given him by Vulcan. It was generally practic'd by youths (who begun to learn it at five years old) in order to inſtruct and render them expert in the uſe and exerciſe of arms; certain numbers of them being rang'd in two bodies like two armies drawn up in battle array, who, ſometimes at the ſound of muſick, and ſometimes at a certain ſignal given them by the maſter, begun a mock fight, and ſeem'd to attack one another as if in a real engagement. The manner of the performance ſeems to have been both offenſive and defenſive. The offenſive part conſiſted chiefly in the artful throwing of javelins aud darts, and the dextrous uſe of the ſword: The defenſive, in the nimble turning of the body, and ſhifting every part, as it were done to avoid the ſtroke of an enemy. We meet with a very full, elegant and lively deſcription of this dance in Claudian's ſixth conſulſhip of Honorius.

Armatos hinc ſæpè choros, certaque vagandi
Textas lege fugas, inconfuſoſque recurſus,
Et pulchras errorum artes, jucundaque martis
Cernimus: inſonuit cum verbere ſigna magiſter,
Mutatoſque edunt pariter tot pectora motus
In latus alliſis clypeis, aut rurſus in altum
Vibratis: grave parma ſonat mucronis acuti
Verbere, & umbonum pulſu modulante reſultans
Ferreus alterno concentus clauditur Enſe.

In Engliſh thus:

Here too the warlike dancers bleſs our ſight,
Their artful wandring, and their laws of flight,
And unconfus'd return, and inoffenſive fight.
Soon as the maſter's clack proclaims the prize,
Their moving breaſts in tuneful changes riſe;
The ſhields ſalute their ſides, or ſtraight are ſhown
In air high waving; deep the targets groan
Struck with alternate ſwords, which thence rebound,
And end the concert and the ſacred ſound.

The Romans, who were a warlike people, were great admirers of this diverſion; for which reaſon it was frequently exhibited by their emperors, amongſt other ſhows, in the Circus at Rome. Whoever has a mind to have any farther information about it may conſult Eraſmus's Chiliad's, pag. 1133. the folio Edit. upon the words, Pyrrhicen oculis præ ſe ferens, and the authors there by him cited.

Some, not without probability, have been inclin'd to think the Scotch Hayes (a dance perform'd with ſword and target) to be either the remains, or at leaſt an imitation of the Pyrrhick dance.

Julius Scaliger (Poet. lib. I. cap. XVIII.) tells us of himſelf, that while a youth, he had often danc'd the Pyrrhick before the emperor Maximilian, to the amazement of all Germany: and that the emperor was once ſo ſurpriz'd at his warlike activity, as to cry out, "This boy either was born in a coat of mail inſtead of a skin, or "elſe has been rock'd in one inſtead of a cradle."

The glory of the action aſcrib'd to Chereas.

and his companions more than Caius, by neglecting the means of withdrawing both himſelf and them out of the reach of revenge. So that the loſs of time would in all probability be the loſs of himſelf. But this is the caſe wherein all people are at liberty to think at their pleaſure. The wound, in ſhort, was betwixt the neck and the ſhoulder, where it chopt upon a bone that ſtopt it from going further. He made no outcry upon the receiving of it, nor call'd to any of his friends for help; either out of pride of ſtomach, or that he knew not whom to truſt. He gave a groan however, and made an attempt to get away, but Cornelius Sabinus prevented it by a blow that brought him to his knees: and that being follow'd by an unanimous outcry of "Down with him, diſpatch him," they cut him to pieces. It was Aquila, they ſay, that gave him his death's wound; but all people aſcrib'd the glory of the action to Chereas. He had his aſſociates, 'tis true; but the propoſal of it was originally his; and ſo was the contrivance, and the manner of bringing it about. He was the firſt that had the heart to adviſe and communicate upon it, and that by his great wiſdom and reſolution, when he found how it took, formed and united the confederacy; animated and ſupported the courage of his friends; and when it came at laſt to the pinch, he was the firſt that ſtruck the blow; and by his own bravery, laid the pride of this tyrant in the duſt. So that whatſoever was done by others to the promoting of this exploit, muſt be attributed to the prudence, induſtry, and virtue of Chereas. This was the end of Caius, who dy'd by many hands, and by many wounds.

The conſpirators ſlip away to the quarters of Germanicus.

But the great difficulty was yet behind; that is to ſay, how Chereas and his companions ſhould get off again, after the finiſhing of this mighty work; beſide the aſtoniſhment they were in upon ſuch an atchievement. They had the outrage of a wild and a ſeditious multitude to encounter, for the death of a popular prince; the fury and revenge of the ſoldiery: the way was narrow where the fact was committed, and cover'd with officers and guards that were there upon duty. So that finding there was no getting back again by the way they came; they ſtruck off to the houſe of Germanicus, the father of Caius, whom they had newly butcher'd. This quarter borders upon the palace-royal, and the whole pile is ſo far all of a piece, as the beautifying of it with additional buildings by ſeveral emperors from time to time, could make it; and all thoſe pieces bear the names of their reſpective founders to this very day. Being now clear of the rabble, they were ſafe enough at preſent, ſo long as the death of Ceſar could be conceal'd.

The German guards raging mad upon it.

The German guards of the body, known by the name of the Celtick legion, were the firſt that got intelligence of it; men naturally fierce and cholerick, and like other Barbarians, that for the moſt part underſtand little of what they do. They are ſtrong-body'd men, that will ſtand any ſhock; bold, and forward to attack; and taking number for number, hardly to be beaten. Theſe bluſtering fellows were raging mad upon the news of the emperor's death, not for the loſs of ſo much of the man, as of their profit; for they had a bountiful maſter of him, and he kept himſelf in credit with them by the force of frequent donatives and rewards. Theſe people, under the command of Sabinus, originally a gladiator, and preferr'd to be a tribune purely for a brutal ſturdineſs of body, without the leaſt pretence of title to it, by the virtue, either of himſelf or of his anceſtors: Theſe people, I ſay, under this commander, ran up and down with drawn ſwords from houſe to houſe, hunting after the murderers of Ceſar. The firſt man they met with was Aſprenas, that had his robe ſtain'd with the blood of the ſacrifice, as I told you before; a moſt unlucky token, and him they tore to pieces. The next they ſeized was Norbanus, of the firſt quality of the city, and one that had the blood of ſeveral eminent generals in his veins. But finding that the dignity of his extraction wrought nothing upon the barbarous fury of thoſe brutal ruffians, he diſarmed the firſt man that aſſaulted him; and being a perſon of wonderful ſtrength and courage, would never have dy'd unreveng'd, if he had not been oppreſs'd by numbers. The third that had the ſame hard fortune with the former, to fall into the hands of the Germans, was Anteius, with ſome few others; who was drawn out with a curioſity to ſee the dead body of Caius, a perſon whom he mortally hated; for Caius had not only baniſhed his father, who was of the ſame name with himſelf, but had afterwards caus'd him to be put to death alſo by his order. This Anteius came out upon this occaſion, to entertain himſelf with this grateful ſpectacle; and hearing a great noiſe and tumult, he endeavour'd to ſave his life by hiding himſelf, but could not however eſcape the diligent ſearch of the German guards, who without any diſtinction of guilty or innocent, cut all to pieces that they encounter'd in their way. And this was the unhappy end of theſe miſerable men.

Aſprenas, Norbanus, and Anteius cut to pieces.

When the news of Ceſar's death was brought to the theatre, the wonder and aſtoniſhment it met with was more than the credit; for though people would be well enough content to hear of what they had ſo long and ſo often wiſh'd for, many were afraid yet of believing it, for fear it ſhould prove falſe, and others as loth to believe it, becauſe they were afraid of finding it true. But ſome again ſtumbled at it as a thing equally ridiculous to attempt, and impoſſible to compaſs. Now theſe for the moſt part were women and children, ſlaves, and a certain ſort of ſoldiers too, that making a double advantage of their ſervices, both by pay, and what they got by oppreſſion, as the miniſters of pride and tyranny, aſſiſted in the perſecution of good men, and became ſharers in the booty. As for the women, the children, and the common people, they were cajol'd with fine ſights, ſpectacles, prizes, doles, and largeſſes, and other amuſements of that kind, under a pretext of making the people eaſy; but in truth, to gratify the blood-thirſty vanity of the oppreſſor. The bond-men, they were indulged in the licenſe allow'd them of controuling and affronting their patrons, and Caius their friend to ſtand by them in all theſe controverſies. Neither was there any difficulty at all of making good any accuſation whatſoever, where the ſervant had no more to do toward the gaining of his liberty, and the making of his fortune, but to diſcover where his maſter's money was, the law itſelf entitling the informer to an eighth part of the value of the confiſcation.

As for thoſe perſons of condition, to whom the report might appear credible, either as privy to the plot perhaps, or as well-wiſhers to it, or as having ſome reaſon more than ordinary perchance to gueſs at it, they were ſo far from rejoicing at the rumour, that they made as if they knew nothing at all of the matter. For they were afraid of betraying their good-will by their very looks, if they ſhould but enter upon the diſcourſe. The deeper, in fine, that they were in the conſpiracy, the more ignorant they appear'd to be; for it was death without mercy to be ſo much as ſuſpected.

The ſtory of Caius reported ſeveral ways.

The ſtory in the mean time was diverſly related. Some had it that Caius was wounded indeed, and under the care of the ſurgeons, but not kill'd. Now it was not proper for people under theſe circumſtances to declare themſelves one way or other; for either the reporters were of Caius's faction, and conſequently under a ſuſpicion of partiality on that hand; or if they were enemies, it was not ſafe on the other ſide to be too forward in the believing and publiſhing of ill news to be true, as if they wiſh'd it ſo: But there was ſtarted at the ſame time another invention that damp'd the hearts of the nobility more than all the reſt: Which was that Ceſar, upon the receiving of his wounds, ran preſently into the market-place; and without ſtaying to be dreſs'd, all bloody as he was, made his appeal there in a declamatory way to the people. This variety and uncertainty of reports put all men to their wits end what to think, do, or ſay. But ſtir they durſt not, for fear of calumny and miſconſtruction; for the queſtion was not ſo much what they intended, as how the judges and informers would underſtand it.

The German ſoldiers beſet the theatre.

All in a fright and confuſion.

In this diſtraction, the Germans with ſword in hand beſet the theatre; every man there giving himſelf for loſt upon the firſt ſight of them, and expecting to have his throat cut immediately upon the place. While they ſtood trembling in this anxiety of mind, and in ſuſpenſe, whether to go or ſtay, (for there was danger both ways) the ſoldiers breaking in upon them, put the whole theatre into a frightful ejulation, with a thouſand ſupplications, ſubmiſſions, deprecations, proteſtations, and excuſes, accompany'd with tears, groans and invocations upon all the Gods to atteſt their innocence. A conſpiracy or no conſpiracy, they could ſay nothing to it, they ſaid, neither did they omit any thing in their preſent extremity, that the ſenſe of their danger might put into their mouths to ſave their lives. This diſmal ſpectacle drew compaſſion from the hard hearts, even of the Germans themſelves, and put a ſtop to the farther progreſs of their fury, having done already what they were in ſome meaſure aſham'd of, as inhuman as they were, in their butchery upon Aſprenas and his companions, and then carrying their heads up and down in oſtentation, for a ſhew, till in the end they were depoſited upon the altar. What could be more afflicting to their friends, conſidering the dignity of the men, and the inſolent barbarity of the triumph, than this horrid action? and they were not a little ſolicitous for themſelves too, for their own danger was not yet over. Nay, the greateſt enemies that Caius left behind him, could not rejoice heartily at his death, for the danger they themſelves were in, not long to ſurvive him.

The death of Ceſar publiſh'd by proclamation.

But while things were in this confuſion, there was one Aruncius, a publick crier; a man who had by his buſineſs amaſs'd a great eſtate, and obtain'd ſo great power and credit with the people, that he did what he would with them. This Aruncius came into the theatre in a deep mourning-dreſs, like a noble-man of Rome, and with all the formalities of ſorrow and lamentation that are cuſtomary upon the loſs of our neareſt relations; where he made proclamation with a loud voice, that the emperor was dead; upon this the Germans relented, and the officers commanded the ſoldiers to put up their ſwords; whereupon the whole uproar was quieted. This was moſt certainly the ſaving of the people's lives that were coop'd up in the theatre, and of all others whatſoever that might have fallen into the power of the Germans; for ſo long as they could have flatter'd themſelves with any hope of the emperor's being alive, they would never have ſtuck at any manner of miſchief. They had ſo great an affection for Caius, that they would have redeemed his life, even with the loſs of their own, and without any regard to the miſerable ſtate of the commonwealth. But now upon the certainty of the thing, that impetuous deſire of revenge fell of itſelf; when there could be no longer any occaſion for the confering of obligations on the one ſide, or for returning acknowledgments on the other: beſide the apprehenſion they had of the power of the ſenate upon continuing their violence, in caſe the government ſhould fall into their hands. Thus was the rage of the Celtick legion appeaſed.

Minucianus, Clemens, and Chereas brought together.

Chereas all this while, being exceedingly in pain for fear Minucianus ſhould fall into the hands of the Germans, took as many of the ſoldiers one by one as he could truſt, to try if they could tell any news of him; and with earneſt entreaties recommending him to their care, if it might fall in their way to ſerve him. By this means Chereas and Clemens were brought to him; and Minucianus applying himſelf to Chereas, told him that he could not but infinitely honour him for ſo generous a reſolution and undertaking; and that he would take upon himſelf to give him thanks, in the name of the commonwealth, for ſo publick a ſervice, and as well for his conduct in the management of his undertaking, as for his courage in the execution of it. "This, (ſays he) may ſerve to ſhew us the "condition of the fate of tyranny, that never fails, after the ſhort pleaſure of a lawleſs domination, to terminate in an unhappy "and a ſhameful concluſion, that renders the "oppreſſor hateful to all good men:" As this was Ceſar's caſe, who made way for this conſpiracy by a violation of the laws, and an outrageous courſe of intolerable inſolence and injuſtice, upon his beſt friends: who upon theſe provocations became his enemies, and ſo the inſtruments of his deſtruction; but he himſelf all this while, was the author, and the firſt moving cauſe of his own ruin. The guards being now withdrawn, the people in the theatre were all riſing in a hurry to ſhift for themſelves. The occaſion of it was this: Arcyon a phyſician was call'd away to look after ſome wounded men, and ſent away ſeveral about him, under a pretence of going to provide remedies; but, in truth, to put them out of harm's way.

The ſenate, in the mean time, met in the palace, where the multitude preſs'd in upon them in throngs, to demand juſtice upon the murderers of the emperor. The people were in earneſt, but the ſenate only held fair with them for a countenance. While the rabble was in this fit of ſtorming and hunting up and down after the Aſſaſſins, Valerius Aſiaticus, a conſular man, being often ask'd by them in the heat of their outcries and clamours, what was become of the murderers of Caius, and who was the villain that kill'd him?" "Would I had been the man myſelf," ſays Valerius, and ſo he went his way.

The ſenate meets, and orders the ſoldiers and people to depart.

The ſenate proceeded then to a decree, in condemnation of Caius, and paſs'd an order for both people and ſoldiers to depart quietly to their own homes and quarters, with promiſes of certain exemptions and privileges to the one, and of rewards and gratuities to the other, if they demean'd themſelves peaceably as they ought to do. By this means there was a ſeaſonable ſtop put to the uproar, which otherwiſe might have broken out into freſh tumults, ſacrilegious violences, rapine, and all manner of confuſion. The whole bench of ſenators being now met, and thoſe eſpecially that were of the plot, they began to have ſome thoughts of taking the power into their own hands, and ſetting up for themſelves again.

The ſenate inclining to ſet up for itſelf.

CHAP. II.

The ſenators and ſoldiers divided about the form of government, &c. Chereas goes to the Conſuls for the word; and it was given him. [LIBERTY.] *The firſt act of the ſenate, ſince the Ceſars took away their power. Chereas delivers the word, &c. The character of Claudius, &c. Gratus puts him into poſſeſſion of the government. The ſoldiers unanimous for Claudius. They carry him to the camp, and ſo finiſh the work. The ſoldiers and people divided betwixt a monarchy and a common wealth. The ſenate ſends a menacing meſſage to Claudius, but comes to a peaceable concluſion.*

The ſenators and ſoldiers divided about the form of government.

WHILE the ſenators were debating on the one hand, the ſoldiers were at work in a council of war on the other, upon the queſtion, whether a popular, or an imperial government; and came to this reſolution, that the former was neither good for the whole body, nor for themſelves; for the people they ſaid, could never anſwer ſo many preſſing neceſſities of the ſtate: Neither was it for their own intereſt, either to be put quite out of play by a wrong choice, or to have ſo many maſters, having been rather the companions than the ſervants of the former adminiſtrator: So that they were of opinion in this unſettled ſtate of affairs, to chuſe Claudius emperor, being the uncle of the deceas'd, and much ſuperior, both for his birth, princely qualities, and education, to any of the ſenators then aſſembled; not making any doubt but he would remember thoſe that rais'd him, and oblige all people according to their deſerts. This was the ſenſe of the whole council: So that Claudius was immediately fetch'd away from his houſe by the ſoldiers, and declar'd emperor. This was carry'd preſently to the ſenate-houſe to Cneus Sentius Saturninus, who finding matters upon ſuch a pinch that now or never the buſineſs was to be done, he ſtood up and made a ſpeech; partly being put upon it, and partly by inclination, and deliver'd his thoughts upon this occaſion, in terms worthy of ſo generous a patriot, and ſpeaker, and of ſo publick-ſpirited an auditory. The tenor of it was to this effect:

The ſoldiers for an imperial government, and Claudius the man.

They ſet him up, and declare him emperor.

The news carry'd to Saturninus in the ſenate-houſe.

Saturninus in favour with the popular ſtate.

"Who would have thought, (ſays he) my noble countrymen and fellow-citizens, after ſo long an interruption of our natural freedom, that we ſhould ever have liv'd to draw one breath of liberty after it! and yet thro' the goodneſs of the divine Providence, in whoſe power it is to give or take, we are at this very day and hour, freemen in ſome degree yet once again. How long it will laſt we know not! but let the event be what it will, and the comfort of it never ſo ſhort, a ſhort comfort is yet a comfort ſtill. Shall we account it as nothing now, for a freeman to live free, in a free country, and to have yet ſome reliſh of the ſweets of our ancient liberties in the flouriſhing condition of our once free commonwealth; even tho' we were to enjoy the ſatisfaction of it but for one ſingle hour. I can ſay little, 'tis true, to the liberty of former times, that was extinct long before ever I came into the world; but I have a great kindneſs, I muſt confeſs, for the preſerving and improving of that liberty, ſuch as it is, which we enjoy at preſent: and I cannot but eſteem thoſe men to have been exceedingly happy, whoſe lot it was to fall into an age that aſſerted the common liberty of mankind, and the ſtudy of virtue. But the perſons of all others that in my opinion deſerve the moſt to be honour'd, next to the immortal Gods themſelves, are thoſe heroical ſpirits that have had the courage to give us yet ſome taſte of it, how late ſoever, even in this abandon'd ſtate of the world: a bleſſing, which I wiſh with all my ſoul, may be perpetuated to our poſterity. For as to what concerns ourſelves, one day's experience is abundantly ſufficient for our comfort and inſtruction, both young and old. Thoſe that are in years will leave the world with leſs regret, when they ſhall better underſtand the advantages that attend liberty; and for thoſe that are growing up, the very example will inflame them with a virtuous emulation of treading in the ſteps of their famous anceſtors. Virtue, in ſhort, is the main buſineſs of human life; and ſo it ought to be, for in truth, virtue is liberty itſelf: that is to ſay, the liberty of the mind, whatever becomes of the body. Now I do not take upon me all this while to ſpeak of things before my time, any further than upon the grounds of hearſay and tradition. But when I come to the ſubject of tyranny, and the calamitous conſequences that attend it, I ſhall ſay no more upon that topick than what I can make good in what I have ſeen and felt, and upon the infallible certainty of woeful and miſerable experience. It confounds the order of government, and of all civil communities.

“ Great minds, generous diſpoſitions and glorious actions, are diſcountenanc'd and ſuppreſs'd. It makes mens ſouls as ſervile as their carcaſſes; quenches all honourable emulations, and accommodates all rules of law and equity, by fear and flattery, to the arbitrary caprice of ambitious and phantaſtical princes. If we look back to the uſurpation of Julius Ceſar, upon the power of the people, and the * trampling of their laws, liberties and government under foot, in the erecting of a tyrannical monarchy upon the ruins of that commonwealth; and all this only to gratify the heat of his ambitious luſts; what a train of miſeries has that impotent and inſatiable affectation of dominion drawn after it, both upon the government, and the nation! what has the ſucceſſion been but a kind of a violent competition betwixt the predeceſſor and the next comer, who ſhould do moſt miſchief, either in the ſubverting of the laws, or in the depopulating of the city at leaſt, by the ſuppreſſing of all men of honour and virtue in it, and by all ſorts of perſecution, even to the degree of death itſelf? for they could not be ſafe but in the hands of wicked inſtruments, that had abandon'd themſelves to all ſorts of iniquity, without either ſhame or conſcience. And not one ſingle creature in the number of theſe imperious maſters, that had not done the part of a moſt barbarous oppreſſor. But the tyrant Caius, who hath this day received his fate, he perhaps has outdone all the reſt in the licentious rage of a brutal and an ungovernable fury; ſparing neither citizens, friends, nor relations, in a defiance at the ſame time, both of humanity and juſtice, and of all the laws both of God and man. For it is not enough for tyrants to give themſelves up to their vanity, and their pleaſures, rapines, adulteries and extravagant appetites, for theſe are only human frailties; but their ſatisfaction lies in the diabolical practices of rooting out whole families, entitling children and infants to their father's quarrel, and not one jot quieter after their revenge than they were before: For being conſcious to themſelves of the indignities they multiply upon their ſubjects, and that let them bear them never ſo patiently, the ſpite of a ſhrewd turn is not ſo ſoon forgotten, they find no ſecurity at laſt but in the death of thoſe they have wrong'd, and in the ſeaſonable removal of them out of the way. But ſince ſo it is, that we have now ſhak'd off the yoke, and recover'd the poſſeſſion of our primitive freedom: all that we have to do for the preſerving of unity among ourſelves, and providing for our future ſafety, is to join in repairing the ruins of our ancient glory, and reſtoring the commonwealth unto its original ſtate of union and integrity. We are now at liberty to propoſe and to debate, and to like or diſlike at pleaſure, without any ſuperior power over our heads to controul, and call us to an account. For what was it that gave birth and growth to the unbounded progreſs of the late tyranny, but the dull drowſy patience of a beſotted people, that had not the hearts to make head againſt it? men, ſlaves to their pleaſures; and men that otherwiſe acted and liv'd like ſlaves: theſe were the people that chuſing rather to lead a mean inglorious life, than venture an honourable death, caſt the city into thoſe inſupportable miſeries, of which we ourſelves have been both eye and ear-witneſſes. But let me recommend it to you in the firſt place now, to do right to the aſſaſſins of the tyrant, eſpecially to Chereas, in confering upon him the honours he deſerves for ridding the world, and the commonwealth of this abominable monſter. For it was his counſel and his hand, by the impulſe of a divine aſſiſtance, that wrought our liberty; and it is but reaſon that he that procur'd us our freedom with the hazard of his life, ſhould receive acknowledgments and rewards from the perſons he redeem'd, anſwerable to the quality of the obligation. It is the part and the duty of an honeſt man to be thankful to his benefactor; eſpecially to ſuch a benefactor as this, who has involv'd us all in one common debt. The action of Brutus and Caſſius upon Julius Ceſar, was great and glorious; but Chereas over and above the emulation of their bravery, hath in this reſpect gone much beyond it. Their exploit was follow'd with a civil war, that ran through and ravaged the whole Roman empire, but Chereas cut off the tyranny itſelf, together with the tyrant, and deliver'd the whole world at one blow.”

THIS diſcourſe of Saturninus was mightily to the ſatisfaction of the whole body of the ſenate; but he was ſo intent upon Caius one way, that he forgot him another; for he had at that time a ſtone in a ring upon his finger, with a Caius's head in it, which he never thought of: but Trebellius Maximus obſerving it, ſtarted up and got it off from his finger, and it was order'd to be broken.

A Caius head in a ring upon his finger all this while.

IT was now toward night, and Chereas went to the Conſuls for the watch-word, who gave him for the word, LIBERTY. The face of things was ſo ſtrangely alter'd now on a ſudden, that people could hardly believe what they ſaw: this being the firſt act of authority that the ſenate had ever appeared in, ſince the time they were depoſed: for the ſoldiers had their orders from the Conſuls ſtill, in former times, till the Ceſars took that power out of their hands. Chereas, upon the receiving of the word, deliver'd it again in courſe to the troops that ſided with the ſenate. That is to ſay, to four companies of them that ſtood well affected to the lawful government, and declared themſelves againſt the uſurpation. Theſe men went away preſently with their officers, and ſoon after them, went the people overjoy'd with the thought of the preſent change, and in hopes that the ancient glory of the commonwealth was now going to be reſtored again; and all agreeing in the ſame note, that Chereas was their deliverer. Now Chereas thinking it might be dangerous after the death of Caius, to leave his wife and daughter to ſurvive him, he ſent Julius Lupus, one of the tribunes, with a command to kill them both; ſingling out him the rather for

Chereas goes to the Conſuls for the word, and they give him LIBERTY.

The firſt act of the ſenate, ſince Ceſar took away their power.

Chereas delivers the word.

The wife and daughter of Caius put to death.

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* See Cotelerius's notes to the 2d vol. of his Monumenta Eccleſ. p. 610.

that commiſſion, both as Clemens's kinſman, and as a reaſonable thing for a man that was ſo deep in the conſpiracy, to have his part in the execution.

But there were ſeveral yet of the confederates that look'd upon it as an unmanly cruelty, to commit ſo barbarous an outrage upon the perſon of a woman; for ſhe had no hand, they ſaid, in Caius's enſlaving the city, or in the execrable barbarities he committed on the flower of the nobility; but it was all intirely his own act and deed, and nothing elſe but the pure malice of his own ill nature. Others again charg'd all his extravagancies to the woman's account, for a love potion ſhe gave him, which turn'd his brain, and made him ſtark mad: and ſo interpreted this poiſonous potion as the act of this lewd woman, to be the ruin of the commonwealth. The latter opinion carry'd it, and ſo Julius Lupus poſted away immediately about his buſineſs, out of a zeal to the publick in the diſpatch of his duty. Upon his coming into the palace, he found Ceſonia laid at her length upon the ground with her daughter, by the body of her huſband, all beſmear'd with the blood of his wounds, and in want of all thoſe neceſſary decencies that naturally belong to the dead; and in this affliction, nothing to be gotten from her but exclamations againſt Caius for not hearkening to the advice of ſo affectionate a wife, that had told him over and over beforehand, what this would come to in the end. Theſe words lay ſo open to a double meaning, that from that day to this, people have been divided how to underſtand them. They that took them in the more favourable ſenſe, would have it that ſhe ſpake of the counſels ſhe had given him from time to time, not to behave himſelf ſo like a mad-man; but to contain himſelf within the bounds of ſobriety and moderation; for if he went on in that provoking way of cruelty and oppreſſion, he would incur the hatred of his people, and draw the blood of his ſubjects upon his own head. But thoſe that made another conſtruction of it, would have it to be as who ſhould ſay, "If this man "would have been rul'd by me, and conſult-"ed his own ſecurity in time, as I would "have had him, this ſhould never have been. "How often did I preſs him to rid his hands "of all ſuſpected perſons, every man of them, "the firſt thing he did? proof, or no proof, "it matter'd not; for where the life of a "prince was at ſtake, a juſt ground of ſuſpi-"cion would have been ſufficient to proceed "upon." In this latitude, the interpretation lay fair enough both ways. Lupus being now come within ſight of Ceſonia, as ſhe was tormenting herſelf in the bitterneſs of her anguiſh and diſtreſs; the princeſs begg'd of him with tears and paſſionate lamentations, only to draw near, and take a view of that miſerable ſpectacle of her mangled huſband. But quickly gathering from his countenance what his fatal buſineſs was, and from his words afward, over and above, ſhe was no farther concern'd at what he ſaid, than after a ſhort ejaculation upon the miſery of her condition, immediately to preſent her bare throat to the execution; preſſing him to diſpatch what he had undertaken, and to finiſh the tragedy that his companions had begun. She encounter'd the ſtroke with a wonderful conſtancy of mind, and her daughter, an infant, dy'd by the ſame hand with her; the tidings of it Lupus carry'd away to Chereas ſo ſoon as the work was done.

Ceſonia dies with great conſtancy.

The death and character of Caius.

This was the end of Caius, in the fourth year of his reign; a man brutal and malicious to the higheſt degree, even in his private condition; ſenſual in his appetites; a patron of calumniators and informers; a coward in all caſes of danger, and conſequently bloody. He valu'd dominion for nothing more than that it put it into his power to oppreſs the innocent, and to make way to confiſcations, and forfeitures by murders and rapines. He valu'd himſelf upon the ſlaviſh flatteries and adorations of the common people; and nothing leſs than temples and altars to his honour, would ſatisfy his frantick and extravagant ambition. He hated all reſtraints of law as well as of virtue, and would not ſpare the beſt friend he had in the world upon the leaſt provocation. He was an enemy to all good men, and impatient of contradiction in whatſoever he had a mind to; even to the degree of debauching his own ſiſter, which made the people abhor him. For inceſt was a brutality ſo abominable in thoſe days, that it was almoſt incredible; and a ſcandal that had not been ſo much as heard of among them for many ages. I do not know where he ever did, or ſo much as attempted any thing truly magnificent and royal, and for the honour of the empire, or the common good of mankind; ſaving only the harbours, and the ſtore-houſes, that he built about Rhegium, and near Sicily, for the convenience of the corn-ſhips out of Egypt. And that, without all diſpute, was a noble work, and of publick uſe and advantage. Tho' he did not go through with it neither at laſt, but left it unfiniſh'd, partly by the lazineſs and neglect of his agents and overſeers, and partly by the unſteddineſs of his own humour; for his head ran altogether upon unprofitable whimſies, and he thought his money better employ'd upon his own private pleaſures, than either upon the ornament, or the improvement of the publick.

But all this while Caius was an excellent orator, and a great maſter both of Latin and Greek. He had a wonderful preſence of mind, and an admirable faculty in ſpeaking extempore upon any ſubject: beſide that he had a talent peculiar to himſelf of gaining upon the judgments, as well as the affections of men, in affairs even of the greateſt moment; a felicity which accrued to him partly by nature, and partly by practice. For being train'd up in the emulation, both of his father Germanicus, and of his uncle Tiberius, his predeceſſor, two perſons ſo illuſtrious for this ſort of excellency, he made it ſome point of honour not to degenerate from the dignity, either of his birth or of his inſtitution. But what ſignifies an ingenuous and a virtuous education, to thoſe that ſo ſoon as they get at liberty, pervert the advantages of it to their ruin? ſo hard a thing it is for men that may do what they pleaſe without danger, to do what they ought to do, for the pure ſake of honeſty and virtue. At his firſt entrance upon the government, he made an excellent choice of men of honour and underſtanding for his friends and miniſters; by which he gain'd himſelf a mighty reputation with the people. But as he came by little and little to take another biaſs, he turn'd them off with inſolence and ſcorn, and by inſupportable provocations, forced his ſubjects upon thoſe outrageous extremities of deſpair and revenge, that afterwards coſt him his life.

Claudius hides himſelf.

But Claudius, as we ſaid before, hearing of the death of Caius, and the uproar the whole court was in upon that diſaſter, crept into a private hole to ſave himſelf, tho' in no danger at all, unleſs perhaps for the ſake of his blood and quality. For his fancy lay ever to a retir'd life; his behaviour temperate and modeſt: a lover of letters, Greek eſpecially, and a man utterly averſe to the noiſe and hurry of buſineſs.

The character of Claudius.

The multitude being now at their wits end, the palace throng'd with ſoldiers, running up and down like mad, in a furious conſternation, and the common people hurrying from place to place, without any regard to the order or authority of government; the guards, in this tumultuary confuſion, being men of the beſt credit among the ſoldiers, found it high time now to bethink themſelves what was to be done: and their trouble was not ſo much for the death of the prince, who, they thought, deſerved his fate, as how to provide for the ſettling of their own affairs. And then the rage of the Germans againſt the murderers had more in it of a private intereſt, than of any reſpect or good-will for the publick. Theſe things, all together, did but farther increaſe the apprehenſion of Claudius, eſpecially upon the ſight of the heads of Aſprenas and his companions, that were carry'd up and down in triumph. Claudius was gotten into a place where there was no coming to him but by certain blind ſteps; and there he ſtood to conceal himſelf in the dark. Gratus, one of the emperor's guards, got the glimpſe of a man there in a corner, that had a mind to lie cloſe; but not being able to diſcern what he was, he went up to him, tho' the other deſir'd him to forbear; and upon drawing him out, found that he knew him, calling aloud to the people that follow'd him, this is Germanicus, than whom no man is fitter to fill the vacancy of the empire. Upon theſe words, the ſoldiers were ready to lay hold of him; and Claudius, for fear they ſhould put him to death for Caius's ſake, earneſtly beſought them to ſpare him, making proteſtation of his innocence upon the whole matter. Gratus, upon this, took him by the right hand with a countenance well-pleas'd, and deſir'd him not to trouble himſelf with any ſort of apprehenſion for his ſafety, but rather to diſpoſe his thoughts towards the receiving of the empire; which the Gods, ſays he, have taken from Caius, and do now offer to Claudius by the hands of Gratus, for the relief and preſervation of mankind, that have been groaning thus long under the burden of ſo many oppreſſions: wherefore in heaven's name, "Get up Sir, (ſays he) and "take poſſeſſion of the throne of your anceſtors." So they mounted Claudius upon their ſhoulders; who in truth, betwixt the ſurprizes of joy and fear, was not able to ſtand upon his legs. While this was a doing, the guards gather'd together about Gratus in greater numbers, and fell to muttering among themſelves what pity it was for the poor innocent Claudius, a perſon who had liv'd ſo private and ſo quiet, and had ran ſo many hazards for Caius himſelf, to be hurry'd away thus out of his life? for they took all this buſtle to be for the carrying of Claudius to his execution, while others were for appealing to the Conſuls. But as the ſoldiers crouded in more and more, the people that had no arms, ſhifted ſeveral ways for themſelves. This put a ſtop to Claudius's progreſs; for he was too weak to march on foot, and his bearers had ſhifted for themſelves, for fear of running the ſame fate with their maſter, whoſe ſafety they deſpair'd of. So that the military men being now poſſeſs'd of the palace, (that part of the city which they ſay was firſt inhabited) their numbers increaſing, and having a clear ſtage to themſelves, they took it into conſideration upon this juncture, how they might ſettle the commonwealth. The ſoldiers were glad at heart to ſee Claudius there; and one and all for the advancing of him to the empire; partly in honour to his brother Germanicus, for whoſe memory all the world had an infinite veneration, and partly to keep off other ambitious and troubleſome pretenders among the ſenators; who having formerly embroil'd the ſtate, would, in all likelihood, do as much miſchief again if it lay in their power. They look'd upon the republican form of government to be gone paſt recovery; and therefore ſince an emperor was of neceſſity to be choſen, it would concern them to take care, they thought, that no perſon whatever ſhould be advanced to that dignity without being beholden to them for his preferment. Upon which conſideration, they could not do better than to pitch upon Claudius for the man, and by that means to engroſs the merit of the obligation entirely to themſelves. The whole body of the ſoldiery was ſo abſolutely ſatisfy'd with this way of reaſoning and diſcourſe, that upon conferring one with another, they all immediately join'd in the ſame reſolution; and taking up Claudius upon their ſhoulders, carry'd him away to the camp, there to finiſh what they had begun, and the whole army, along with him for his guard.

The heads of Aſprenas and his companions ſhew'd for a ſpectacle.

Claudius diſcover'd by Gratus in a corner.

Gratus puts him into poſſeſſion of the empire.

The ſoldiers unanimouſly for Claudius.

They carry him to the camp, and ſo finiſh the work.

The ſenate and the common people divided about a monarchy and a commonwealth.

While this was a foot there happen'd a miſunderſtanding betwixt the ſenate and the common people. The former were for the re-eſtabliſhing the commonwealth in its ancient glory, and for the vindicating of their authority from tyrannical uſurpations: the other, out of an envy to the power the ſenate aim'd at, deſiring nothing more than an imperial check upon the proud and covetous ſenators, and a ſecure appeal for themſelves to a higher court from republican oppreſſions: ſo that the people were overjoy'd at the elevation of Claudius, in hope, that under his protection they might be preſerv'd from civil wars, and from ſuch diſmal confuſions as they had ſuffered in the war betwixt Pompey and Ceſar.

The ſenate were no ſooner inform'd of the ſoldiers tranſporting Claudius to the army, but they diſpatch'd away a certain number of choice men of their own order, with inſtructions to admoniſh Claudius, "Not to attempt "the aſſuming of the government to himſelf "by violence, but rather to content himſelf "in the ſtation of one of the ſenators, and to “leave the care of the publick to that body, who were qualify'd by the laws to manage by themſelves, and by their direction, all the offices of adminiſtration. They were alſo to mind him how tyrannically the people had been treated by former maſters, and even by Caius himſelf, and of the part likewiſe that he himſelf had in the common danger from that tyrant: and how ill it would become any man that condemn'd tyranny in another, to ſet up the practice of it himſelf. But if he would ſubmit to the ſenate, and return to his former courſe of life and principles, he ſhould be crown'd with honours by a free and powerful people, and gain the reputation of a wiſe, and a good man, by contenting himſelf to take his lot in the courſe of things in this world, whether it be higher or lower, as the law and providence ſhall appoint: but if he ſhould go on in his purpoſe after this judicial example upon Caius, they muſt certainly oppoſe him in his deſign; for they wanted neither ſoldiers, nor arms, (they ſaid) nor numbers, nor any other neceſſaries, for ſuch an undertaking: but after all, that their main dependance was upon the power and juſtice of the Gods in favour of ſo honeſt and righteous a cauſe, as the defenſe of the liberty of their country.”

The ſenate ſends Veranius and Brouchus, with a menacing meſſage to Claudius.

When Veranius and Brouchus had acquitted themſelves of their commiſſion to Claudius in words to this effect, “They caſt themſelves at his feet with moſt earneſt ſupplications, not to do any thing that might hazard the embroiling of the people in a civil war.” But finding Claudius ſo beſet with military men; and that the power of the Conſuls was nothing in compariſon to that of the ſoldiers, theſe envoys made him only this ſhort requeſt, that “If he were reſolv'd upon the ſovereignty, he ſhould rather accept it from the ſenate, and take it upon him without violence; which would be much fairer and more auſpicious, to receive it with the good-will of the people, than to raviſh it from them by force.”

CHAP. III.

Claudius ſticks to his pretenſions, &c. Agrippa keeps up his heart; takes his place in the ſenate, and delivers his opinion of the preſent ſtate of things, &c. The ſenate meets before day. The ſoldiers cry out to the ſenate for an emperor; with their gladiators at hand, in caſe of need, &c. Chereas, a profeſs'd enemy to Claudius. The ſoldiers march away to fetch him. Sabinus proteſts againſt him. All the court made to Claudius, &c. Chereas, Lupus, &c. put to death. The father dies bravely; the other meanly. Claudius pardons Sabinus, and Sabinus kills himſelf.

Claudius ſticks to his pretenſions.

CLAUDIUS was no ſtranger to the haughtineſs of the ſenate, and ſo gave their deputies as fair an anſwer for the preſent as he could diſcreetly do, without laying himſelf at mercy. But what with the temptation itſelf, the advice and importunity of the ſoldiers, the inſtigation of Agrippa, and their promiſes to ſtand by him in the aſſerting of his pretenſions, Claudius was over-rul'd into a reſolution not to quit his hold in the right he had to the ſovereignty, which they had voluntarily confer'd upon him. When Agrippa had decently diſpos'd of the dead body of his friend Caius that ſet the crown upon his head, and put every thing in as good order as the caſe would then bear, he went preſently to his guards, and gave it out that Caius, in truth, was not dead, but miſerably ill of his wounds; and that he was going to get ſome phyſicians to him. But being told ſoon after, that Claudius was taken up, and carry'd away by the ſoldiers, Agrippa preſs'd after him immediately thro' the croud, and with much ado found him out at laſt; but in ſo frightful a confuſion of thoughts, that he was juſt upon the point of delivering up all to the ſenate: only in the very critical minute, Agrippa gave him a word of comfort that fix'd him in a reſolution to keep what he had got, and ſo he went his way. Soon after this Agrippa was invited to take his place in the ſenate, whether he went, (pretending ignorance to all purpoſes) with his head perfum'd with ointments, and as gayly dreſs'd as if he was but juſt come from an entertainment. Being now in the court, he put the queſtion to the ſenators, what was become of Claudius: ſo they told him the very truth of the ſtory, and then ask'd his opinion and ſentiments of the preſent ſtate of things. Agrippa made anſwer, “That there was nothing ſo dear to him in this world, that he was not ready to ſacrifice to the honour of the ſenate; and yet I could wiſh, (ſaid he) that people would rather attend the ſubſtantial good and ſervice of the commonwealth, than the ſpeaking of pleaſing things to tickle the itching ears of the vulgar: for moſt certain it is, that without a competent proviſion of arms, men, and monies, for a foundation to proceed upon, there is no good to be done in competitions for dominion and power.” Their anſwer was, that for thoſe neceſſary preliminaries, they had of them abundantly, and to ſpare: and for the matter of numbers, they had ſlaves enough to do their work, that would be glad of their freedom for their wages. “This is very well, (ſays Agrippa) and with ſubmiſſion to your grave wiſdoms, I wiſh every thing may ſucceed to your liking. But with your leave for one word more: You know very well that the ſoldiers Claudius has about him, are all veterans, and men of diſcipline, and experience: whereas on the other hand, we have only a raw and an untractable rabble of ſervile wretches, that hardly ever ſaw a naked ſword in their lives; to encounter ſo many expert men of war withal; and therefore with reſpect to your prudence, I ſhould rather propoſe the ſending of ſome body to Claudius to try if he might not be wrought upon to let fall his claim; and rather than fail, I would make one myſelf to go upon the errand.” The ſenate found the propoſal reaſonable, and diſpatch'd away Agrippa, with ſome others, upon the commiſſion. But Agrippa ſo order'd it, that upon a private meeting with Claudius beforehand, he told him what fearful apprehenſions the ſenate was under, and then put words in his mouth for an anſwer to the deputies, every way becoming the majeſty of an imperial prince. “I do not wonder, (ſays Claudius)

Agrippa gives it out that Caius is not dead.

Claudius about to give up all. Agrippa keeps up his heart.

Agrippa takes his place in the ſenate.

Agrippa's opinion on the preſent ſtate of things.

Agrippa ſent to Claudius to lay down his claim.

Agrippa gives him private inſtructions what to do.

Claudius's anſwer.

“Claudius) to find the ſenate ſo averſe to the government of a ſingle perſon, conſidering what they themſelves have ſuffer'd under the tyranny of ſome late princes; but for my own part, (ſays he) I propoſe nothing more to myſelf than to make the ſubjects eaſy and happy in their perſons, liberties and fortunes; and in the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice; for my buſineſs is only under the name of a prince, to rule with the common advice and conſent of the people. And for the good faith of my intentions, I ſhall refer myſelf to the proof I have given the ſenate of my moderation and integrity, even in the worſt of times.” He ſaid no more upon this occaſion, but diſcharging the deputies with this ſpeech, he entertain'd his military men with another harangue; gave them an oath of fidelity, and five hundred * drachma's a man for gratuity; and after the ſame proportion, to his officers; with promiſes of the like to the ſoldiers that were abſent.

He gives the ſoldiers an oath of fidelity.

The ſenate meets before day in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

UPON this, the ſenators ſummon'd a court, who met the next morning before day, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Some that diſcern'd what miſchief was a brewing, and had no mind to be there, kept out of the way in the city, while others ſlipt out of town to their country ſeats, chuſing rather to be ſlaves in a whole ſkin, than to run the riſque of all they had left, by an unſeaſonable conteſt for the recovery of what they had already loſt. There were not above a hundred of them at moſt that aſſembled.

The ſoldiers cry out to the ſenate for an emperor.

WHILE they were in the middle of a debate, upon the matter in hand, there was an outcry of ſoldiers at the door all on a ſudden, to the ſenators to appoint them ſome one man to govern them, for many heads they ſaw did but breed confuſion; and for the fitneſs of the perſon, they left that to the ſenate. This overture was ſuch a ſnare, that they knew not which way to turn themſelves; for inſtead of the liberty they promis'd themſelves from Claudius, they found him now to be the perſon they had the moſt reaſon to fear: Not that they wanted men among themſelves, who for the honour of their extraction, and their relation to Ceſar, might well enough pretend to ſet up for the dignity: as there was Marcus Minucianus, a man of the firſt quality, and marry'd into the family of the Ceſars, to Julia, Caius's Siſter. This perſon offer'd himſelf for one; but the Conſuls were willing to wave it, and ſo put it off with one excuſe after another. Valerius Aſiaticus would have put in for a pretender too, if another Minucianus, one of the conſpirators againſt Caius, had not interpoſed and hinder'd it; for if any man had ſtood up for a competitor with Claudius, it would have been the bloodieſt diſpute that ever was heard of; for they had there at hand, whole troops of gladiators; military men of all ſorts, and a great number of watermen, and other mob, that were there gather'd together, to be at hand, in caſe of a pinch. This deſperate confuſion diverted ſeveral from appearing, that intended otherwiſe to have ſtood; foreſeeing the miſchief that would certainly enſue upon it, both to the publick and themſelves.

In caſe of a pinch, they had their gladiators and ruffians at hand.

The ſoldiers preſs ſtill for an emperor.

IT was now toward break of day, when Chereas came up with his people about him, and gave the ſoldiers to underſtand by a ſign he made for ſilence, that he had ſomewhat to ſay, and deſir'd a hearing. But their buſineſs was (they cry'd) to demand the choice of an emperor without any more ado; and ſo they ſtopt his mouth with noiſe and clamour. The ſenate found that this was not a time to think of ſettling the government, when their authority was run down at this rate by ſwordmen, and the dignity of that noble order ſubjected to the inſolence, ſcorn, and mockery of the ſoldiers. This put the conſpirators out of all patience; inſomuch that Chereas told them in the concluſion, “If nothing but an emperor would ſerve their turn, he'd give them one, if they would but fetch him an order from Eutychus to juſtify him in what he did.” Now this Eutychus was a favourite-charioteer of Caius's, and an infamous wretch, that ſerv'd his maſter in all manner of baſe offices. Chereas follow'd this ſcandal with a thouſand other reproaches, declaring that he would rather bring them the head of Claudius, than ever own him for an emperor. “What! (ſays he) have we not had enough already of a madman, but we muſt now make choice of a fool?” But this was only ſo much breath loſt; for the ſoldiers, without minding what he ſaid, immediately drew their ſwords, and marched with their colours to find out Claudius, and to join in the ſame oath that the other had taken before.

Chereas a profeſs'd enemy to Claudius.

The ſoldiers march away to fetch Claudius.

THUS was the ſenate abandon'd by thoſe that ſhould have defended it, and the conſuls reduced to the condition of little more than private men, while all people were at their wits end, in grief and aſtoniſhment, to think what would become of them after the putting of theſe indignities upon Claudius; every man excuſing himſelf upon theſe diſappointments, and laying the blame upon his fellow. In the heat of this ſquabble, out ſtepp'd Sabinus, one of the confederates, in a fury, with a proteſtation, that he would ſtab every man before him rather than ever ſubmit to the acknowledging of Claudius for his maſter; or ſo much as to ſee him poſſeſs'd of the empire, and ſo to become a ſlave by his own conſent. “And now Chereas, what have you to ſay for yourſelf too? You that were the firſt aſſerter of the common liberty againſt Caius, and now to ſhrink and flinch from that generous reſolution, for the baſe fear of death: As if any brave man could be happy that is not maſter of himſelf. No, no, ſays Chereas, I am unchangeably reſolv'd not to outlive my liberty; but I ſhould be glad however in the mean time to find how Claudius ſtands affected.”

Sabinus proteſts againſt Claudius.

All the court made to Claudius.

WHILE things were in this diſorderly way of agitation, people came thronging into the camp from all quarters, to make their court to Claudius, and among the reſt, one of the conſuls, Quintus Pompeius, whom the ſoldiers hated ſo much the more, for encouraging the ſenate to ſtand up in the defenſe of their liberties. Upon his advancing, they aſſaulted him with their drawn ſwords; and had undoubteely kill'd him, if Claudius had not taken him into his protection, and plac'd

Quintus Pompeius aſſaulted. Claudius takes him into his protection.

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* Five hundred drachma's amounted to about fourteen pounds one ſhilling and three-pence of our money.

Divers ſenators wounded

him by his own ſide. But the reſt of the ſenators that came along with him, did not come off ſo well; for divers of them were kept back with blows, as they preſs'd forward to ſalute him. Aponius went away wounded, and not a man of them but was in great danger. At the inſtance however of king Agrippa, Claudius was prevail'd upon to treat the ſenators and men of quality, with gentleneſs and reſpect; “ For, (ſays he) when theſe are gone “ you will have no ſubjects left you, but what “ you will be aſham'd to own. Claudius took his advice, and order'd them to meet him at the palace, whither he himſelf was carry'd in his litter, croſs the town, with a guard of ſoldiers to clear the way for the populace, who throng'd in ſuch multitudes, that they render'd his paſſage thither very troubleſome and difficult.

Agrippa gives Claudius good counſel.

At the ſame time, Chereas and Sabinus, two of the moſt eminent of the confederates, ſhew'd themſelves in publick, expreſly againſt the order of Pollio, whom Claudius had made captain of the guards but a little before. Claudius being now brought into the palace, and his friends about him, pronounc'd a ſentence of death upon Chereas. Not but they themſelves look'd upon the exploit as a glorious action; yet for the treachery ſake, and for an example that might lead to the ſecurity of princes in time to come, he was led to the place of execution, with Lupus, and ſeveral others of the conſpirators. He dy'd, they ſay, in a wonderful conſtancy of mind; no change of countenance at all, nor any geſture or action below the glory of an heroic ſoul. Lupus indeed behav'd himſelf wretchedly, and Chereas took notice of it with contempt. Upon the ſtripping of him, he complain'd of cold; and Chereas had this witty reflection upon it, that “ wolves felt no cold,” playing upon the word Lupus, which ſignifies a wolf, as well as the proper name of a man. When the executioner, who was a ſoldier, was to do his office, he asked him, “ if he was an expert maſ-“ ter at the trade of cutting throats, and if his “ ſword had a good edge;” and to conclude, deſir'd him to make uſe of the ſame weapon that he kill'd Caius with. The executioner did his duty, in fine, and at one blow diſpatch'd his buſineſs: But Lupus, who lay wriggling and ſhrinking for fear of the ſtroke, was hack'd and mangled at ſeveral repeated blows before the officer could do his work. Some few days after, upon the feſtival of the people's expiatory oblations to the ghoſts of their dead friends, they paid the ſame honour to Chereas as to the reſt, by caſting their offerings into the fire according to the uſual ceremony, and begging his forgiveneſs for the paſt ingratitude. This was the end of Chereas.

Chereas, Lupus, &c. put to death.
Chereas dies like a brave man.

Lupus dies as wretchedly.

As for Sabinus, Claudius did not only pardon him, but continu'd him in the ſame command he had before, upon a generous conſideration, that even in his treachery he was yet true to his truſt. But Sabinus, after all, made no farther uſe of his clemency than to deliver himſelf from a life he was weary of, upon the point of his own ſword, and with his own hand.

Claudius pardons Sabinus.

Sabinus kills himſelf.

CHAP. IV.

Claudius kind to Agrippa. A ſedition betwixt the Jews and the Greeks. Claudius's edict in favour of the Alexandrian Jews. An edict in favour of all the Jews.

The first thing that Claudius did after his eſtabliſhment, was to clear his army of all ſuſpected perſons; and that being done he confirmed Agrippa by an edict, in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom formerly confer'd upon him by Caius, aſcribing very much to Agrippa's addreſs and induſtry in his ſervice. He added over and above Judea and Samaria, as formerly belonging to the kingdom of his grandfather Herod. And this he look'd upon as only an act of reſtitution, and a kind of due to his family. But for Abela, and the bordering lands upon mount Libanus, which formerly belong'd to Lyſanias, theſe he gave as an additional bounty out of his own. The articles of alliance betwixt this king, and the people of Rome, were graven in a copper-plate, and ſet up in the middle of the great market-place of the city, for a memorial to poſterity.

Claudius kind to Agrippa.

He diſcharg'd his old friend Alexander Lyſimachus, the great cuſtom-officer, whom Caius had clapt up in a rage, and one that formerly manag'd for his mother Antonia. He likewiſe gave Berenice, the daughter of Agrippa, in contract to his ſon Marcus; but he dying before the conſummation of the marriage, Agrippa marry'd the virgin to his brother Herod, and Claudius beſtow'd the kingdom of Chalcis upon him at Agrippa's requeſt.

The Jews, who had been terribly perſecuted and oppreſs'd by the Alexandrians in the reign of Caius, began now to get heart again, and in a ſhort time betook themſelves to arms, which was the beginning of a ſedition betwixt them and the Greeks. Claudius upon the firſt tidings of this commotion, diſpatch'd letters to the governor of Egypt, commanding him to take all poſſible care to quiet it: And at the inſtance of the two kings, Agrippa and Herod, ſent an edict to Alexandria, and into Syria, in ſubſtance as follows.

A ſedition betwixt the Jews and the Greeks.

Tiberius Claudius Ceſar Auguſtus Germanicus, tribune and prince of the ſenate, greeting.

“ Whereas we are given to underſtand
“ that the Jews of Alexandria have
“ ever, from time to time, enjoy'd the ſame
“ freedoms and privileges from former kings
“ of Egypt in common with the reſt of the
“ inhabitants, as appears by ſeveral royal de-
“ crees and inſtruments of record at this day
“ extant in confirmation thereof: And like-
“ wiſe that thoſe rights and benefits have been
“ continu'd to them ever ſince the annexing
“ of that city by Auguſtus to our empire; and
“ ſo tranſmitted, uncontroverted thorough
“ Aquila's days, and all the governors of
“ Alexandria, ſucceſſively, that have been
“ ſent thither; having liberty granted them
“ alſo by the ſame Auguſtus upon the death
“ of their * Ethnarch, to ſubſtitute another
“ in his ſtead; enjoying the free exer-

An edict of Claudius in favour of the Jews of Alexandria.

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* An Ethnarch was a viceroy, or lord lieutenant, of a country.

“ ciſe of their religion and diſcipline without any moleſtation or controul.

“ Now foraſmuch as Caius Ceſar, in a blaſphemous exceſs of madneſs, hath rigorouſly preſſed upon the Jews to worſhip him as a God, contrary to the good faith and honour of the imperial grant, and in a manifeſt violence upon their conſciences; and breaking into outrages againſt the refuſers, irritated a party of his own faction in Alexandria againſt the Jews, their fellow citizens: This is now to declare all thoſe proceedings of Caius null and void, and the ſaid privileges of the Jews to remain ſtill in full force and virtue; requiring and commanding, both the one and the other, by this our ſovereign authority, to live, as far as poſſible, in a right underſtanding together, without troubling the publick peace.” Theſe are the contents of the edict; and after this, in particular for Alexandria, there was another ſent abroad by the ſame prince, in favour of the Jews all over the empire, in the followlowing terms.

Tiberius Claudius Ceſar Auguſtus Germanicus, high-prieſt, tribune of the people, and the ſecond time conſul elect, giveth to underſtand, that,

An edict in favour of all the Jews.

“ Upon the requeſt of the kings, Agrippa and Herod, our ſingular good friends, for the ſame liberty to the Jews all over the empire, in their ways and worſhip, that we have already granted them in Alexandria, we do heartily comply with them in their deſire, not only for the ſake of the advocates, but out of a reſpect alſo to the merits of the people, in acknowledgment of the friendſhip and good offices they have ever render'd to the ſtate of Rome. Wherefore we judge it reaſonable to have them admitted to a ſhare of the common rights and benefits of all our cities, as well Greek, as other, and to enjoy them in as ample a manner as they did in the reign of Auguſtus of bleſſed memory: And we do likewiſe ordain for the future, that wherever they ſhall happen to be diſpers'd within the dominion of our empire, they ſhall be allow'd to govern themſelves by their own laws, without any lett or interruption, provided that they make a modeſt uſe of this our grace and favour, and do not uſe any opprobrious language, nor offer any indignities to the profeſſors of other religions, ſo long as they themſelves are allow'd to enjoy the liberty of their own.

“ This is what we have thought fit to declare: And it is our will and command that this our proclamation may be duly notified in all our cities, plantations, towns corporate, and all other parts reſpectively of our dominions, as well within Italy as without, and copies thereof tranſmitted to all kings, princes, and governors under our juriſdiction, and to ſtand poſted up and expos'd for the ſpace of thirty days to the view of all people.”

CHAP. V.

Agrippa ſent away to his government. He dedicates his golden chain to god. Theophilus depoſed from the high-prieſthood, and Simon preferr'd. Silas general of the army. A ſtatue dedicated to Ceſar in the Jews Synagogue. Agrippa complains of it to Petronius.

Agrippa ſent away to his government.

Claudius Ceſar gave to underſtand by theſe two edicts, how affectionate an eſteem he had for the Jews: And the next thing he did, was to order king Agrippa away to his government; crowning him ſtill with more and more honours, over and above ſeveral letters of ſpecial recommendation to all the governors and intendants of the provinces where he was to paſs. He made a quick and a happy diſpatch of his buſineſs; and ſo ſoon as ever that was over, haſten'd away to Jeruſalem, where he acquitted himſelf of all his holy vows, and offer'd ſacrifices according to the punctual formalities of the law; cauſing great numbers of the Nazarenes to cut their hair. Tiberius having formerly manacled Agrippa with iron chains, Caius gave him a golden chain in exchange, juſt of the ſame weight with the iron one. This chain Agrippa dedicated to God, and cauſed it to be hung up in the veſtry over the box of the holy treaſure, as a monumental memorial of the power and goodneſs of providence, in relieving men when they are at the loweſt; and for an inſtruction to mankind, that the ſame God that caſts us down, is able to raiſe us again. This conſecrated chain repreſented at the ſame view, a prince made the ſport of fortune, and a priſoner in irons: And then in the turn of a hand again, his fetters knock'd off, and a greater prince than ever he was. Now this is but according to the nature, and to ſhew the viciſſitude of human affairs, for things to fall when they are at the higheſt, and to riſe again when they are at the bottom.

He dedicates his golden chain to God.

Theophilus depos'd from the pontificate, and Simon preferr'd.

So ſoon as Agrippa had paid his duty to God, he depoſed Theophilus the Son of Ananus from the Pontificate, and ſubſtituted Simon the ſon of Boethus, whoſe ſirname was Canthara in his ſtead. This Simon had two brothers that had been high-prieſts too, and Boethus the father, whoſe daughter king Herod marry'd, as we have ſaid already. This happened to be the caſe of the three ſons of Simon the high-prieſt, the ſon of onias in the time of the Macedonian government, of which we have ſpoken formerly.

The office of the Pontificate being ſettled, the king made it his firſt buſineſs to pay his reſpects and acknowledgments to the people of Jeruſalem for the honour and good-will that they had ſhew'd him, by remitting the tax upon houſes that they had formerly paid: A point of generous emulation not to be out-done in courteſy. He made Silas general of his army, in remembrance of the many difficulties and hazards they had run together.

Silas general of the army.

A ſtatue dedicated to Ceſar in the Jews Synagogue, by ſome hot-headed fellows of Doris. Agrippa complains of it to Petronius.

A while after this, there was a gang of raſh heady young fellows of Doris got together, who under a colour of religion, dedicated a ſtatue to Ceſar in the Jews Synagogue, which tranſported Agrippa to the higheſt degree, as the ready way to make their religion deſpicable, and to bring all to ruin. Wherefore Agrippa, without any delay, went and complain'd to Petronius the governor of Syria, of this horrible outrage; who declar'd himſelf with as much indignation as the other, and wrote a ſharp letter to the innovators, as follows:

CHAP. VI.

Petronius rebukes the offenders. Simon removed, with an intent to reſtore Jonathan; who declines it, and recommends his brother Matthias. Petronius diſmiſſed, and Marcus ſucceeds him.

Publius Petronius, governor of Syria, by the Appointment of Tiberius Claudius Ceſar Auguſtus Germanicus, to the magiſtrates of Doris, greeting.

Petronius gives the offenders a ſharp rebuke.

“WHEREAS I have received certain information, that notwithſtanding a full liberty granted to the Jews by an edict of Claudius Ceſar Auguſtus Germanicus, to live according to the rules and preſcriptions of their own laws, ſome of your people have been ſo audacious, as in contempt of the ſaid imperial edict, to prophane their Synagogue, by ſetting up Ceſar's ſtatue there, to the ſcandal and affront of their religion, being not only an uſurpation upon the freedom Ceſar hath permitted them, and a violence upon their conſciences, but an indignity alſo to the divinity of Ceſar himſelf; for his image ſhould have been rather ſet up in his own temple, than in another; eſpecially in the Synagogue, ſince the emperor himſelf hath found it meet and juſt to leave every man maſter within himſelf. I ſhall ſay nothing of my own orders in this affair, after ſuch an affront put upon the authority of my maſter, who has not only indulged the Jews in the matter of their religion, but granted them all the privileges of freemen likewiſe, in the cities where they inhabit, in common with the Greeks. Now ſince ſo it is, that this outrage hath moſt certainly been committed, and the majeſty of Ceſar inſolently deſpiſ'd; and that you yourſelves diſown any hand in the thing, and ſo turn it off to the licence of a riotous rabble; this is to will and require you, that you ſend by my officer Vitellius Proculus, ſome of the guilty perſons, to anſwer before me for what they have done; or at leaſt to tell him who they are; for you yourſelves will be otherwiſe ſuſpected for parties to the fact. In the mean time, have a care of the publick peace, and of thoſe ſeditious ſpirits that would put all into a flame. But as for my dear maſter and myſelf, there is nothing we lay ſo much to heart, as to keep clear of giving the Jews any occaſion or pretext of being troubleſome in their own defence. And now for your better ſatisfaction what opinion the emperor himſelf hath of this matter, I ſend you hereunto annexed a copy of his edict to the Alexandrians, which my deareſt prince Agrippa ſhew'd me (altho' every body knew it already) as I was ſitting upon the tribunal, poſitively requiring that all Ceſar's conceſſions to the Jews ſhould be made good. Wherefore I do now charge and require it of you, for the futnre, to forbear all manner of ſeditious controverſies, and leave them to worſhip their God quietly in their own way.” Petronius, in fine, ſo order'd this affair, that he ſet all right again that had been done amiſs, and made them cautious not to do the ſame thing again in time to come.

Simon remov'd, with an intent to reſtore Jonathan.

Jonathan declines it;

King Agrippa, after this, removed Simon Canthara from the high-prieſthood, with an intent to reſtore it to Jonathan the ſon of Ananus, as a perſon better deſerving ſuch a dignity: But he declined the acceptance of it, with an acknowledgment of the honour the king deſign'd him: And withal told him, that “ſince God had not found him worthy of holding it, he ſhould content himſelf with the bleſſing of having once worn that ſacred habit; for he could better juſtify his entrance into that holy order at firſt, than he could now the taking of it up again: But, Sir, (ſays he) if you inſiſt ſo much upon the worthineſs of the perſon, pray give me leave to recommend a brother of mine to your majeſty; a man untainted with the vanities of the world; innocent and inoffenſive before God and man, and conſequently better qualified for the function.” The king was ſo delighted with the man's candor and modeſty, that he laid the thought of Jonathan aſide, and according to his advice, transferr'd the pontificate to his brother Matthias. It was not long after this, that Petronius was diſmiſs'd from his government of Syria; and Marcus ſucceeded him.

and recommends his brother Matthias.

Petronius diſmiſs'd, and Marcus ſucceeds him.

CHAP. VII.

Silas ſets up for a ſhare in the government, &c. Agrippa fortifies Jeruſalem, and Claudius puts a ſtop to the work, &c. The magnificence of his bounties at Berytus, &c. Agrippa compliments Marſus, which makes him jealous of the meeting, &c. Games and ſpectacles at Ceſarea, to the honour of Ceſar. Fulſome blaſphemies. An owl perches over his head, and he falls immediately into gripes and torments, &c. At the end of five days he dies. His revenue and children, &c. Claudius propoſes the ſon to ſucceed the father; but his favourites divert him from it. He gives the command to Cuſpius Fadus.

Silas ſets up for a ſhare of the government.

SILAS, Agrippa's general, valuing himſelf upon his fidelity to the king, the perſonal hazards he had run with him, and the labours and difficulties he had undergone for his ſervice, reckoned upon it, that as they had been familiar friends, and partners in the dangers of the war, ſo it was but reaſonable that they ſhould go ſhares in the dignity and prerogatives of government: And theſe things conſider'd, he accounted himſelf to ſtand upon the ſame level with the king himſelf; and took liberties with him to the degree of ſawcineſs. He was extremely bold and troubleſome in his common diſcourſes; one while boaſting of his own merits; other whiles minding the king of the deſpicable condition of his former fortunes; and at every turn making oſtentation of the good offices he had done him; the deſperate adventures he had engag'd in, and what pains he had taken for his ſervice. Theſe nauſeous and continued repetitions were ſo reproachful and weariſome, that the king began to be offended at this intemperate freedom; for a man that has formerly been under misfortunes, does not love to hear of them when he is in a better condition; and it is a fooliſh as well as a mean humour, to be perpetually hitting a man in the teeth with an obligation. Silas went on ſo far, that the king would bear it no longer; but

His vanity and ſawcineſs.

Agrippa takes away his commiſſion, and claps him up; but ſends for him to court a while after.

but in the heat of a paſſion, he not only ſtript him of his commiſſion, but ſent him away bound into his own country. When he came afterwards to his right wits again, and to bethink himſelf how ſevere he had been upon a perſon that had done and ſuffer'd ſo much for him, the anniverſary of his birth-day now coming on, and all people diſpoſing themſelves for mirth and jollity, his heart began to ſoften, and he ſent for Silas to make one at the royal feſtival. Now he being a man of ingenuity, and one that could not well diſſemble his indignation, where he thought he had reaſon on his ſide, bluntly anſwer'd the people that brought him the invitation. “What is it, (ſays he) the king means by doing the honour of recalling me to court now? I know well enough he'll diſgrace me again aſſoon as his fit of good humour is over. He has already taken away as much as in him lies, my reputation, as as well as my office; and does he think after all this, that my tongue is to be tied up from ſpeaking honourable and neceſſary truths? Or that any thing ſhall ever ſtop my mouth, ſo long as I have the conſcience of an honeſt man for my ſupport? No, no. The world ſhall know from what diſtreſſes I have redeemed him; the difficulties and the dangers I have encounter'd for his ſafety and glory: And what's my reward now for all theſe labours and hazards, but a dungeon and a chain? Theſe are not injuries to ſleep, either forgotten or unreveng'd, living or dead. Go, ſays he, (raiſing his Voice) and carry your king this anſwer.” Agrippa by this time found his temper incurable, and ſo remanded him to priſon.

Silas reprroaches him for it;

And is remanded to Priſon.

Agrippa fortifies Jeruſalem.

The king turn'd his thoughts now to the care of the city, and fortified the walls of the new town, as they call it, at a publick charge; making them much ſtronger, thicker, and higher, than they were before; and would in the end have made Jeruſalem abſolutely impregnable, if Marſus the governor of Syria had not given Claudius Ceſar a cautionary notice of it, for fear there might be ſome farther deſign. Whereupon Claudius wrote immediately to Agrippa, to go no farther in it, and this put a ſtop to the work.

Claudius puts a ſtop to the work.

This king was naturally ſo generous and obliging, that he made himſelf famous by his magnificent bounties, taking no greater delight in any thing than in honourable occaſions to ſhew the munificence of a large ſoul. There was a great difference betwixt him and Herod, his predeceſſor; the latter being falſe, harſh natur'd, and implacably cruel, over and above that he was notoriouſly partial to the Greeks, in preference to the Jews: Witneſs his vaſt profuſion of treaſure upon foreign works, both in ſtructure and ornament; as bathing-houſes, theatres, temples, galleries, places of parade, and the like; whereas he was never known to put himſelf to any memorable expence in any publick works whatſoever, to the honour of the Jews. But Agrippa, on the other ſide, was a perſon, human and gentle to the higheſt degree; a common friend and patron to all ſtrangers, and in truth to all mankind; but bountiful, good-natur'd, and compaſſionate, to thoſe of his own country and profeſſion in the firſt place, eſpecially when in diſtreſs. Wherefore he made choice of Jeruſalem for his conſtant reſidence; no man ſtricter in the rules and formalities of his religion, without the corruption of any prophane or ſuperſtitious mixture; and not a day paſs'd over his head without a ſacrifice. There was among others, one very particular inſtance of a generous goodneſs in him.

Agrippa happened to be once at Ceſarea; and in his abſence, one Simon, a lawyer, reflected upon him in a publick aſſembly, for a man of a looſe life, and one that in juſtice deſerv'd to be puniſh'd for it, according to the practice of the church in that caſe. The governor ſent the king word of this accuſation, who immediately diſpatch'd an order for Simon to come to him, who went accordingly, and the king at that time happened to be in the theatre. So Agrippa call'd him to him, and after a little pauſe, in a gentle tone and language, he put this queſtion to him. “Friend, (ſays he) if you know any thing by me that you do not like, I would have you declare it here.” The man had nothing to ſay for himſelf, but in a confuſion begg'd his pardon, and the king granted it immediately, beyond all people's expectation, and not without ſome inſtance of his bounty too, over and above a reconciliation; valuing himſelf more upon the exerciſe of clemency, than upon the power of taking his revenge, and accounting it a more kingly quality to be merciful than imperious.

An inſtance of Agrippa's generoſity.

The magnificence of his bounties at Berytus.

All places wherever he came, or had to do, had ſome taſte more or leſs of his magnificence and bounty; but Berytus above the reſt. For there, at a moſt prodigious expence, he erected a ſtately theatre, and likewiſe an amphitheatre, not inferior to it; ſeveral bagnio's and arched walks; ſparing no coſt for the beautifying of every thing to the higheſt point of perfection. The pomp of the dedication of theſe illuſtrious works, was very extraordinary upon many accounts; as the variety of ſhows exhibited in the theatre; all ſorts of muſick, and diverſities of other entertainments and pleaſures. In the amphitheatre were expos'd ſeveral combats of gladiators, man to man; and after that, whole troops of condemn'd malefactors, to the number of ſeven hundred of a ſide; being only an execution of juſtice in the form of a battle, and improving the puniſhment of the criminals to the pleaſure of the ſpectators; for they were all deſtroy'd to the laſt man.

He paſſes from Berytus to Tiberias: Where he receives the royal viſits of Antiochus, Samſigeran, &c.

Agrippa, after this, paſs'd from Berytus to Tyberias, a city of Galilee, where he was complimented by ſeveral kings. There was Antiochus, the king of Comagena; Sampſigeran, the king of the Emeſenes; Cotys, king of the leſſer Armenia; Polemon, a little prince of Pontus: And beſides all theſe, Herod the brother of Agrippa, and the king of Chalcis; who were all receiv'd with ſo royal a freedom of hoſpitality, that it was every way anſwerable to the dignity both of the theatre and of the gueſts; and much to the honour of Agrippa, to be found worthy of ſo many royal viſits. While they were yet together, Marſus the governor of Syria, came to viſit him; and Aprippa, out of a reverence to the ſovereignty of the empire, went out of town ſeven miles to receive him, which proved the occaſion (as it fell out) of a miſunderſtanding betwixt them; for Marſus finding ſo many kings together, and ſuch an agreement betwixt

Agrippa compliments Marſus the governor of Syria.

Marſus is jealous of the meeting.

twixt them, he did not know how it might ſtand with the publick ſafety to countenance ſo powerful and ſo dangerous a correſpondence, and therefore ſent meſſages to them one by one, to depart immediately; which gave Agrippa ſuch a diſguſt, that he hated him for ever after.

Agrippa takes the pontificate from Matthias, and gives it to Elioneus.

Games and ſpectacles inſtituted at Ceſarea to the honour of Ceſar.

Fulſome blaſphemous flatteries.

In the height of his vanity an owl perches over his head.

He falls immediately into gripes and torments; reproves his flatterers, and confeſſes his own frailty.

At the end of five days he dies.

His Revenue

This prince then took away the pontificate from Matthias, and gave it to Elioneus the ſon of Citheus. He was now in the third year of his reign over all Judea, when he came to Ceſarea, formerly call'd the tower of Straton; where he celebrated a ſolemnity of games and ſhows to the honour of Ceſar; which drew together great numbers of the nobility and men of quality from all parts of the province. Upon the ſecond day of this feſtival, Agrippa went early in the morning to the theatre in a robe wrought with ſilver, ſo wonderfully rich and curious, that the beams of the riſing ſun ſtriking upon it, people's eyes were dazzled with the reflection from his habit. The ſparkling of the light ſeem'd to have ſomething divine in it, that mov'd the ſpectators at the ſame time with veneration and awe. Inſomuch that a proſtitute crew of fawning paraſites, cry'd him up as a God: "Beſeeching him, in form, to forgive them the ſins of "their ignorance, when they took him only "for fleſh and blood like another man; but "they were now convinc'd (they ſaid) of an "excellency in his nature, that was more than "human." This impious nauſeous flattery paſs'd upon him without either check or repulſe; but a while after as he was lifting up his eyes, he ſaw an owl in the air over his head ſitting upon a rope, which he found ſoon after to be the preſage of miſchief to him, as it had been before of good luck. For he fell immediately into a violent paſſion of the heart, with terrible gripes and torments of the guts. In which agony, directing his ſpeech to ſome friends about him, "Look ye, (ſays he) your "God is now condemned to die; and by this "fatal neceſſity, I am about to prove all my "flatterers a company of profligate liars, and "to convince the world by dying that I am "not immortal. But God's will be done. "In the life that I have led, I have had no "reaſon to complain of worldly misfortunes "and adverſities; for I have enjoy'd as "great a ſhare of temporal happineſs as any "prince under the heavens." At theſe words his pains increaſing upon him, he was preſently remov'd into the palace; and it was all over the town in a moment that the king was dangerouſly ſick, and at the very point of death. Upon this rumour, all the people, men, women, and chidren cover'd themſelves with ſackcloth according to cuſtom, joining in prayers and outcries to God for Agrippa's recovery. The king in the mean time, looking down from his apartment near the top of the palace, could not forbear weeping at the ſight of the mourners that lay proſtrate upon the pavement. This extremity of pain held him from that time forward without any manner of abatement, and at the end of five days it carried him off, in the 54th year of his age, and the 7th of his reign. He govern'd for the firſt four years of his reign under the emperor Caius: The three former of them under the tetrarchy of Philip; the fourth in that of Herod too; and the other three under Claudius, who over and beſide that of Judea, gave him the command alſo of Samaria and Ceſarea. His yearly revenue was computed at twelve hundred * Myriads. And this did not ſerve his turn neither, without borrowing, for he was ſo profuſely liberal, that his income did not anſwer his expence. Chelcias the general of his troops, and Herod the prince of Chalcis, ſent Ariſton to kill Silas their common enemy, in priſon, as by the king's order, before the certainty of his death could be generally known.

Agrippa's Children.

This was the end of king Agrippa, who left behind him a ſon of his own name of ſeventeen years of age, and three daughters. Berenice the eldeſt, being married at about ſixteen to Herod her father's brother; the other two virgins, Mariamne and Druſilla, the former being ten years old, and the other ſix, Mariamne the elder was contracted to Julius Archelaus the ſon of Chelcias; the younger to Epiphanes the ſon of Antiochus, king of Comagena.

Ceſarea and Sebaſte ungrateful to the memory of Agrippa.

Scandalous and brutal affronts.

So ſoon as the news of Aprippa's death came to be publickly known, the people of Ceſarea and Sebaſte were ſo far from doing right to the obligations he had laid upon them, that on the contrary, they beſpatter'd his name and memory with the lewdeſt caluminies that could be invented, And, to augment the ſcandal, there happened to be a rabble of ſoldiers there at that time, who lugg'd away the ſtatues of his three daughters out of the palace, and carried them in triumph into publick bawdy houſes, reviling them after their brutal barbarous way, in terms not be repeated, feaſting and revelling in the ſtreets, adorn'd with flowers and garlands and their heads perfum'd with ointments, offering libations to Charon, and drinking thankſgiving cups for the death of their king. This was their entertainment, without ever ſo much as thinking of the good offices they had ſo lately receiv'd from Agrippa, or of thoſe of former days from his grandfather Herod, the founder of thoſe magnificent cities, and of the ports and temples belonging to them.

Claudius propoſes the ſon to ſucceed his father; but he is diverted from it by favouries.

Agrippa, the ſon of the deceaſed, was at this time at Rome, and train'd up in the court of Claudius; who had no ſooner heard of the death of the father, and the inhuman indignities that thoſe ungrateful wretches of Ceſarea and Sebaſte had put upon his memory, but expreſſing as great a ſorrow for the loſs of Agrippa, as an indignation for the ingratitude of the other, he took up a reſolution within himſelf, immediately to ſend away the ſon to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom of his father; which was but purſuant to an oath he had taken, as well as agreeable to the very equity and reaſon of the thing. But upon the diſſuaſion of the favourite people he had about him, he was eaſily diverted from his purpoſe. They told him it was not ſafe to venture ſo great a truſt in the hands of a raw young man; for it was ſo nice a commiſſion, that the beſt head he had in the empire would find enough to do to manage it.

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* A Myriad conſiſting of ten thouſand, twelve hundred Myriads muſt amount to twelve millions.

He gives the command to Cuſpius Fadus.

Upon this plauſible inſinuation, Claudius chang'd his mind, and gave the whole command to Cuſpius Fadus, but with this proviſional deference to the memory of the deceas'd king, that he ſhould not upon any terms take Marſus into his government, in regard that he had been a profeſs'd enemy to Agrippa. And he charged him yet more expreſly, to puniſh the people of Ceſarea and Sebaſte very ſeverly, for the barbarous affronts they had put upon the honour of Agrippa and his daughters: commanding him alſo to ſend away the five cohorts, and the reſt of the troops that were in thoſe two towns, to Pontus; and to detach a body of choice men out of the Roman legions in Syria, to ſupply their places. But this laſt order was not obſerv'd; for Clandius was prevail'd with, upon an humble application, to continue thoſe troops ſtill in Judea. This gave the riſe to the miſerable calamities that the Jews ſuffer'd afterward, and prov'd the very ſeminary of the following wars under the government of Florus: Inſomuch that Veſpaſian, tho' conqueror, was fain to tranſport them out of that country.

* * *

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
Antiquities of the JEWS.

BOOK XX.

From the Year of the World 4009 to 4030.

CHAP. I.

Claudius gives Marſus's commiſſion to Caſſius Longinus. A quarrel betwixt the Jews and the Philadelphians. Three of the ring-leaders puniſhed. Tholomeus put to death. Ceſar orders the holy robes to be depoſited in Antonia, as formerly, upon certain conditions. Agrippa moves in their favour, and the requeſt is granted. Claudius to the ſenate. Canthara remov'd from the high-prieſthood, and Joſeph put in his place.

Claudius takes away Marſus's commiſſion, and gives it to Caſſius Longinus.

AFTER the death of Agrippa, (as in the former book) the emperor took away Marſus's commiſſion for Syria, and gave it to Caſſius Longinus, out of reſpect to the memory of his friend the late king, who in his life-time had written ſeveral letters to Claudius, to remove this Marſus from his government.

The Jews and Philadelphians quarrel.

The three ringleaders puniſhed; Annibas put to death, Amaram and Eleazar baniſh'd.

CASPIUS FADUS, coming at the ſame time to enter upon his command in Judea, found the Jews beyond Jordan, and the Philadelphians ſharply contending about the bounds of a ſmall village called Mias, whoſe people were bold and warlike. The men beyond Jordan had taken up arms, it ſeems, upon their own heads, without any colour of authority from their ſuperiors, and kill'd ſeveral of the Philadelphians. Fadus took this ſeditious inſolence ſo heinouſly, that he cauſed three of the chief ring-leaders, Annibas, Amaram, and Eleazra, to be laid in chains; the firſt to be put to death, and the other two baniſh'd. "If they thought "(ſays he) that the Philadelphians had wrong'd "them, Why had not I the hearing the cauſe? "But for them to preſume to make war upon "it, and to be their own judges and carvers, "was an affront (he ſaid) utterly intolerable."

Tholomeus the chief robber put to death.

SOON after this the famous captain of the robbers, Tholomeus, that had made ſuch havock in Idumea and Arabia, was brought to him bound, and he ſentenced him to death, doing all that was to be done alſo to clear the country of that ſort of vermin. He ſent after this to the prieſts and rulers of Jeruſalem, and ſhew'd them Ceſar's mandate, requiring the ſacred robe, and the ſacerdotal ſtole, (veſtments peculiarly belonging to the high-prieſt) to be depoſited in the caſtle of Antonia, and there to remain in the cuſtody of the Romans as they had been in former times.

Ceſar orders the ſacred robes to be depoſited in Antonia, as formerly.

They durſt not diſpute the order, and ſo choſe rather to make a reſpectful application to Fadus and Longinus, (who alſo was come to Jeruſalem with troops, fearing leſt Fadus's demands ſhould excite the Jews to an inſurrection) only for leave to move Claudius upon that point, and ſo to reſpite the proceeding till they might receive the emperor's anſwer. This requeſt was granted them, upon condition of delivering up their children for hoſtages, in the mean time; which they readily agreed to, and ſo their deputies ſet forward for Rome. Agrippa being at that time at Rome, and in Ceſar's Court, (as we ſaid before) having ſeaſonable notice both of their arrival, and their buſineſs, petitioned Ceſar on the be-

They get leave of Fadus and Longinus to move Ceſar in it, upon giving up their their children for hoſtages. Agrippa moves in their favour, and the requeſt is granted.

half of the Jews, that the holy ſtole might remain in their own keeping; and that he would vouchſafe to ſignify his pleaſure to Fadus, by an order to that purpoſe. Claudius, upon this, had the commiſſioners call'd, and telling them that he had granted what they came for, bad them thank Agrippa for the grace he had ſhew'd them; to which anſwer he added the following letter.

Claudius Cæſar Germanicus, tribune of the people, the fifth time conſul elect, the fourth time emperor, and the father of his country the tenth time; to the ſenate, the people of Jeruſalem, and the whole nation of the Jews, greeting.

Claudius to the ſenate, &c.

“ WHEREAS we are given to underſtand by our dearly beloved Agrippa, whom we have train'd up, and tender as our own child, that you have ſent us your deputies, (which deputies he hath alſo preſented to us) with acknowledgments of our conſtant cares for the good of your people, and likewiſe with your earneſt deſire of having the pontifical robes and ornaments in your own cuſtody; we do freely grant you your requeſt, in ſuch manner as was formerly allow'd you in the days of that excellent perſon Vitellius, our very dear friend. And be it further known unto you, that we have deſcended to theſe conceſſions, partly out of a motion of piety, it ſeeming unto us a reaſonable thing for all men freely to enjoy the religion of their country; and partly to gratify king Herod and the young Ariſtobulus, whoſe friendſhip we have a great value for, upon the certain knowledge of the friendſhip they both have for us.

“ WE have written to our lieutenant Cuſpius Fadus about this matter, by Cornelius, the ſon of Ceron; Tryphon, the ſon of Theudion; Dorotheus, the ſon of Nathaniel; and John, the ſon of John. Dated the 4th * of the Calends of July; Rufus, and Pompeius Sylvanus, conſuls.

Canthara remov'd from the pontificate, and Joſeph ſet up in his place.

HEROD the prince of Chalcis, and the brother of Agrippa the deceas'd, begg'd of Claudius the charge of the temple, and the holy treaſure, with the privilege of chuſing the high-prieſts, which was all granted him, and the power continued in the family till the end of the Jewiſh war. This prince remov'd Canthara from the pontificate, and ſet up Joſeph the ſon of Caneus in his ſtead.

CHAP. II.

Helen the queen of Adiabene, and her ſon Izates embrace the Jewiſh religion, &c. Theudas a falſe prophet pretends to work miracles. The people follow him; but Fadus ſcatters them, and cuts off Theudas's head.

Helen the queen of Adiabene, and Izates, turn Jews. Monobazus king of Adiabene marries his ſiſter Helen.

MUCH about this time, Helen the queen of Adiabene, and † Izates her ſon, came over to the religion of the Jews, by this occaſion. Monobazus, otherwiſe called Bazeus, the king of Adiabene, fell in love with his ſiſter Helen, marry'd her, and got her with child. It happen'd one night, as he was in bed with his wife, and half aſleep, his hand reſting upon her belly, he fancy'd he heard a voice that bad him “ Take away his hand for fear of hurting the child; for providence had begun a work with a great bleſſing that would be crown'd with greater yet in the end.” The voice ſtartled him, and when he was thoroughly awake, he told his wife the ſtory. When this conception came to light, it proved to be a male, and the father gave it the name of Izates. Now he had another ſon before this, by the ſame princeſs, which he call'd after his own name, and he had ſeveral other ſons likewiſe by other wives. But Izates, in fine, ingroſs'd the greateſt ſhare of his affections.

A voice heard as they were in bed together.

He has two ſons by Helen, Monobazus and Izates.

Izates the favourite,

which creates an envy in the other.

THE king's partiality in this preferer ce was ſo notorious, that it put the reſt of the brothers into an outrageous jealouſy and envy, to ſee themſelves appear ſo mean and deſpicable. The king took notice of their ill humour, but was yet willing to perſuade himſelf, that the diſguſt might be only an innocent emulation at the bottom, which of the brothers ſhould be the favourite, without any deliberate malice in the caſe: but finding however that things grew every day worſe than other, he thought it his beſt courſe for ſureneſs ſake, to provide for Izates ſafety: and ſo he diſpatch'd him out of hand, with a moſt particular recommendation, and magnificent preſents, to king Abennerigus, at the fort of Spaſinus; where he was received with ſo much tenderneſs and eſteem, that he gave him his own daughter Samachas in marriage, with a portion of land by way of dower, that brought him an income of a very conſiderable value.

Sent to king Abennerigus at the caſtle of Spaſinus.

Izates marries Samachas.

Monobazus in years, ſends for Izates.

MONOBAZUS, being now far gone in years, and drawing near his end, had a great mind to ſee his ſon yet once again before he dy'd. So he had him ſent for, and then embracing him with infinite affection, he gave him the province of ‡ Ceron; a country famous for aromatick plants, and particularly for the relicks of Noah's Ark that eſcap'd the deluge, and are there expos'd to view. Izates took up his habitation in this place, during the life of his father. Queen Helen, upon the very day of the king's deceaſe, call'd her miniſters, great officers, and commanders all about her, and ſpoke to them after this manner. “ I need not tell you, (ſays ſhe) that the late king my huſband deſigned Izates for his ſucceſſor, as the perſon of all his children, that he judg'd beſt qualify'd for the honour. But however, (ſays ſhe) I ſhall be glad to have your advice along with me; for one body's opinion is not ſufficient to make a prince happy, without the joint conſent and good will of the people.” She ſpoke this by way of compliment, and only to try how the council ſtood affected. The queen making a pauſe after theſe words, the miniſters, with a profound reverence, according to the cuſtom of the country, declar'd themſelves unanimouſly for the promoting of Izates to the crown; being fully ſatisfy'd that it was his father's will it ſhould be ſo, as the perſon of his family whom he look'd upon to be beſt fitted for that dignity. “ The people, (they ſaid) were all for him, and they themſelves ready to acknowledge him for their

He ſettles the province of Ceron upon him.

Izates takes up his habitation there.

Monobazus dies.

The queen calls a council.

Izates declar'd ſucceſſor.

The matter debated and reſolved, upon.

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* That is, on the 28th of June. † Ezates in Tacitus. ‡ Bochart reads Cardon in his Geogr. Sacr. l. 1. c. 3.

“ ſovereign: or in caſe of any danger from his brothers or relations, to croſs him in his pretenſion, they offer'd their ſervice to remove all thoſe obſtacles out of the way, by taking them off; and to cut him out a ſafe and an eaſy paſſage to the throne.” The queen gave them thanks for this expreſſion of their zeal; but could not agree, ſhe ſaid, to have any blood ſpilt, till Izates ſhould come himſelf to order the matter as he thought fit. When the council found that the queen would not be prevail'd upon to take away their lives, they preſs'd it, however, that in the mean time, for the better ſecurity of the new king, they might be kept in ſafe cuſtody, and ſome other perſon, that the queen ſhould beſt approve of, entruſted with the adminiſtration in his abſence. The queen found the propoſal reaſonable, and pitch'd upon Monobazus, the elder brother, for the viceroy, ſet the crown upon his head, gave him his father's ſignet-ring, with the royal robe, together with the ſword of ſtate, * and committed the adminiſtration of affairs into his hands, till his brother ſhould come to take it himſelf. Izates was not long a coming, after he heard of his father's death; and immediately upon his arrival, Monobazus voluntarily deliver'd up his truſt.

The brother taken into cuſtody. The adminiſtration committed to Monobazus in Izates's abſence.

Izates appears, and Monobazus delivers up his truſt.

While Izates was at the fort of Spaſinus; a certain Jewiſh merchant, by name Ananias, having cultivated an acquaintance with ſome of the court ladies, inſtructed them in the knowledge of the true God, according to the rites and cuſtoms of the Jews. Theſe women brought the merchant to the knowledge of Izates; who converted him likewiſe to the ſame perſuaſion, and upon great importunities, kept him company in his journey to Adiabene, whither his father ſent to ſee him before he dy'd. It came to paſs alſo at the ſame time, that queen Helen herſelf was converted to our profeſſion by another Jew. Izates, at his return to Adiabene, was not a little troubled to ſee his brothers, and others of his kindred, in priſon there. He could not in conſcience either put them to death or keep them in chains; and then he thought it might be dangerous on the other hand, to ſet them at liberty, under ſuch a provocation to a revenge: ſo that he ſteer'd a middle courſe, and ſent them away for hoſtages; part with their children to Rome, to Claudius Ceſar, and the others to Artabanus, the king of Parthia.

Izates converted by Ananias a Jewiſh merchant. Queen Helen converted by another Jew. Izates troubled to ſee his relations priſoners.

He ſends them away for hoſtages: ſome to Ceſar, others to Artabanus.

When Izates began to find how much his mother was delighted with the Jewiſh way of worſhip and government, he reckon'd it now high time for himſelf to make profeſſion of what he was; and accounting upon the whole matter, that he could not be a thorough Jew without being circumcis'd, he reſolv'd to perfect the work by initiating himſelf with that ceremony. His mother taking notice of it, did what ſhe could to divert him from it, for fear of the dangerous conſequences that would follow upon it; “ For, (ſays ſhe) your ſubjects will all fall off from their allegiance, ſo ſoon as they hear their king is gone over to another religion, for they will never endure a Jew upon the throne.” This diſſuaſion of his mother put ſome reſpite to the execution of his purpoſe: and in the mean time, the king adviſed upon the point with Ananias, who told him that he was abſolutely of his mother's opinion, and threaten'd to leave him, if he went on with that deſign: “ For, (ſays he) ſo ſoon as ever this ſhall come to be known abroad, I myſelf ſhall be the firſt, and the greateſt ſufferer, as the author of this change, and fall under the notion of a publick enemy and a ſeducer. Beſides that, religion being an act of the heart, God may be worſhipp'd as he ought to be, without the external ceremony of circumciſion, upon condition of an abſolute reſignation to the precepts of Moſes, for that is the acceptable worſhip; the other being but a formal reſpect of the body, and God will diſpenſe with that punctillio in a caſe of ſo abſolute a neceſſity, when the peace and ſafety of your dominions will be endanger'd by the obſervance of it.” This way of reaſoning wrought upon the king as the other wiſh'd it might.

Izates reſolves to be circumcis'd.

His mother and the merchant againſt it.

Ananias deſcants upon the ſcruple of the caſe.

But it fell out that a while after, there came another Jew out of Galilee, Eleazar by name. He was a learned man, and well read in the Moſaical laws, and a perſon deſign'd, it ſeems, for the final determination of this queſtion: for the king's ſcruples were not quite out of his head yet. This Eleazar was introduced to Izates, whom he found poring upon the books of Moſes. “ Sir, (ſays he) you do not know all this while how great an injury you do to the law, and conſequently to God; for it is not enough to know his holy will, without obeying his commandments. How long do you intend to continue in a ſtate of uncircumciſion? if you have not as yet met with the law that requires it, pray read it now, to the end that you may know how great a ſin you have to anſwer for in the omitting of it.” The king was ſo thoroughly poſſeſs'd with what he ſaid, that without any more delay, he retir'd into a withdrawing-room, and ſent for a ſurgeon, who did the office immediately. The mother, and Ananias the director, were call'd to take notice of what was done, at the ſight of which they were ſtruck with the utmoſt confuſion and aſtoniſhment; “ For, (they ſaid) the king's government and perſon; the publick peace, and their own heads (as the adviſers) were all at ſtake, if the people ſhould but get the leaſt intimation of it; for they would never endure a prince of another religion.” But God in his mercy provided better for them, by delivering not only Izates himſelf out of great perplexities, and in truth deſperate extremities; to ſhew that piety and virtue ſhall never paſs unrewarded, and that God will never forſake thoſe that caſt themſelves wholly upon his providence and goodneſs. But we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more of this hereafter.

Eleazar a Jew of Galilee, a great doctor of the Moſaical laws.

Eleazar brought to Izates.

He preaches upon the neceſſity of circumciſion.

The king convinc'd, and immediately circumcis'd.

The mother, and Ananias at their wits end about it.

When the queen had ſtay'd long enough to ſee her ſon ſettled in a peaceable poſſeſſion

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* So I chuſe to render τήν τε σαμψηρὰν. Suidas, who acknowledges σαμψηραὶ in the plural number, interprets it by Σπᾶθαι Βαρβαρικαὶ, that is, ſwords ſuch as the Barbarians uſe; but the expreſſion ſeeming to be emphatical, and the words to be here uſed by way of eminence, I take it to ſignify the ſword of ſtate. Such as is carry'd before our king and lord mayor, as an enſign of authority to denote the coercive power of inflicting vindictive juſtice upon offenders.

The fame of the temple of Jeruſalem.
The queen hath a great mind to ſee it, and to worſhip there.
The king ſupplies her for her journey.
A miſerable famine in Jeruſalem.
The queen's piety and charity to the poor.
Izates ſends vaſt ſums for their relief.

of his government, and to have the reputation both at home and abroad, of a prince highly in favour both with God and man, ſhe had a mighty mind to make a viſit to Jeruſalem, for the ſake of the famous temple there that ſhe had heard ſo much talk of, and to worſhip God, and offer up ſacrifices in it, according to the rules and uſage of the place. Her ſon was ſo far from being againſt it, that he furniſh'd her with a vaſt proviſion of money, and all other neceſſaries, and conducted her ſome days journey upon her way. The queen's coming to Jeruſalem was in a happy hour for the citizens; for there was ſo ſevere a famine in the town, that the people periſh'd for want of bread. Their diſtreſs was no ſooner made known to this charitable queen, but ſhe preſently ſent away ſeveral of her train; ſome to one place, ſome to another, to look about for relief: ſo that in a ſhort time there were brought in great quantities of wheat from Alexandria; dry'd figs from Cyprus, and the like; which ſhe cauſed immediately to be diſtributed to the poor, and got herſelf immortal honour by ſo doing. Her ſon Izates alſo, upon intelligence of this terrible dearth, ſent prodigious charities in money, to the governors of Jeruſalem for their poor. But the hiſtory of the royal bounties to this city will be more proper for another place.

A conſpiracy againſt Artabanus.
He applies himſelf to Izates for protection and ſuccour.
Izates gives him good hopes:
And treats him with all poſſible honour and reſpect.

Artabanus, the king of Parthia, had to do with a powerful and a factious nobility; and finding the conſpirators ſo ſtrong, and the plot ſo far advanc'd againſt him, that he durſt not truſt himſelf any longer in his own kingdom, he reſolv'd to apply himſelf to Izates, for advice and aſſiſtance, to protect him in his extremity, and if poſſible to reſtore him to his crown again. So he drew together, of his acquaintance and relations, a matter of a thouſand perſons, and met Izates upon the way: that is to ſay, he judg'd it to be Izates, by the magnificence of his train and equipage; for he did not know him perſonally. Upon advancing near him, he firſt ſaluted him after the manner of the country, with a reverence which they call adoration; and then made himſelf, and his condition known to him in words to this effect. "Behold, (ſays he) "great prince, your humble ſupplicant, and "do not deſpiſe an object of your generous "compaſſion. It hath been my fortune to "be caſt down from a throne of majeſty, into a private and an obſcure ſtate, which hath "forced me to have recourſe now to your "goodneſs for ſuccour; which I cannot deſpair of from a prince that ſo well underſtands the viciſſitudes of human affairs, and "how ſoon my preſent caſe may come to be "your own, as your preſent degree of elevation was formerly mine: Beſide the common intereſt of all princes in helping one "another; for the ſucceſs of one rebellion "paſſes for a precedent, and an encouragement to more, when the people are embolden'd by ſucceſs." Theſe words were accompany'd with dejected looks and tears. Izates underſtanding that his petitioner was no leſs than Artabanus, immediately diſmounted from his horſe, and bad him recollect his ſpirits, and comfort himſelf with this aſſurance, that the wound was not incurable; and that providence would put a ſpeedy end to his preſent diſtreſs. "Prince, (ſays he) you "may depend upon it, that you ſhall find a "more conſiderable friend and ally than perhaps you are aware of; for I will either "ſee you reſtor'd to your crown, or I will give "you my own." Upon theſe words, Izates mounted Artabanus upon his own horſe, and walk'd a-foot by his ſide, in acknowledgment of a duty he owed to a king greater than himſelf. But Artabanus was ſo aſham'd of the compliment, that he ſwore by all the hopes he had of recovering his fortune and dignity, that he would diſmount, unleſs the other would get up again, and go before him. Izates then, in compliance with his reſolution, took horſe again, and conducted him into his palace, with all the honour and deference that it was poſſible for one prince to pay to another. He gave him the precedence in all caſes, private and publick, and at all collations and meetings; with a regard ſtill to his former greatneſs and glory, and without any abatement for his change of fortune: Conſidering that only as the common lot of mortals, and that what was one man's hap to day might be another man's to morrow.

Izates writes to the Parthians, to call their king home.
They have given the crown to Cinnamus.
Cinnamus invites him back, and undertakes for his ſecurity.
Artabanus returns.
Cinnamus ſalutes him king.
He takes the crown from his own head, and ſets it upon Artabanus's.
The gratitude of Artabanus.

His thoughts being now wholly taken up how to ſerve Artabanus, he wrote a preſſing and an effectual letter to the Parthians, to call their king home again: Offering to engage himſelf upon his honour for their indemnity, and that all paſt injuries ſhould be forgiven and forgotten. Their anſwer was rather an excuſe than a refuſal, for they had given the crown to another, one Cinnamus, they ſaid; ſo that it was out of their power to receive him: Beſide that the very attempt of ſuch a revocation would put all in a flame. Now this ſame Cinnamus, being a perſon of a very generous, juſt, and honourable diſpoſition; and having received his education under the care and direction of Artabanus, felt the pulſes of the nobility, and gave this anſwer, that let Artabanus come back when he would, he himſelf would be anſwerable for his ſecurity and reception. Artabanus made no difficulty at all of venturing himſelf upon this aſſurance, and ſo return'd. Cinnamus met him upon the way; did his reverence in form; and ſaluting him in the ſtile of KING, took the crown off from his own head, and placed it upon the head of Artabanus. This was the manner of his being reſtor'd to his kingdom, by the means of Izates, after he had been forc'd out of it by a faction of his nobles. Artabanus expreſs'd his gratitude to his benefactor, by a return of all honourable duties and reſpects. He gave him the privilege of wearing ſuch a Tiara, and ſuch a ſort of bed, as only the kings of Parthia had a peculiar right to uſe. He beſtow'd upon him the country of Niſibis, formerly belonging to the kings of Armenia; a large and a fruitful territory, and famous, for the antient city of Antioch, afterwards called Mygdonia, that the Macedonians erected there. Theſe were the acknowledgments that Izates received from Artabanus, in conſideration of the good offices he had render'd him.

Artabanus dies.
His ſon Vardanes preſſes Izates to a war with the Romans; but he refuſes.

Artabanus dying ſome ſhort time after, left his ſon Vardanes to ſucceed him in his kingdom, who went preſently to Izates to try if he could engage him in a war with him againſt the Romans: But Izates was too well acquainted with the ſtrength and conduct of thoſe people, to be drawn into a league againſt ſo powerful an enemy: Beſide that having five ſons train'd up among them, to learn their language, and diſcipline, and his mother a conſtant woman at her devotions in the holy temple, he had ſome ſort of tie upon him, even of honour as well as diſcretion, not to meddle. Now as he was utterly againſt it himſelf, he did what he could alſo to take off Vardanes, by continually urging to him the prodigious ſtrength, courage, and exploits of the Romans, in hope to deter him from his purpoſe by ſuch ſtories: But ſo far was the Parthian from being diſcourag'd by big words, that on the contrary, he made war immediately upon Izates.

Vardanes makes war upon Izates.

But as providence was pleas'd to order the matter, for the humbling of his vanity, it had been much better for him to have let that enterprize alone.

Vardanes, cut off, and the government transfer'd to his brother Gotarza. Gotarza cut off too, and his brother Vologeſus ſucceeds him. The government divided betwixt Pacorus and Tiridates. The exemplary piety of Izates creates a veneration for his religion.

For when the Parthians came to find Vardanes ſo reſolute upon a war with the Romans, they took their opportunity to cut him off, and committed the government to his brother Gotarza, who a little while after was taken off by treachery himſelf too, and his brother Vologeſus ſucceeded him, who divided the government betwixt his two brothers by the father's ſide: Pacorus the elder had Media, and Tiridates the younger had Armenia. Monobazus, the brother of the king, together with the reſt of the kindred, taking notice of the exemplary piety of Izates, with a reſpect to God and his worſhip, and the bleſſings that attended it; and of the reputation he had gain'd in the world upon the account both of a virtuous life, and of being a man happy to all other purpoſes, they began to bethink themſelves of quitting the religion of their country too, after his example, and of betaking themſelves to the obſervance of the Jewiſh manners and cuſtoms. The great men of the kingdom ſuſpecting his deſign, reſented it highly, but however ſmother'd their reſentment to wait for an opportunity of taking their revenge. So they wrote to Abias, the king of Arabia, and tempted him with large promiſes of money to make war upon their prince, with an aſſurance, that upon the firſt encounter they would leave the king in the plain field. “ He had abandon'd the religion “ of his country, (they ſaid) and he ſhould “ not carry it off unpuniſh'd.” Upon this, they ſtruck a league with the Arabian, and preſs'd him to ſet about it immediately, without delay.

Abias tempted by treachery to make war upon Izates.

Abias did as they deſir'd, and forthwith march'd away with a conſiderable army againſt Izates. The main bodies were no ſooner come within ſight of one another, but Izates's men, according to their agreement, betook themſelves to their heels, as in a kind of panick conſternation, and without ever ſtriking a ſtroke.

Izates finds out the conſpiracy, and puniſhes the heads of it.

By this time Izates found himſelf evidently betray'd; but made his retreat however without any confuſion or diſorder, into his camp; where, upon a ſtrict enquiry into the myſtery of this deſertion, he diſcover'd it manifeſtly to be a treaſon concerted betwixt his people and the enemy, detected ſome of the conſpirators, and puniſh'd them according to their deſerts.

Abias routed, and his army cut to pieces. Izates takes Arſamus.

On the day following he fought Abias, and routed him, made a great ſlaughter of one part of the army, and put the reſt to flight, cloſely purſuing the king himſelf up to the caſtle of Arſamus, which he took by ſtorm, rifled it, and carrying off a vaſt booty, return'd in triumph to Adiabene. Abias prevented his being taken alive by laying violent hands upon himſelf.

Abias kills himſelf.

The great men of Adiabene preſs Vologeſus to deliver them from Izates.

But the great men of Adiabene, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, and that providence had laid them at the king's mercy, would not yet deſiſt from their deſigns; but in a ſupplicatory letter to Vologeſus, the king of the Parthians, begg'd of him to find ſome way to rid them of Izates, by taking them into his own protection, and appointing whom he thought fit of his own nation to rule over them; for “ the king (they ſaid) was an apoſtate “ from the religion they were brought up in, “ and all the people hated him for it.” This put the Parthian upon picking a quarrel with Izates, though without any colourable pretence in the world.

Vologeſus makes void all grants to Izates, and menaces a war.

The firſt thing he did toward the execution of his purpoſe, was a revocation of all the honours and advantages which his own father had confer'd upon him, together with the menace of an immediate war, if he ſhould but dare in any ſort to diſpute his pleaſure. This meſſage gave Izates a great deal of uneaſineſs upon ſeveral accounts. It would have been a mean thing, he thought, to be frighted into a reſignation of the privileges he was ſo duly poſſeſs'd of, and had ſo well deſerv'd: And then he knew very well again on the other hand, that even in caſe of a compliance, that ſubmiſſion would not avail any thing. So that ſetting one thing againſt another, he came in the end to this poſitive reſolution, that he would commit all to providence; and in a full dependance upon God's aſſiſtance, he would caſt life, honour and fortune upon the iſſue of a battle.

Izates reſolves upon a battle. Both ſides prepare for a war.

In this determination, he ſecur'd his wives and his children in a ſtrong caſtle; laid up great magazines and ſtores of corn, and other neceſſaries in the beſt ſorts he had; burnt and deſtroy'd all the forage and hay round about him, and ſo ſtood firm, and in a poſture to receive the enemy.

The Parthians encamp upon a river that parts Adiabene and Media; and Izates not far off.

The Parthian had drawn together a mighty army of horſe and foot ſooner than people could have imagined, and pitch'd his tents upon the bank of a river that parts Adiabene from Media: Izates encamping alſo not far from thence, with a body of about ſix thouſand horſe.

The Parthian's blaſphemous defiance.

Vologeſus gave him to underſtand by a meſſenger, that he was now advancing againſt him with the whole force of the empire from Bactria to Euphrates, to call him to an account for his ingratitude to his maſters, and that it was not in the power of the God he truſted in to ſave him.

The modeſty of Izates.

Izates gave the meſſenger this anſwer, That he did not pretend to vie numbers with him, but that he was under the protection of a God that was not to be controul'd by any human power. With this return he diſpatch'd away the herald, and proſtrating himſelf upon the ground, his head cover'd with aſhes, and himſelf, his wives, and his children, faſting and praying, he call'd upon God, as follows.

Izates's prayer and humiliation.

“ Bleſſed Lord, (ſays he) whom never any “ creature lov'd and ſerv'd in vain, vouch- “ ſafe in mercy to look down upon thy ſervant, “ that hath now wholly caſt himſelf upon thy “ Almighty power and infinite goodneſs, and “ deliver him out of the hands of his enemies; “ repreſs their preſumptuous boldneſs, and “ not ſo much for my ſake, as for the vindi- “ cation of thy own honour, avenge thyſelf “ upon them for their blaſphemous outrages “ againſt thy Almighty power. The prayers

His prayer is heard; and the Parthians draw off.

and humiliation of this good man were ſo remarkably heard and accepted, that upon intelligence, the very ſame night, of the Dahe, and the Sace (people of Scythia) falling into Parthia with a ſtrong army, and ravaging the country now in the king's abſence, Vologeſus was fain to draw off his army, and leave his work undone, to encounter this diverſion; which was a moſt evident indication of a providence in Izates's favour.

Izates dies, Monobazus ſucceeds him.

Not long after, this religious prince died, having lived 55 years, and reign'd 24, leaving twenty-four ſons behind him, but yet appointing his brother Monobazus for his ſucceſſor, as a juſt acknowledgment of the honour and integrity of his behaviour, in delivering up the crown which upon the death of their father he was poſſeſſed of in truſt, during his abſence. The mother Helen could not but be infinitely afflicted for the loſs of ſo dear and dutiful a ſon; but it was a great eaſe to her heart yet, to find that the elder brother ſucceeded to the government. So that the next thing ſhe did, was to find him out and go to him. She return'd upon this, to Adiabene, and did not long ſurvive her ſon Izates after it. Monobazus ſent the bones of his brother and his mother away to Jeruſalem, to be depoſited in the pyramids that he had built there, being three in number, and a matter of three † furlongs from the place. The hiſtory of Monobazus we ſhall have elſewhere.

The mother returns to Adiabene, and does not long ſurvive.

The mother and brother buried at Jeruſalem.

Theudas takes upon him to work miracles.

The people follow him; but Fadus ſcatters them with a troop of horſe; cuts off Theudas's head, and expoſes it for a Spectacle.

While Fadus was governor of Judea, a certain impoſtor, whoſe name was Theudas, ſet up for a prophet, and drew great multitudes after him, upon a pretence that if they would follow him to the river Jordan, and take their goods along with them, he would but give the word, and the waters ſhould divide, and leave them a paſſage to go over dry foot. This impoſtor had a world of followers, but their folly and madneſs coſt them dear, for Fadus turning looſe ſome troops of horſe among them before they were aware, many of them were kill'd, divers taken alive, and among the reſt, Theudas, whoſe head they cut off, and carried for a ſpectacle in triumph to Jeruſalem. This happened when Cuſpius Fadus had the adminiſtration of Judea.

CHAP. III.

Tiberius Alexander ſucceeds Cuſpius Fadus. A great famine in Judea. James and Simon crucified. Cyrenius taxes Galilee. Joſeph remov'd from the pontificate, and Ananias ſet up. Cumanus ſucceeds Tiberius Alexander. The death of Herod the brother of Agrippa. He leaves three ſons; Ariſtobulus, Bernicianus, and Hyrcanus. Claudius gives the government to Agrippa the younger.

Tiberius Alexander ſucceeds Cuſpius Fadus.

Tiberius Alexander ſucceeded Fadus, the ſon of that Alexander who executed the office of Alabarches at Alexandria, the richeſt Citizen of his time, and a much better man for religion than his ſon, who turned apoſtate. The great famine in Judea that we have ſpoken of before, when the charitable queen Helen put herſelf to ſo vaſt an expence for corn out of Egypt for their relief, happened in his time. And it was at the ſame time alſo, that Alexander cauſed to be crucified, James and Simon, the ſons of Judas of Galilee, who, while Cyrenius was taxing Galilee, lay tampering of the Jews into a defection from the Romans.

A famine in Judea.

James and Simon crucified.

Cyrenius takes Galilee

Joſeph remov'd from the pontificate, and Ananias ſet up.

Cumanus ſucceeds Tiberius Alexander.

Herod the king of Chalcis depoſed Joſeph the ſon of Camydas from the pontificate, and appointed Ananias the ſon of Nebedus to ſucceed him. Cumanus came after Tiberius Alexander: And at the ſame time Herod the brother of Agrippa the great departed this life, in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius, leaving three ſons behind him, Ariſtobulus by a former wife, and Bernicianus and Hyrcanus by Berenice his brother's daughter; but the government was given by Claudius Ceſar to Agrippa the younger.

The death of Herod.

He leaves three ſons

Claudius gives the government to Agrippa the younger.

Under the adminiſtration of Cumanus, there fell out a ſedition at Jeruſalem, that coſt a great many Jews their lives, upon this occaſion, as follows.

CHAP. IV.

The feaſt of the paſſover brings up vaſt multitudes to Jeruſalem; ſo that Cumanus ſet a guard upon the temple to prevent tumults. A brutal affront of a ſoldier upon the temple, imputed to Cumanus, &c. A ſoldier in a rage tears the books of Moſes to pieces. The Jews go in multitudes to Cumanus for juſtice. The offender's head is ſtruck off, to prevent more miſchief.

Cumanus ſets a guard upon the temple

The Paſcal feaſt, or the Jews feaſt of unleaven bread, being now at hand, brought up vaſt multitudes of people to the ſolemnity. Cumanus thought it good diſcretion, for fear of any diſturbance, to ſet a company of ſoldiers for a guard upon the temple, ſufficient to quiet a tumult if any diſorder ſhould happen: Which was no more than what had been done by his predeceſſors on the like occaſion. Upon the 4th day of the feſtival, a ſoldier expoſed himſelf to the people quite naked, which put them into an outrageous exclamation againſt the beaſtly inſolence of the affront; not ſo much upon them, as upon God himſelf, to whoſe honour this feaſt was dedicated. And ſome among them that were bolder than the reſt, rail'd at Cumanus, as if the ſoldier durſt not have ventured to have done it of himſelf without his encouragement. Cumanus was highly provok'd to have ſo ſcandalous a reproach caſt upon him; but however giving them gentle language, he deſir'd them not to do any thing at ſuch a time and place that might look like ſedition. But he quickly found that gentleneſs would do no good, for inſtead of being quieter, they gave him more abuſive language than before. Whereupon he commanded the whole army into the caſtle of Antonia, which we have as he ſaid before, overlooks the temple. The common people were ſo terribly frighted upon the advance of theſe ſoldiers, that they ſhifted away as faſt as they could; and preſſing upon one another thorough ſeveral ſtrait and narrow paſſages, ſo

A ſoldier expoſes himſelf naked.

All people exclaim againſt the affront.

Some impute it to Cumanus.

He reſents the ſcandal, and the people fare the worſe for't.

The army order'd into Caſtle Antonia.

The people endeavour to get away.

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* Three furlongs amount to three fourths of half an engliſh mile.

† See Turnebus's Adverſaria, l. 27. c. 25. Alabarches, or rather Arabarches, which is the correcter way of writing it, is a Greek word, and ſignifies a chief publican or tax-gatherer.

20000 ſmothered to death in the crowd.

many of them were thrown down, and trod under foot by their own people, taking it to be the purſuit of the enemy, that there were twenty thouſand perſons ſmother'd and trampled to death in the crowd; which turn'd the feſtival into a day of mourning, and quitting their prayers and their ſacrifices, they gave themſelves up wholly to out-cries and lamentations. And all this miſchief from the impudence of one beſtial ſoldier.

A domeſtick of Ceſar's robbed, and ſtript upon the highway.

Cumanus revenged upon the neighbouring villages.

A ſoldier tears the books of Moſes to pieces.

The Jews go to Cumanus for juſtice.

The offender's head ſtruck off to prevent miſchief.

This calamity was hardly over, but it was immediately follow'd by another; for ſome of thoſe that had eſcaped being ſqueezed to death in the preſs, and got a matter of a hundred † furlongs from the town, finding a certain domeſtick of the emperor's travelling upon the high-way, whoſe name was Stephen, they aſſaulted him, ſtript him, and took away all he had. The report of this robbery coming to Cumanus, he preſently ſent away ſoldiers to the place where it was committed, with orders to rifle all the villages thereabouts, and to bring away ſome of the principal inhabitants priſoners. In the heat of the pillage and havock the was a ſoldier there had thta fortune to light upon the books of Moſes among other plunder. He brought them out, and when he had ſtorm'd and raged like a madman, againſt both the laws themſelves, and the whole nation of the Jews, he tore them all to pieces in the face of the people. The ſtory of this inſolence and contempt was no ſooner brought to the Jews, but they immediately gather'd together in multitudes, and went with their complaint to Cumanus, who was then at Ceſarea, deſiring him to do them right upon the rioter, not as in a private injury, but in the cauſe of God himſelf. The governor durſt not deny them juſtice, for fear of a popular revolt; but upon advice with his friends, had the criminal's head ſtruck off for the violation of the law, and ſo put a ſtop to the progreſs of another tumult.

CHAP. V.

A quarrel betwixt the Jews and the Samaritans, &c. The Samaritans complain of the Jews to Numidius Quadratus, &c. Several Sameritans and Jews ſent to be try'd by Ceſar, &c. Cumanus baniſhed, &c. Claudius Felix ſent governor into Judea, &c. Felix in love with Druſilla, &c. Agrippa and his wife buried under Veſuvius, &c. The death of Claudius Ceſar; ſuſpected to be poiſoned, &c. Domitius, afterwards Nero, by Claudius's adoption. By Meſſalina Claudius had Britannicus and Octavia. He puts Meſſalina his former wife to death for jealouſy. His daughter Antonia by Petronia marry'd to Nero. Agrippina bent upon advancing of her ſon, &c. Nero proclaim'd emperor, &c. The death of Azizus, king of the Emeſenes, &c. Nero gives the Leſs Armenia to Ariſtobulus, and part of Galilee to Agrippa, &c.

A quarrel betwixt the Jews and Samaritans of Nais.

Several Galileans ſlain

The Jews animated to take up arms.

They chuſe Eleazar, for their leader.

Cumanus puts the mutineers to the rout.

AFTER this was over there aroſe a diſſention betwixt the Samaritans and the Jews; and upon this occaſion. It being uſual for the Galileans to travel by the way of Samaria to Jeruſalem, upon the celebration of their feſtivals, they happened to paſs one time by a village called Nais, under the juriſdiction of Samaria, and ſituated in the great plain, where there fell out a quarrel betwixt the paſſengers and the villagers, and ſeveral of the Galileans were ſlain. Some of the chief among them took this affront in ſuch indignation, that they animated the Jews to take up arms, and with ſword in hand to aſſert their liberties. Slavery, they told them, was at beſt ſcandalous and troubleſome; but when that ſervitude is accompanied with arbitrary injuſtice, it becomes altogether intolerable. The magiſtrates did what they could to make things eaſy, and undertook ſo far for Cumanus, that he ſhould give them ſatisfaction upon the authors of this tumult. But the people were deaf to all terms of pacification. Nothing but arms would ſerve their turn, and they made choice of Eleazar, the ſon of Dineus, to head them. This Eleazar had been for ſeveral years a mountaineer, and one that made it his profeſſion to live upon ſpoil, particularly ravaging up and down in Samaria with fire and ſword. Cumanus, being given to underſtand the preſent poſture of affairs, drew out ſome ſquadrons of horſe from Sebaſte, and four companies of foot, with a body of the Samaritans in arms, and ſo advanced upon the Jews, kill'd a great many of them, and took more priſoners.

The multitude unruly and all arts us'd to pacify them.

THEIR condition was now ſo hopeleſs and forlorn that the beſt men among them, for ſobriety, ſenſe, and quality, betook themſelves to prayer and humiliation in ſack-cloth and aſhes, for the averting of thoſe dreadful judgments that hung over their heads; not omitting at the ſame time ſuch popular arts and arguments, as were moſt likely to bring the multitude to better reaſon. As for example: They ſet before them the deſolation of their country, the burning and demoliſhing of their temple, the carrying captive and enſlaving of their wives and chidren to profane nations; begging of them upon the whole matter, as ever they lov'd their country, their lives, liberties, families, laws, and religion, to betake themſelves to more moderate councils for the future, and peaceably to go back again to their own houſes, lay down their arms, and be quiet. This way of reaſoning brought them ſo far to their wits again, that the common people withdrew, and the tumult diſſolv'd; the rovers returning to their old quarters and trade again; from which time forward Judea became a neſt of thieves.

The Samaritans complain of the Jews for burning their villages,

They call for juſtice upon them.

THE heads of Samaria went now in a body to * Numidius Quadratus, the governor of Syria, (being then at Tyre) with a complaint againſt the Jews for firing and rifling their villages; which they were not ſo much troubled at, they ſaid, upon their own account, as for the encroachment upon the ſovereign authority of Rome, which had ſingly and ſolely the cogniſance of caſes of that quality: But theſe people, they ſaid, ran burning and rifling up and down, and took upon themſelves to be their own judges, as if the Roman magiſtracy had been no more than a mere cypher. This was their caſe, they ſaid, and they came to their governor only for juſtice. When the Samaritans had exhibited their caſe, and had ſet forth their grievance, the Jews, on the other ſide, turned the whole blame, both of the riot and of the combat, upon the plaintiffs; but laying the main ſtreſs of the charge upon Cumanus, who had been brib'd, they ſaid, into a connivance at a moſt notorious and bloody outrage. Quadratus, upon this accuſation and reply, adjourn'd the hearing, telling both parties, that he would go into Judea himſelf, and upon a perfect knowledge of the whole truth, paſs judgment accordingly; ſo that there was nothing more done at this time. Quadratus went a little after this into Samaria, and upon hearing the cauſe, found the Samaritans guilty of the riot. He was informed likewiſe of a practice among the Jews to raiſe a commotion, and cauſed ſeveral priſoners that Cumanus had taken into cuſtody to be crucify'd. He went from thence to Lydda, a borough that might paſs for a conſiderable city; where he heard the Samaritans caſe once over again; and underſtanding from a certain Samaritan that one Dortus, an eminent Jew, with four more of his own tribe, had encouraged the people to an inſurrection, he cauſed them all to be put to death: But as for Ananias the high-prieſt, and Ananus the captain, he ſent them bound to Rome, to anſwer for themſelves before Ceſar. He ſent alſo into Italy the chief of the Samaritans and the Jews, with Cumanus the governor, and Celer a tribune, in order to the deciſion of all their controverſies before the emperor. After this, he went to Jeruſalem, for fear of new broils there; but finding all things in peace and quiet, and the Jews ſo wholly intent upon celebrating their feaſt of the paſſover, and ſacrifices, that they minded nothing elſe, he let them alone in the free exerciſe of their profeſſion, and went back to Antioch.

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† An hundred furlongs amounted to almoſt twelve Engliſh miles and three quarters.

* Salmaſius ſhews that it ſhould be read Umidius Quadratus. See his annotations upon Elius Spartianus.

The Jews blame Cumanus.

The Samaritans guilty of a riot.

Another hearing at Lydda.

Dortus and four more put to death for ſedition.

Ananias and Ananus ſent bound to Rome.

Cumanus and the Samaritans, being now come to Rome, they were order'd to appear upon the day and place, ſet for their trial, having made ſo great an intereſt beforehand with the freemen and friends of Ceſar, that they would probably have carry'd the cauſe, if it had not been for Agrippa the younger, who was at that time at Rome. This Agrippa, finding the Jews in danger to be oppreſs'd by power, made application to Agrippina, the wife of Claudius, with earneſt importunities to preſs her huſband for a fair and impartial hearing, and for juſtice upon the criminals, whoever they ſhould be found to be. Claudius was ſo far prevail'd upon by this interceſſion, that he heard both ſides in form; and finding upon the whole matter that the Samaritans began the tumult, judgment paſs'd againſt the plaintiffs; ſo that they were condemn'd to die, Cumanus to be baniſh'd, and Celer the tribune, to be carry'd to Jeruſalem, and dragg'd to death through the ſtreets, in the face of all the people. Claudius Felix, the brother of Pallas, was then then ſent governor into Judea.

Time and place appointed for their trial.

Agrippa engages Agrippina in their favour.

Claudius hears both ſides himſelf.

The Samaritans condemn'd to die.

Cumanus baniſh'd.

Celer dragged to death thro' the ſtreets.

Claudius Felix ſent into Judea.

This prince, in the twelfth year of his reign, beſtow'd upon Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip and Batanea, with Trachonitis and * Abila, which had been formerly the tetrarchy of Lyſanias: But he took away Chalcis from him, when it had been four years under his government. This young man, after all theſe grants and bounties conferr'd upon him by Ceſar, marry'd his ſiſter Druſilla to Azizus, king of the Emeſenes, who was now become a proſelyted Jew. She had been promis'd before to Epiphanes, the ſon of Antiochus, upon his promiſe to embrace the Jewiſh religion: But upon his refuſal to come over, the match broke off. As for Mariamne, another of the ſiſters, he marry'd her to Archelaus the ſon of Chelcias, to whom ſhe had been contracted ſome time before, by her father Agrippa; and he had by this lady a daughter, call'd Berenice.

Druſilla, Agrippa's ſiſter, marries Azizus, a new converted Jew.

Mariamne marries Archelaus.

It was not long after this that Druſilla and Azizus were parted, and it happen'd thus: Druſilla was look'd upon to be the greateſt beauty of her time. Felix the governor of Judea thought her ſo, and fell paſſionately in love with her: So he call'd Simon his particular friend to him (a Jew of Cyprus, and one that had the reputation of a famous magician) and gave him in confidence the ſtory of his amour, with inſtructions to try if he could get her off from her other huſband to marry him, who would certainly make her the happieſt creature under the heavens. Druſilla, finding herſelf very uneaſy under the reſtleſs importunities of her ſiſter Berenice, unadviſedly entertained the propoſition, renouncing her religion as well as her huſband, and married Felix, by whom ſhe had a ſon called Agrippa, who, in the days of Titus Ceſar, and in the prime of his youth, together with his wife, were both bury'd under a fiery eruption from the mountain Veſuvius, which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of hereafter.

Druſilla and Azizus part.

Felix in love with Druſilla.

He makes Simon the confident of his paſſion.

Druſilla quits both religion and huſband, and marries Felix.

Agrippa and his wife bury'd under Veſuvius.

As for Berenice, ſhe liv'd a widow ſome conſiderable time after the death of Herod, who was both her huſband and her uncle; but falling under a ſcandalous report of an inceſtuous familiarity with her brother, ſhe bethought herſelf of the moſt decent way how to wipe off that ſlander, which was by getting Polemon the king of Cilicia to turn Jew, and take her to his wife, which would paſs for a confutation of the rumour. Polemon conſented, and for the fortune's ſake, marry'd the woman. But Berenice being a lady that did not love to have her appetite reſtrain'd, quickly parted with her huſband; and he at the ſame time, with his religion. Mariamne grew as weary of Archelaus too, and chang'd her bedfellow for Demetrius, the moſt eminent Jew of Alexandria, as well for extraction as eſtate; and at that time † Alabarches of this place. By this huſband ſhe had Agrippinus; of whom we ſhall ſay more in due time and place.

Berenice ſuſpected of inceſt, marries Polemon, and makes him a Jew.

Berenice and her huſband part.

Mariamne leaves Archelaus for Demetrius.

Claudius Ceſar reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, and then dy'd; not without a ſtrong preſumption of being poiſon'd by his wife. She was the daughter of Germanicus the emperor's brother. Her firſt huſband was Domitius Enobarbus, one of the greateſt men in Rome, who deceaſed and left her a widow; in which ſtate ſhe continued a

The death of Claudius Ceſar; ſuſpected to be poiſon'd.

Domitius Enobarbus her firſt huſband.

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* In the Greek Ἄϐιλλα, yet Abila ſeems to be the true reading. See Berkelius's notes upon Steph. Byzant. p. 9.

† This word, as we've obſerv'd above, p. 490. ſignifies a chief publican or tax-gatherer, but is here put for chief governor of the Jews in Alexandria. See Turnebus's Adverſaria, l. xx. c. 25.

She had a ſon by Domitius.

Meſſalina put to death for jealouſy.

His daughter Antonia marry'd to Nero.

good while, till Claudius marry'd her. She had a ſon by Domitius, that was called after his father's name, which was afterwards chang'd for Nero, upon Claudius adopting him into his family. This emperor had a former wife, whoſe name was Meſſalina, by whom he had children, * Britannicus and Octavia. This Meſſalina Claudius put to death out of jealouſy; but for his daughter Antonia, whom he had by Petronia, a former wife, and the eldeſt child he had, he married her to Nero, which was the name he gave to his adopted ſon.

She conſults the death of Claudius, and the ſucceſſion of Nero at once.

Nero proclaimed emperor.

The new emperor poiſons Britannicus. He murders his own mother. Puts Octavia to death.

Agrippina's heart was ſet upon the advancing her own ſon to the empire; and therefore, it is ſaid, ſhe conſulted the death of Claudius, and the ſecuring of the ſucceſſion to Nero, both at the ſame time, for fear Germanicus ſhould interpoſe and ſupplant him. She had gotten currhus, Captain of the guards, the great officers, tribunes, friends and favourites, all in readineſs, as ſoon as ever the breath was out of Claudius's body, to carry Nero to the ſoldiers and proclaim him emperor. This they did, and this being done, his firſt exploit after his elevation, was the ſecret poiſoning of Britannicus, which was follow'd not long after, with the barefac'd murder of his own mother, in requital, both of the life ſhe had given him, and of the empire alſo that ſhe had procured him. He put his wife Octavia to death, and divers perſons of the firſt rank for integrity and honour, upon ſenſeleſs and fictitious pretences of plots againſt his perſon. But we have had the hiſtory of Nero over and over ſo often already from other hands, that there needs no more be ſaid upon the ſubject: Some indeed are as extravagant in the fulſome extreme of panegyrick and flattery, as others in the contrary exceſs of rage and prejudice, and the truth loſt betwixt them, which is an intemperance not to be endur'd in an hiſtorian: But I do not ſo much wonder at theſe falſities in the caſe of Nero, when I conſider that betwixt partiality and prepoſſeſſion, without any intereſt in the good or bad of the ſtory, hiſtorians have as little regarded the matter of fact in the lives of his predeceſſors. But for thoſe who care not what they write, let them write what they think fit, ſince that liberty pleaſes them. For my own part, my buſineſs is to relate nothing but what appears to be downright matter of fact, ſtrictly adhering to the naked truth, and aiming at as much brevity and conciſeneſs as the ſubject will allow, where any thing falls in by the by. But as to what concerns our own nation, I ſhall be very particular and plain, without either ſuppreſſing our misfortunes, or palliating our miſtakes.

The death of Azizus. His brother ſucceeds.

To return now to my text, Azizus, the king of the Emiſenes, died in the firſt year of Nero, and his brother ſucceeded him; and Nero gave the Leſs Armenia to Ariſtobulus, the ſon of Herod king of Chalcis: He gave alſo to Agrippa a part of Galilee, ſubjecting likewiſe Tiberias and Tarichee to his government, with an addition of Julias beyond Jordan, and of fourteen villages more under that juriſdiction.

CHAP. VI.

Judea infeſted with robbers and impoſtors, &c. Dora of Jeruſalem in great credit with Jonathan. Felix agrees with Dora, to have him made away. Jonathan ſtabb'd by ruffians, &c. A falſe prophet draws the people after him, &c. A diſpute betwixt the Ceſarean and the Syrian Jews, &c. They fall to blows. Felix turns the ſoldiers upon them, Agrippa gives the high-prieſthood to Iſmael. The high-prieſts divide from the other prieſts. They walk with a guard; take away their tythes, and ſtarve the reſt.

Judea infeſted with robbers, impoſtors, and ſeducers.

Felix breaks his parole, and ſeizes Eleazar.

Dora of Jeruſalem much in credit with Jonathan. Felix agrees with Dora to have him made away.

Jonathan ſtabb'd by ruffians in diſguiſe of pilgrims. This method of villany brought into precedent.

THE ſtate of affairs in Judea grew every day worſe and worſe, and the land was quite over-run with robbers, impoſtors, and ſeducers, who drew the people after them in ſhoals, though there hardly paſs'd a day, but Felix put to death ſome or other of the gang; and Eleazar, the ſon of Dineus, captain of a conſiderable band among them, he got alive into his hands by downright breach of faith: For Felix gave him a ſolemn invitation to come over to him upon the parole of a man of honour, that he ſhould be ſafe and free to all manner of purpoſes; but as ſoon as he had got him in his power, he ſent him away preſently to Rome. Neither could Felix endure Jonathan the high-prieſt, for he would be ſtill minding him of his male-adminiſtration, and that the people, by whoſe intereſt chiefly and recommendation he came to the government, being diſobliged and offended with his miſconduct, would be ſure to charge all publick miſcarriages upon him. Felix took all good counſel of this kind for reproach, and therefore contriv'd with himſelf how he might get quit of theſe ungrateful importunities; for wicked men do not love to hear often of their faults. As he was thus bethinking himſelf, it came in his head that there was one Dora of Jeruſalem, a man that was look'd upon to be much in credit with Jonathan: So he tempted this Dora with the promiſe of a conſiderable ſum of money, if he could get Jonathan diſpatch'd out of the way; as there were bravo's enough to be had for ſuch an exploit. Dora undertook the commiſſion, and by this means the buſineſs was brought about. There was a certain crew of ruffians, with privy daggers under their coats, that went up to Jeruſalem under pretence of devotion. Theſe villains intermixing themſelves in company with Jonathan's train, took their opportunity, and ſtabb'd the high-prieſt in the crowd, and ſo came off without ever being call'd to an account for that ſacrilegious murder. This impunity prov'd ſuch an encouragement to other villanies of the like kind, that the ſame pretence and diſguiſe was made uſe of afterward, upon ſuch feſtival occaſions, for the cutting of throats, whether for money or for private revenge, or upon what other conſideration ſoever; and this not only up and down in ſeveral parts of the city, but in the very temple itſelf; as if the holineſs of the place were to be a protection to ſo execrable an impiety. And now what wonder is it, after the practice and ſufferance of ſuch abominable prophanations and pollutions, for God in this wrath to deliver up his city, and his own houſe into the hands of the Romans, to be purg'd with expiatory flames; the whole nation of the Jews, with their wives and children to be condemn'd to miſery and bondage, to bring them to a right application of the providence, and ſo to ſanctify the affliction to them.

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* See Ryckius notes upon Tacitus, p. 498.

Thieves and murderers at work in one place, magicians and impoſtors in another.

While the thieves and murders were at work in one place, there were magicians and impoſtors as buſy in another, the multitude following them in droves into ſolitudes and deſarts to ſee the ſigns and miracles they promiſed them; but they paid dear for their curioſity, for they were preſently taken up by the order of Felix, and divers of them put to death. There came at the ſame time a certain perſon out of Egypt to Jeruſalem, ſetting up for a prophet, and inviting the common people to follow him up to the top of mount Olivet, * five furlongs from the city; for when he came thither he would but ſay the word, he ſaid, and they ſhould ſee the walls of Jeruſalem fall flat to the ground, and make way for them to enter the city through the ruins. When Felix came to hear of this adventure, he made his ſoldiers ſtand to their arms; and breaking in upon them with horſe and foot, routed the rabble, kill'd four hundred upon the place, took two hundred of them alive; but the Egyptian that led them eſcaped.

A falſe prophet inveigles the people up to mount Olivet, &c. Pretends that they ſhould ſee the walls of Jeruſalem fall to the ground. Felix routs the rabble: But the prophet eſcapes.

The thieves were now tampering the people yet once again into a rebellion againſt the Romans; notwithſtanding their late defeat. "The yoke was intolerable, (they "ſaid) why did they not ſhake it off?" And at this rate they went railing up and down from place to place, burning and pillaging all that would not join with them.

A ſquabble betwixt the Ceſarean and the Syrian Jews, about privileges.

There fell out another unlucky diſſention at the ſame time too, betwixt the Ceſarean Jews and the Syrians, upon the queſtion of ſome certain privileges. The Jews claimed a precedency in the right of their king Herod as the firſt founder of that city, which the Syrians did not deny; but not of the tower of Stratton, they ſaid, which was originally the name of the place, before ever any Jew had ſet footing there. When the report of this controverſy came to the knowledge of the neighbouring governors, they cauſed the incendiaries on both ſides to be taken up, and whipt, which for a while put ſome ſtop to the tumult: But the town Jews, after all this, valuing themſelves upon their wealth, fell to vilifying and reproaching the Syrians with foul language, who returned it again upon the Jews, having ſeveral ſoldiers among them to ſupply with confidence what they wanted in matter of eſtate; ſo that giving the Jews as good as they brought, the brawl proceeded from words to ſtones, and from thence to blows, till in the end ſeveral were kill'd and wounded on both ſides, but the Jews had the better of it. When Felix found that this controverſy was already advanced to a little kind of war, he preſs'd it with great inſtance to the Jews that they would let fall the diſpute; but when he ſaw words would do no good, he ſent armed troops among them, who killed a great many of them, took more priſoners, and gave the ſoldiers the rifling of ſeveral rich houſes for their booty. The modeſter and the more honourable part of the Jews, for fear of worſe conſequences, went to Felix, and begg'd of him to call off his ſoldiers before it went too far, and while they had time to bethink themſelves and repent.

The incendiaries on both ſides taken up and whipt.

They fall to blows.

Felix turns the ſoldiers upon them, and gives them the booty.

Agrippa gives the high-prieſthood to Iſmael the ſon of Phabeus. The high prieſts divide, walk with a guard, take away the tythes, and ſtarve the other prieſts.

King Agrippa at the ſame time gave the high prieſthood to Iſmael, the ſon of Phabeus, and the high-prieſts themſelves began to divide from the other prieſts, and the governors of Jeruſalem; every man taking a guard along with him of the boldeſt, and the moſt ſeditious fellows they could pick up; railing and throwing ſtones at one another, and no more care taken to keep the peace than if the city had been entirely without magiſtracy. Nay, ſuch was the impudence of the high-prieſts, that they ſent their ſervants up and down into barns to take away the prieſts tythes; inſomuch that the poorer ſort of that holy order periſhed for want of bread. Thus it was, and thus it muſt be, where the violence of faction gets the upper hand of juſtice.

CHAP. VII.

The Ceſarean Jews complain to Ceſar of Felix, &c. Judea over-run with vagabonds, &c. Agrippa builds a palace that overlooks the temple. The Jews are diſguſted at it, and run a wall betwixt them to hinder the view. Feſtus orders the wall to be taken down. The Jews got leave to move Ceſar about it: And ſo they ſent ten eminent citizens, with Iſmael and Chelcias, as their commiſſioners. The empreſs Poppea ſets all right with Nero, and keeps Chelcias and Iſmael for hoſtages. The pontificate transferr'd to Joſeph.

The Ceſerean Jews complain to Ceſar of Felix. Pallas obtained his pardon.

Felix, being now remov'd from his government, and Porcius Feſtus ſubſtituted by Nero in his place, ſome of the principal Ceſarean Jews made a journey to Rome together, to accuſe Felix: And they would undoubtedly have cruſh'd him to death, for the violence and injuſtice of his behaviour toward the Jews, if his brother Pallas, who was at that time in great favour with Nero, had not obtained his pardon.

Beryllus gets a mandate for disfranchiſing the Jews.

There were two eminent Syrians of Ceſarea, who by a mighty ſum of money, made ſuch an intereſt with Beryllus, tutor to Nero, and his Greek ſecretary, that he got the emperor's letter mandatory to Ceſarea for the disfranchiſing of the Jews, and abrogating all the privileges that they pretended to within that city; which privileges had been hitherto in common, both to Jews and Syrians. This was granted him without any difficulty; and that grant was the root of all the calamities that afterward befel us: For the Ceſarean Jews would never be quiet after this letter, till it came to a direct war.

Feſtus finds Judea overrun with vagabonds and Freebooters.

When Feſtus came into Judea, he found all in deſolation and diſtreſs, the country laid waſte, the people forced from their habitations, their houſes expos'd to fire and pillage, and all at the mercy of a brutal rout of vagabond free-booters, that ravag'd up and down there in great numbers at pleaſure. Theſe robbers by the Romans were called * Sicarii from Sica, or the ſhort ſword they wore; a weapon bending toward the point, and betwixt a Perſian ſcymitar, and the Roman dagger. With theſe weapons they did terrible execution by thruſting themſelves into crouds upon great days when the city was throng'd under a colour of religion; and diſpatching whom they pleas'd in that confuſion, without any difficulty, or danger of diſcovery. But other whiles again they fell bareſac'd with fire and ſword as into an enemy's quarter, and carry'd all before them.

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* Five furlongs is half an Engliſh mile, ſix paces and a furlong.

A noted impoſtor inveigles the multitude into the wilderneſs. Feſtus deſtroys both leader and followers.

There was in thoſe days a famous ſeducer who drew after him great numbers of people, whom he had deluded into an opinion, that if they did but follow him into ſuch a wilderneſs, no harm ſhould ever beſal them; but Feſtus, with a detachment of horſe and foot, put a ſtop to the proceſſion, and deſtroy'd maſter and diſciples all together.

Agrippa builds a magnificent palace.

King Agrippa cauſed to be erected near the porch of the royal palace at Jeruſalem, belonging formerly to the Aſſamonean family, a ſtately magnificent fabrick. It ſtood upon an eminence, with a noble proſpect into the city, and was ſo contrived that the king out of his bed-chamber could ſee every thing that paſs'd in the temple, which was a thing he took great delight in. But on the other ſide, the principal men among the Jews were as much offended at it. For according to our laws we do not allow of any ſpectators upon our holy rites and ceremonies, and more eſpecially our ſacrifices: ſo that, for prevention ſake, they ran up a high wall before the ſeats that incloſed the inward part of the temple toward the weſt; which did not only obſtruct the view from the king's bed-chamber, but the ſight alſo of the galleries to the weſtward on the other ſide of the temple, where the Roman guards us'd to ſtand upon high-days for the ſecurity of the place. The king took this very ill; and Feſtus, worſe: inſomuch that he order'd the wall to be taken down again. The citizens made anſwer, that their lives were not ſo dear to them as their temple; and therefore they humbly deſired time and leave to ſend their deputies to Ceſar about it, before any thing ſhould be put in execution. This liberty being granted them, they ſent to the emperor ten eminent citizens, with Iſmael the high-prieſt, and Chelcias the treaſurer of the temple, as their commiſſioners. Nero did not only paſs over what they had done, but effectually qualify'd it in permitting them to continue the wall as it was. This boon was granted them upon the interceſſion of the empreſs Poppea, a pious woman, in favour of the Jews. The ten deputies were allow'd to come back again, but Poppea detained Chelcias and Iſmael as hoſtages. When Agrippa came to underſtand what paſs'd, he transfer'd the pontificate to Joſeph, otherwiſe call'd Cabis, the ſon of Simon, formerly high-prieſt.

The Jews grumble at it.

The Jews run up a wall betwixt them.

Feſtus orders the wall to be taken down.
The Jews ſend to Ceſar about it.
They ſend ten citizens; Iſmael, and Chelcias, as their commiſſioners.

The empreſs Poppea ſets all right again.
Chelcias, and Iſmael kept for hoſtages.
The pontificate transfer'd to Joſeph.

CHAP. VIII.

Feſtus dies, and Albinus ſucceeds him. Agrippa diſcharges Joſeph, and puts Anants in his place, &c. Ananus calls a council, and cites James the brother of Jeſus, to appear before him upon a charge of blaſphemy, &c. Albinus writes a threatning letter to Ananus. Agrippa puts him from the pontificate, and gives it to Jeſus the ſon of Damneus, &c. He takes the high-prieſthood from Jeſus the ſon of Damneus, and gives it to Jeſus the ſon of Gamaliel, &c. Geſſius Florus ſucceeds Albinus. Privileges allow'd to the ſinging men of the tribe of Levi, &c. The temple finiſhed. The Jews petition for leave to repair the porch, and Agrippa refuſes it, &c. The high-prieſthood transfer'd from Jeſus the ſon of Gamaliel, to Jeſus the ſon of Theophilus. The war betwixt the Romans and the Jews. The original, and number of the high-prieſts, &c. From Aaron to Phanaſus, eighty three in number. The government at firſt, Ariſtocratical, next monarchical; and then, to the title of kings. The hiſtory of the pontificate.

Feſtus dies, and Albinus ſucceeds. Ananus put in Joſeph's place.

Nero receiving the news of Feſtus's death, gave his government to Albinus. Agrippa, at the ſame time, degraded Joſeph, and elevated Ananus, the ſon of Ananus, to the pontificate in his ſtead. This Ananus, the father, was look'd upon as one of the happieſt men living: for he had five ſons that came ſucceſſively to the pontificate after him, which no man alive could ſay but himſelf. The Ananus we are now ſpeaking of, was naturally of a fierce, and enterprizing diſpoſition, by ſect a Sadducee, the moſt cenſorious and uncharitable ſort of people upon the face of the earth, as we have ſaid elſewhere. This being his way and opinion, he took his opportunity in the interval betwixt the death of Feſtus and the arrival of his ſucceſſor Albinus (who was as yet but upon the way) to call a council together with the aſſiſtance of the judges; and to cite James, the brother of Jeſus which was called Chriſt, with ſome others, to appear before them, and anſwer to a charge of blaſphemy, and breach of the law; whereupon, they were condemn'd, and deliver'd up to be ſton'd. This was ſo offenſive and ſurprizing a way of proceeding to all the honeſt and conſcientious part of the city, that they preſently ſent the king private notice of it as a very ill thing done; with a requeſt that Ananus might have a check for it, and a caution never to do any ſuch thing again for the future. Others were ſent with an account of it to Albinus, who was then upon his journey to Alexandria, repreſenting it as an uſurpation and encroachment upon his authority; for without his conſent it ought not to have been done. Albinus took this ſo heinouſly, that he wrote an angry menacing letter to the high-prieſt upon it; and king Agrippa at the end of three months remov'd him from the high-prieſthood, and gave it to Jeſus the ſon of Damneus.

Ananus fierce bloody, and a Sadducee.

Ananus calls a council, and cites James the brother of Jeſus, &c. to appear before him. The charge is blaſphemy, breach of the law, and they are ſentenc'd to be ſton'd.

Albinus writes a menacing letter to Ananus. Agrippa puts him from the pontificate, and gives it to Jeſus.

Albinus was no ſooner come to Jeruſalem, but he apply'd himſelf with all poſſible care and diligence, to the quieting of the province, and began the work with ſuppreſſing and cutting off the robbers. Ananias the high-prieſt, at the ſame rate, made himſelf ſo popular by his affability and bounty, that he became every day more and more the darling of the people; ſtill plying Albinus the high-prieſt with reſpects and preſents: but he had a company of lewd ſervants about him, who, joining with others as bad as themſelves, went ranging about from one barn to another, and forced away the prieſts tithes from them; beating and wounding thoſe that refuſed to deliver them. There were other high-prieſts alſo with their ſervants, who did the ſame thing too, for there was no body to controul them: the prieſts being ready to ſtarve all this while, having nothing but their tenths to live upon.

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* See Druſius de tribus ſectis Judæorum, l. 2. c. 24.

One night upon an holiday-eve, the robbers ſtole privately into the city, and ſurprized the ſecretary of Eleazar, an army officer, and the ſon of Ananias the high-prieſt. They took him alive, bound him, and carry'd him away; and then ſent Ananias word, that if he could get Albinus to diſcharge half a ſcore of their companions that he had then cuſtody, the ſecretary ſhould be ſet at liberty. The neceſſity was ſo preſſing that Albinus could not well refuſe the gratifying of Ananias under the preſent circumſtances; tho' the granting of this requeſt proved of very ill conſequence in the end. For when the highwaymen had found out the way of compounding their villanies, they were never without one invention or another to ſecure ſome of Ananias's relations for a pawn, which they never parted with but for ſome of their own comrades in exchange. By this way of proceeding they grew bold and ſtrong, and laid the whole country deſolate.

Agrippa enlarges Ceſarea Philippi, and calls it Neronias. He builds a glorious theatre at Berytus.

King Agrippa had now enlarged Ceſarea Philippi, and given it the name of Neronias in honour of Nero. He built alſo at Berytus, a moſt magnificent and coſtly theatre, which he endow'd with a vaſt ſum of money for the celebration of the yearly ſhows, and the diſtribution of doles of corn and oil among the people, in ſuch a proportion by the head. He cauſed the city alſo to be beautify'd and adorn'd all over, with curioſities of ſtatues and pictures, and ſuch a collection of antique pieces and originals from the hands of the greateſt maſters in their ſeveral kinds, that this town was, in truth, the ſtore-houſe of all that was rare and precious in the kingdom: but by this way of taking from his own people to gratify ſtrangers, and of beggaring the one to the advantage of the other, he utterly loſt himſelf in the hearts of his ſubjects.

He takes the high-prieſthood from Jeſus the ſon of Damneus, and gives it to Jeſus the ſon of Gamaliel.

He took away the pontificate from Jeſus the ſon of Damneus, and gave it to Jeſus the ſon of Gamaliel; which created ſuch a feud between them, that they hardly walk'd the ſtreets without a crew of ruffians at their heels, reproaching and railing ſtill at one another as they met: ſometimes with hard words, and ſometimes it came again to ſtones; but Ananias, who had the moſt money, got conſequently the ſtrongeſt party.

Coſtobarus and Saul had the ruffians ſtill at their heels.

Coſtobarus and Saul, being both of the blood royal, and nearly related to Agrippa, had a very great intereſt too, and each of them a band of bravo's at his back to execute his commands, and to fight his quarrels. They were naturally inſolent and rapacious, where they had to do with poor people that they might trample upon. From this juncture it is that we may date the mortal declenſion of our common-wealth, which from this time forward ſunk ſtill from bad to worſe.

Geſſius Florus ſucceeds Albinus.

When Albinus heard that Geſſius Florus was coming to ſucceed him, he had no better way, he thought, to ingratiate himſelf with the Jews, than to do juſtice upon the people, that he had in cuſtody. So he cauſed all the priſoners to be brought before him, and upon examination of matters, proceeded againſt them according to their demerits: putting to death thoſe that were manifeſtly guilty of capital crimes, and diſcharging the reſt, who were in only for miſdemeanors, upon fine and ranſom. This was a way to clear the priſons, and likewiſe to ſtock the country with an encreaſe of thieves.

Privileges allow'd to the ſinging-men of the tribe of Levi.

Thoſe of the tribe of Levi, who officiated in the temple as ſinging-men, beſought the king, and prevail'd upon him to call a council, and to grant them the uſe of the linen-ſtole, a veſtment peculiar to the prieſts; and ſuggeſting that ſuch a conceſſion would ſtand upon record, as an act of grace, to the king's eternal honour. This requeſt of theirs was heard and granted, in form and manner as they deſir'd it, and the ſinging-men permitted to wear the ſtole. There were another ſort of theſe Levites, who officiated in the ſervices of the temple, and theſe were likewiſe allow'd, promiſcuouſly, to ſerve in quality of ſingers. Now all this was directly againſt our national laws and cuſtoms, which were never abandon'd but with a judgment upon the violation.

Another ſort of Levites admitted contrary to law.

The temple is now finiſh'd, and eighteen thouſand men ready to ſtarve.

The building of the temple being now over, and a matter of eighteen thouſand workmen, who had nothing to live upon but their labour, ready to ſtarve for want of employment; the people not caring to have money lie by them for a prey to the Romans, and out of a deſire to make ſome proviſion for them (for if they wrought but an hour they were ſure of their wages) propoſed the repairing of a building on the eaſt-ſide of the temple, which overlooking a deep narrow valley, was ſupported by a wall of four hundred * cubits high, the ſtones ſmooth wrought, and white, and every piece † twenty cubits in length and ſix in depth, being the work of Solomon, the firſt founder of the temple. But Agrippa, who was entruſted by Claudius Ceſar with the repairing of this glorious ſtructure, computing with himſelf how much eaſier it was to deſtroy ſuch a work than to rebuild it, eſpecially a work that would take up ſo much time and money as that which was now propounded; he did not think fit to comply with this deſire of the people; but if it might content them to beautify the city by paving the ſtreets with white ſtone, he ſhould not be againſt it.

The Jews petition for leave to repair the porch. A deſcription of the porch.

Agrippa refuſes them.

This prince took away after this the high-prieſthood from Jeſus the ſon of Gamaliel, and gave it to Matthias the ſon of Theophilus; and in his days began the wars of the Romans againſt the Jews.

The original qualifications and number of the high prieſts.

It will be proper for me in this place (with a reſpect to the work I have in hand) to give ſome account of the original of high-

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* Four hundred Jewiſh cubits amounted to ſeven hundred twenty eight Engliſh feet, and ſome odd inches; that is, to one hundred forty two yards, two feet, and ſome odd inches.

† Twenty cubits amounted to ſomething more then thirty ſix feet; that is, twelve yards; and ſix cubits to ſomething above ten feet; that is, three yards and a foot.

Aaron the firſt of the order.

The ſucceſſion hereditary.

From Aaron to Phanaſus 83 in number

prieſts; the qualifications neceſſary for thoſe that are to be admitted into this function, and the number of thoſe that were advanced to this dignity as far as to the end of the war. The firſt of the order was Aaron, the brother of Moſes; and after his death, his children ſucceded him; and ſo the honour deſcended in courſe to his family: And this cuſtom of hereditary ſucceſſion prevail'd ſo far with our forefathers, that none but thoſe of the blood of Aaron were accounted capable of that holy office; not even kings themſelves. From Aaron to Phanaſus, who was declared high-prieſt by a faction in a time of war, there were eighty three in number: Thirteen of them officiating in that ſtation from the time that Moſes erected a tabernacle to God in the deſart, to their entrance into Judea, where king Solomon built and dedicated the holy temple.

The government at firſt ariſtocratical; next monarchical, and then to the title of kings.

For at firſt there was no ſucceeding to the pontificate, but by a vacancy upon death, whereas it came to be a practice afterward to introduce another, while the former was yet living. Theſe thirteen perſons deſcending from the two ſons of Aaron, ſucceeded to their honour in their turns. The form of government was at firſt ariſtrocatical; after that monarchical; ‡ and the next tranſition was to the title of kings. From the time of Moſes's carrying us out of the land of Egypt to the building of Solomon's temple, we reckon upon ſix hundred and twelve years.

The hiſtory of the pontificate.

After the thirteen high-prieſts above-mentioned, there followed eighteen more, in four hundred ſixty ſix years, ſix months and ten days, in ſucceſſion one to another, under the government of kings. Computing from king Solomon, to the days of Nebuchadonoſor king of Babylon; when he march'd up to Jeruſalem and took it; burnt the temple, and carried away the whole nation, together with Joſedec their high-prieſt, captives.

After a captivity of ſeventy years in Babylon, Cyrus the king of Perſia, diſmiſs'd the Jews home again, with leave to rebuild their temple; Jeſus, the ſon of Joſedec, exerciſing at that time the function of high-prieſt. After him, came fifteen more of his poſterity, who ſucceeded him in the ſame dignity, but in a popular way of government, till the time of king Antiochus Eupator, which was about four hundred and fourteen years; when this ſame Antiochus, with his general Lyſias took away both the dignity and life of Onias, otherwiſe called Meneleus, at Berytus; but rejected his ſon from the ſucceſſion, and ſet up Jacimus, high-prieſt in his place; one of the race of Aaron, 'tis true, but not of the pontifical family. Wherefore Onias, the ſon of Onias the deceaſed, went away into Egypt, and, inſinuating himſelf into the good opinion of Ptolemy Philometor, and of Cleopatra, his wiſe, prevail'd upon them to build and dedicate a temple to God at Heliopolis, in imitation of that at Jeruſalem, and to conſtitute him high-prieſt there; of which temple we have ſaid enough elſewhere already. Jacimus died at the end of three years in the execution of the pontifical office, without a ſucceſſor; ſo that there was a vacancy in the pontificate for ſeven years. But after the revolt of the Jews from the Macedonians, the dignity was transferr'd to the family of the Aſſamoneans, and Jonathan preferr'd to the pontificate, which he enjoy'd for the ſpace of ſeven years; and then being taken off by the treachery of Tryphon, his brother Simon was promoted to his place; and upon his being afterwards aſſaſſinated by his ſon-in-law, at a publick entertainment, his ſon Hyrcanus ſucceeded him, who held it for the ſpace of one and thirty years; and then, upon his death, it went to his ſon Judas, otherwiſe called Ariſtobulus, who was the firſt that took upon him the name and quality of king; and after one year's reign, left his brother Alexander, heir and ſucceſſor, both to the pontificate and to the kingdom: In both which capacities he adminiſtred for the ſpace of ſeven and twenty years; and then departing this life, he tranſmitted the regency to his wife Alexandria, with authority to diſpoſe of the pontificate, to which of the brothers ſhe pleaſed; and ſhe gave it to Hyrcanus, who enjoy'd it for the nine years that ſhe reign'd: But upon her death, Ariſtobulus the younger brother made war upon him, overcame him, and reduced him to a condition of a private man; aſſuming both the kingdom and the pontificate to himſelf, which he held for three years, and juſt as many months: When Pompey, upon taking of Jeruſalem, carried him and his children priſoners to Rome; and Hyrcanus, being reſtored to the pontificate, accepted alſo of the principality, but not under the title of king; enjoying the high prieſt-hood three and twenty years more, beſides the other nine before ſpoken of. At the end of this term, Barzopharnes, and Pacorus, great men, and generals for the Parthians, paſs'd the Euphrates, and made war upon Hyrcanus, took him alive, and carried him away priſoner; advancing Antigonus the ſon of Ariſtobulus to the crown, who in three months after, was taken in Jeruſalem by Herod and Soſius; And then by the command of Anthy, put to death at Antioch.

Herod having now receiv'd the kingdom from the Romans, made no longer any ſcruple of chuſing the high-prieſts out of the Aſſamonean race; but conferr'd the honour indifferently upon perſons, tho' never ſo obſcure, provided they were but in holy orders; ſaving only in the caſe of Ariſtobulus; for he made choice of him, being the grandchild of Hyrcanus, who was taken by the Parthians, and the brother of his wife Mariamne, to ingratiate himſelf with the people, who had the memory of Hyrcanus in great veneration. He was, in fine, ſo generally well belov'd, that Herod grew jealous of him, and drowned him at Jericho by a contrivance, ſwimming in a fiſh-pool; as we have ſaid heretofore. After this time he would never confer the pontificate upon any of the Aſſamonean family. His ſon Archelaus took the ſame meaſures too, and ſo did all the Romans after him, that came to be governors of the province. From the days of Herod, in fine, to the burning of Jeruſalem and the temple by Titus, there were in all eight and twenty high-prieſts that govern'd in the whole for the ſpace of a hundred and ſeven years; ſome of them under Herod and Archelaus, his ſon. But after their death, the government was Ariſtocratical, and the ſovereignty lodg'd in the pontificate; of which we have ſpoken ſufficiently already.

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‡ This paſſage appears at firſt view, ſomewhat obſcure, and the two laſt diſtinctions may, perhaps to ſome readers, ſeem confounded: but by the monarchical Joſephus here means that form of government which obtain'd among the Jews under the judges, concerning which, and the reſt; ſee Selden de Synedr. Heb. l. II. c. XV. p. 393, 396.

CHAP. IX.

Geſſius Florus ſucceeds Albinus, the husband of Cleopatra. Florus worſe than Albinus. The character of Florus. The beginning of the war. The hiſtory of the Jews, from the creation of the world to the 12th of Nero. Joſephus promiſes the hiſtory of the wars.

Geſſius Florus ſucceeds Albinus.

†GESSIUS FLORUS the ſucceſſor of Albinus to the government of Judea, by the appointment of Nero, was the man that made the Jews perfectly miſerable. He was by birth a Clazomenian, and the husband of Cleopatra, whom he brought along with him; a woman every jot as bad as himſelf. It was by her intereſt in the empreſs Poppea, that he obtain'd this dignity, which he abuſed afterwards to ſuch a degree, that the Jews would have accounted it a bleſſing if they could but have chang'd him for Albinus again; for tho' he had as much malice and miſchief in him as his heart and head would hold, he carried it cloſe and as private as he could yet: Whereas Florus on the contrary made an open profeſſion and oſtentation of his wickedneſs; as if it had been the buſineſs of his commiſſion to undo the nation. He was rapacious beyond meaſure, inexorably cruel, and ſo inſatiably covetous, that where there was any thing to be gotten, much, or little, nothing came amiſs to him. He went ſhares with the thieves, which gave a kind of authority to the trade, when they knew beforehand they could compound the robbery for ſuch a part of the booty. The oppreſſion, in fine, was ſo intolerable, that the miſerable Jews were forced to abandon their habitations, their country, and their altars, and to fly for ſanctuary to the moſt barbarous of ſtrangers. But without any more words, it was Florus alone that forced us upon a war with the Romans, in a reſolution rather to fall all together, than periſh one by one, with infamy and ſcorn. It was in the ſecond year now of Florus's government, and the twelfth of Nero's, when the war began; and whoever has a mind to be particularly inform'd in the hiſtory of what he did and ſuffer'd through the courſe of that war, ſhall but need to read over the books we have written upon that ſubject.

The husband of Cleopatra.

Florus worſe than Albinus.

The character of Florus.

The beginning of the war.

I am now come to the end of my Antiquities, which I have brought down from the creation of the world to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, in an hiſtorical deduction of what had befallen the Jews through ſo many ages; as in Egypt and Syria; what they ſuffered under the Aſſyrians and Babylonians; how they were treated by the Perſians and Macedonians; and how, laſt of all, by the Romans. I have alſo given an accurate and an orderly account of the conſtant and continued ſucceſſion of our high-prieſts for the ſpace of two thouſand years. And ſo likewiſe for the deſcent of our kings, and the courſe of other forms of government, as they ſucceeded one after another: their powers, adminiſtration, and affairs: All which I have faithfully extracted from the authority of holy writ, as I promiſed at the firſt entrance upon this work.

The hiſtory of the Jews from the creation of the world to the 12th of Nero.

And I ſhall be bold to ſay this further, that no man living, my ſelf excepted, whether Jew or ſtranger, could have given the Greeks ſo juſt, and ſo punctual an account upon the whole matter, as I have done. For, without vanity, my own country-men will allow me to be as well read in the Moſaical law as any man. And then for my skill in the Greek tongue, I have ſtudied the Grammar, and the critical proprieties of it as much as another; but for the nicety of the accent in the perfection of pronouncing it, the ſpeaking of ſeveral languages, is a thing that our people neither practiſe nor value; but look upon it as a kind of a prophane ſtudy common to ſlaves as well as to gentlemen. The only wiſdom and learning, in fine, that we reckon upon, is a due application to the knowledge of our laws, and the holy ſcriptures, and a right underſtanding of them: An excellency that ſome two or three perhaps, of all that ever offer'd at it, have ſucceeded in to their honour and ſatiſfaction.

It will not be amiſs now at laſt, I hope, to ſay ſomewhat of myſelf: That is to ſay, of my family, and of the actions of my whole life; while there are people yet living, either to witneſs the truth of things, or to diſprove me. So that I ſhall now put an end to my Antiquities, as they are here compriſed in twenty books, and ſixty thouſand lines. And I do intend further, God willing, to draw up a ſhort relation of the whole war, from the beginning to this very day; being in the thirteenth year of the reign of Domitian, and of my age the ſix and fiftieth. * I have propounded alſo to write of the Jewiſh opinions, in four books concerning God himſelf, and his nature; and likewiſe of our laws, why ſome things are permitted by them, others forbidden.

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† Voſſius, in his notes upon Catullus, reads Geſtius, or Ceſtius Florus.

* If we point theſe words in the original otherwiſe, they may be according to Epiphanius Scholaſticus, tranſlated thus: "I have propounded alſo to write of the Jewiſh ſects in four books; of God himſelf and his nature; "and of our laws; why ſome things are allow'd by them, and others forbidden.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
TO
EPAPHRODITUS:
IN ANSWER TO
APION, about the ANTIQUITY of the JEWS.

BOOK I.

I HAVE ſaid enough already in my JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, to ſatisfy my readers beyond all doubt, moſt excellent Epharoditus, that the Jews are a very antient people, and a nation indebted to themſelves for their orignal; beſide that they have kept up their claim from the beginning to this very day. This is no more than what I have made undeniably appear in a juſt hiſtory of five thouſand years, writ in Greek, drawn from the authority of holy writ itſelf: And all this is too little yet, either to ſecure me, the author of that piece, from calumny and reproach, or the whole ſtory at length from the vanity of a fable. For, ſay they, if the race of the Jews were ſo illuſtrious as Joſephus makes it, how comes it that none of the Greek hiſtorians of the beſt credit, ever took any notice of it? Now this being the caſe, I cannot do my ſelf a more neceſſary right, than in the firſt place, with all poſſible brevity, to confute and correct my malicious enemies, ſecondly, to inform and inſtruct the ignorant; and thirdly, to lay open indifferently to all lovers of truth, the naked ſtate of the matter. As for my authorities, I ſhall make uſe of none but of an undeniable reputation among the Greek writers: And for thoſe that have either ſpitefully, or ignorantly traduced me, or my writings, I ſhall overthrow their pretenſions out of their own mouths. I ſhall likewiſe ſhew how it comes to paſs, that the Greeks in general have made ſo little mention of us; and then for the reſt in particular, that they either knew nothing at all in reality, or at leaſt pretended to know nothing at all of the matter in queſtion.

The Jewiſh antiquities, a hiſtory of 5000 years.

What mov'd Joſephus to write this hiſtory.

THERE are a ſort of people ſo ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to the Greeks, that they make them the only oracles to be conſulted for the faith and credit of hiſtory, to the contempt and diſparagement of all other men and nations. Now I cannot but infinitely wonder at the confidence of theſe ſmatterers in antiquities, in theſe caſes where both reaſon and fact are directly againſt them. Wherefore we are not to govern our ſelves by this or that man's opinion, but by the weight and the intrinſick value of the thing itſelf. As for the Greeks, I ſee little or nothing among them that is not novel, and of yeſterday, as we ſay, either in their buildings, arts, or laws, and in fine, the very uſe of hiſtory is but of late date among them: Whereas by their own confeſſion the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Phenicians, (to ſay nothing of ourſelves) have from time to time recorded, and tranſmitted down to poſte-

The Grecians are altogether for novelties.

The Egyptians, &c. a people of antiquity and credit.

rity the memorials of paſt ages, in monumental pillars and inſcriptions, according to the advice and direction of the wiſeſt men they had, for the perpetual memory of all publick tranſactions of moment, and to the end that nothing might be loſt: Beſide that theſe people living in a clear air, the very climate contributed to the preſerving of theſe antiquities from corruption and decay; which was quite otherwiſe with the Greeks in both reſpects, either of duration, or of order and appointment.

It is natural enough for thoſe that ſet up new ſtates or ſocieties, to fancy themſelves the greateſt maſters of that oeconomy under the ſun. Now as to the Greeks skill in letters, they came not only late to the bare pretence, but they are not at this very hour come up to the perfect underſtanding of the matter. The antiquity they boaſt of looks no farther backward than to the Phenicians; and they value themſelves upon the reputation of having had Cadmus for their firſt maſter: But ſo far are they from being able to produce, either in their temples, or publick regiſtries, any one authentick memorial of theſe times, that when it came afterwards to be a queſtion, whether the uſe of theſe letters were ſo much as known at the time of the Trojan war, it was carried in the negative, that there was no ſuch characters then in being. It is moſt certain that there is no Greek manuſcript extant that dates before the poem of Homer: And it is likewiſe as certain, that the Trojan war was over before that poem was written. Nay, and it will not be allow'd neither that Homer ever committed this piece of his to writing at all; but it paſs'd by tradition from one generation to another, like a ballad ſong that the people had got by rote, till in the end copies were taken of it from dictates by word of mouth; which was the true reaſon of ſo many contradictions and miſtakes in the tranſcripts.

The firſt inventors of letters.

No Greek manuſcript before Homer.

As for Cadmus the Mileſian, Acuſilaus, and other Greeks, who afterwards attempted hiſtory; theſe were all but very little before the Perſians inroad into Greece. And ſo for Pherecydes of Syros, Pythagoras, and Thales, who were the firſt among them, that ever philoſophiz'd upon divine and celeſtial matters, they do all unanimouſly own the Egyptians and the Chaldeans for their maſters; and for the little that we find publiſh'd in writing upon that point, however it may have the reputation of ſome antiquity, yet whether theſe men were the authors of it or not, remains to this day a queſtion.

How unreaſonable a thing is it for the Greeks now to appropriate to themſelves, not only the ſole knowledge of antiquity, but a pretence likewiſe before all others for men of hiſtorical faith, candor, and credit! Nay, is it not evident on the contrary, from their own works, that the hiſtory they deliver is not ſo much matter of fact, as conjecture and opinion; and that every man writes according to his fancy? Their authors ſtill claſhing one with another, and impoſing upon the world inconſiſtent reports, at the ſame time, of one and the ſame thing.

It would be tedious, and time loſt, to run through all the diſagreements betwixt Helanicus and Acuſilaus, in the matter of their genealogies; the differences betwixt Heſiod and Acuſilaus; to ſhew how many times over and over Ephorus hath given the lye to Hellanicus, Timeus to Ephorus, thoſe that came after Timeus, to Timeus himſelf, and, in fine, all to Herodotus.

Neither does Timeus agree any better with Philiſtus, or Callias, in their Sicilian hiſtories: Neither do the hiſtorians of Athens and Argos accord any better than the reſt, but fall foul one upon another. Now, in one word, what hiſtorical agreement are we to expect from the reporters of private actions and adventures, when even in the courſe and narration of the Perſian war, the moſt celebrated authors are at variance among themſelves! Nay, the truth and credit of Thucydides himſelf is called in queſtion upon ſeveral occaſions, tho' the moſt cautious, candid, and untainted hiſtorian of the age he wrote in.

Thucydides himſelf cenſured.

There may be many reaſons given for this diſagreement among the Greek authors, if a man would but apply himſelf to the finding of them out. But the two points that I lay the principal ſtreſs upon, are theſe. Firſt, the failing of the Greeks in not laying a timely foundation of hiſtory in records and memorials, to conſerve the memory of all great actions: For without theſe monumental traditions, poſterity is left at liberty to write at random; and to write falſe too, without any danger of being contradicted in the hiſtory of former times. Now this way of keeping publick regiſters hath been neglected, not only in other parts of Greece, but it was never heard of, even in Athens itſelf, where the people paſs by the name of earth-born, with a reſpect to their original, and value themſelves above all others, both for antiquity and letters. Draco's penal laws are univerſally allow'd antecedent in time to all other of their writings, tho' bearing date but a little before the tyrant Piſiſtratus. And what ſhall we ſay now to the Arcadians, who boaſt pretenſions to a priority alſo, tho' they came later to the uſe of letters than any of the reſt?

The Greeks divided, and the reaſons of it.

Now there being no lights or authorities extant, for a guide to thoſe that were deſirous to learn, or to ſet others right, that went either innocently or maliciouſly out of their way, how was it poſſible but hiſtorians muſt be divided and confounded among themſelves, eſpecially when truth is made the leaſt part of their buſineſs, how fairly ſoever they may profeſs and pretend to the contrary? They write, in effect, for popular applauſe; and if they can but get the reputation of good orators, no matter for diſcharging the part of honeſt men. Some write merely for fancy or humour, without any regard of juſtice to the ſtory; others in a panegyrical ſtrain, to curry favour with kings and ſtates; and there are ſome again who ſpend their time in calumniating the writings and the perſons of thoſe that went before them, thinking thereby to acquire a reputation; which is all contrary to the rule and office of an hiſtorian.

It is the infallible mark of a true and genuine hiſtory, when ſeveral writers agree in the ſame thing, time, and place; but the Greeks in contradicting one another, made that diverſity an argument of truth. If the queſtion betwixt them and us, were choice of words, or delicacy of ſtyle, we ſhould never diſpute the precedence with them; but for matter of fact and antiquity it is quite another caſe.

The certain marks of a true hiſtory.

The Grecians better orators than hiſtorians.

The antiquity and uſe of records.

The regiſters under the care of the prieſts.

The Egyptians and the Babylonians are known to have been very diligent and exact of old, in the marking of their accounts and annals. This way of regiſtring among the Egyptians, was the prieſts province, who took a great deal of care and pains, in the diſcharge of that duty. The Chaldeans did the ſame thing with the Babylonians; and the Phenicians, intermingling with the Greeks, inſtructed them alſo in the uſe of letters, for the government of life, and the upholding of publick traditions. But this being acknowledg'd on all hands, more diſcourſe upon it in this place would be needleſs. So that I ſhall only content myſelf to ſhew briefly, that our foreſathers provided at leaſt as well for the ſecuring of this order and regulation, if not better, than any that went before them, in charging the high-prieſts, and the prophets with this commiſſion; which practice has been continued with great integrity, to this very day: Nay, if I might ſpeak a bold word, I durſt almoſt pronounce that it ſhall never fail. For there was not only care taken from the beginning, to make choice of men of exemplary piety and virtue, for this function; (over and above that they were ſet apart alſo for the ſervice of the altar) but a proviſion was likewiſe made for preſerving the ſacerdotal race, untainted with any prophane or adulterate mixture; for no man is qualify'd for the office of a prieſt whoſe mother was not of a prieſtly extraction; and therefore, without any regard to wealth or honour, whoever pretends to the prieſthood muſt prove his deſcent in a right line, by a multitude of witneſſes.

Cuſtoms about marriages, and pedigrees.

And this rule holds not only in Judea, but wherever our people are diſpers'd over the face of the whole earth; as in Egypt, and and Babylon; and all over the world; in fine, where our prieſts make it a point of conſcience only to intermarry with their own tribes. In this caſe they ſend, from the father to Jeruſalem, the name of the woman they have a mind to marry, with a draught of her pedigree, well and ſufficiently atteſted. But in a time of war, (which many times falls out) as for inſtance in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, Pompey the great, and Quintilius Varus, and particularly within our own memory; in this caſe, the ſurviving prieſts reform and ſupply the old regiſters, compoſe new ones, and put the women that are left to the ſcrutiny of a ſtrict examination. The prieſts marry no captives, for fear of contracting a foreign mixture: and there can be no clearer proof of their integrity, than that the names of all our prieſts, in an uninterrupted ſucceſſion from father to ſon, have now ſtood upon record throughout a great tract of two thouſand years. If any one man among them falſifies or prevaricates, he is preſently forbidden the holy altar, and depoſed from the exerciſe of his function. In this method, we are certainly, and neceſſarily in the right. All men are not allow'd to write; and we meet with no contradictions in thoſe that do. As for thoſe unaccountable antiquities among the prophets, we look upon them as divine revelation rather than hiſtory: but for others who write the ſtory of their own times, the number of them is not very great, neither are they very repugnant one to another. But to come to my buſineſs.

Twenty two books of holy writ.

I Reckon only upon two and twenty books that we are bound to believe; and thoſe two and twenty books comprize the hiſtory of the world from the beginning of it to this day; five books of theſe two and twenty, treat of the creation of the world and the generation of mankind, and ſo to the death of Moſes, in a ſeries of little leſs than three thouſand years.

The hiſtory of the Bible.

From the death of Moſes to the reign of Artaxerxes, the ſon of Xerxes, and the king of Perſia, every one of our prophets wrote the hiſtory of the age he liv'd in, comprehending the whole in thirteen books; the other four books containing holy hymns and moral precepts. There is alſo a courſe of hiſtory * from Artaxerxes to this inſtant, which we look upon with great veneration, but incomparably ſhort of what we aſcribe to the other, for want of the ſucceſſional line and deſcent of the prophets to make it ſtill more authentick and ſacred. As for the other works, we give as much credit to them, as we would do to our own eyes; having been thus long in the world without any attempt upon them, either to add or to diminiſh; nay, or but ſo much as to transform, or to diſguiſe them. But we ſet a value upon theſe writings, as divine; we call them ſo, and we are train'd up from the very cradle to meditate, to obſerve, and to maintain them as ſuch, and, finally, to ſuffer death chearfully in their defence rather than forſake them.

The bravery of the Jews above the Grecians.

How many are there of our captive countrymen, at this day, ſtruggling with all manner of deaths, and labouring under exquiſite torments, contending in the theatres with beaſts and more brutal men! And what's their crime, but that they will not renounce their country's laws, and blaſpheme the God of their fore-fathers? When did ever any of the Greeks ſtand ſuch a trial of their honour and courage? a people that would rather ſuffer all the writings they have in the world to be deſtroy'd, than expoſe their perſons to the leaſt danger for their preſervation. But alas! they look upon all that is ſacred of that kind, to be no more than words of courſe. And this is the caſe even of the beſt of their hiſtorians. For they take upon them to write hiſtory without any privity many times to the fact, or ſo much as either conſulting or believing thoſe that have been upon the place, and parties to the action. What extravagant uncouth hiſtories of our late wars have we ſeen publiſh'd, by perſons that never came within diſtance of underſtanding one ſyllable of the matter! But if they can patch up a medley of fancy and hear-ſay, they have the confidence to ſet up preſently for hiſtorians of the firſt rate.

Hiſtorians upon gueſs and hearſay.

But this is not yet the caſe of my hiſtory; for I have deliver'd nothing but upon ocular teſtimony and certain knowledge; and having the means of informing myſelf in every thing that paſs'd, I have been likewiſe as faithful in the report of things, as I was juſt and accurate in the ſcrutiny. I had a command in Galilee, ſo long as our people were able to defend themſelves againſt the Romans; but it was my fortune, in the end, to be made a pri-

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* Our author here means the books of the Apocrypha.

ſoner, and carry'd in cuſtody to Veſpaſian and Titus, who order'd me at firſt to be kept bound, with a commiſſion at the ſame time to obſerve and to inſpect what was done; but I was afterwards ſet at liberty, and went abroad with Titus from Alexandria, upon occaſion of the ſiege of Jeruſalem.

Joſephus's undeniable authority for what he ſays.

There was nothing at that time eſcap'd my knowledge. The motions of the army were all open to me, and no care wanting on my part, to repreſent every thing with the greateſt exactneſs: and ſo for the ſtate of the city, I had it from priſoners and deſerters, with the emperor's expreſs order to take them all into my particular care and aſſiſtance. I made the beſt, in fine, of my notes, and out of thoſe minutes, compil'd my hiſtory.

This hiſtory was compiled at Rome.

The foundation being now laid, and myſelf at Rome, and at leiſure, I took ſome friends to my aſſiſtance in the Greek tongue, and went on with my work; wherein I have diſcharg'd myſelf with that ſcrupulous nicety of candour and juſtice, that I dare ſay the generals themſelves, Veſpaſian and Titus, will vouch for me. Now theſe were the perſons to whom I made the firſt preſent of my book; and next after them, to certain noble Romans who commanded in the ſame war: others I ſold to ſuch of our own party as I found well skill'd in the Greek language; as Julius, Archelaus, the incomparable Herod, and the moſt excellent king Agrippa; who do all acquit me with one voice, that I have behav'd myſelf like a faithful hiſtorian, and would undoubtedly have expos'd the abuſe, if I had either left out or put in any thing through ignorance, or for favour. And now ſome people treat me as a cheat, as they would do a boy at ſchool, upon the declamatory, betwixt trifling and detraction: but they never conſider, that whoever takes upon him to tell the truth, he ſhould make ſure in the firſt place to know it himſelf, and that muſt be done either by himſelf or with the help of another; and I have already gone both theſe ways to work.

He appeals to the generals themſelves, and ſeveral great officers for the truth of it.

Joſephus treated as an impoſtor.

He reaſons the caſe and clears himſelf.

As for my antiquities, I have, in the quality of a prieſt, and in the way of my profeſſion, extracted them out of the holy ſcripture, and digeſted them into a methodical order. But in the hiſtory of the war I was an actor in ſome caſes, a ſpectator in others, and, upon the whole matter, a ſtranger to nothing that was either done or ſaid. How ſhameleſs an impudence is it now for theſe people to contend with me for the truth: nay, putting the caſe as they pretend, and that they have indeed had the ſight of Titus's and Veſpaſian's journals, what does this ſignify to the invalidating of my hiſtory, in a point where the Roman generals were abſolute ſtrangers to the matter?

This digreſſion was but neceſſary, to ſhew what a ſort of hiſtorians we are like to have, if this liberty goes forward. But there is enough ſaid, I think, to ſatisfy any man, that the very Barbarians themſelves ſtand fairer for the dignity and reputation of that pretence than the Greeks.

The Greeks will have the Jews to be upſtarts.

I come now to a ſort of people that will have the Jews to be novel, and no better than upſtarts; becauſe the Greeks, they ſay, make no mention of us. I ſhall then cite my authorities out of books writ by authors of other nations, whereby it will appear with what little reaſon our adverſaries advance ſo falſe and ſcandalous an aſſertion.

As to the place of our habitation or abode, we live in a midland-country; and for the matter of trade and travel, we never trouble our heads upon either of thoſe two accounts. Our cities lie remote from the ſea; the ſoil fruitful, and well dreſs'd and cultivated. Our greateſt care is for the maintenance and education of our children, and to have them train'd up to piety, and in obedience to the laws of our country: and this is it we reckon upon as the main buſineſs of our lives. After all this, we have a peculiar way of living to ourſelves, which gives us to underſtand that in times paſt we had no communication with the Greeks; as the Egyptians and Phenicians had: and ſo had others alſo, by a common tie of navigation, trade and commerce, for the advancing of their fortunes. Neither did our predeceſſors make inroads upon their neighbours, as other people have done, for the enlarging of their eſtates; tho' they wanted neither numbers nor courage, to be dangerous and troubleſome, if they would have ſhewn themſelves quarrelſome.

Thus it was that the Phenicians became known to the Greeks; and by them the Egyptians, and other traders into Greece. After theſe, the Medes and Perſians, who having gotten into the command of Aſia, the Perſians carry'd the war into Europe. The Thracians became known by neighbourhood; the Scythians, by holding a correſpondence with thoſe that uſe the Pontus; and ſo all along the eaſtern and the weſtern ſea, the people could not fail being taken notice of by hiſtorians. But for thoſe who lived remote from the ſea, far into the continent, they were unſeen and unheard-of for many ages: And this is no more than what happened in Europe too; when after an eſtabliſhment of the Roman power and greatneſs, and ſo many wars waged, and conqueſts obtained by them, yet neither Herodotus nor Thucydides, or any other of their contemporaries, ever made ſo much as the leaſt mention of this mighty empire; till the diſcovery of it came at length to the Greeks, and with very much ado.

A notorious blunder of a famous hiſtorian.

But what will become of common writers, when Ephorus himſelf, the flower of the whole choice, ſhall be guilty of ſuch a blunder as this, for example, that I am about to tell you? He takes upon him to give an account of the Gauls and Iberians, and makes the kingdom of Spain itſelf, with the vaſt continent it ſtands upon, to be no more than one ſtate; and ſo impoſes upon us for the hiſtory of the place, things that were never done, ſaid, or heard of there. And whence comes this ignorance of the truth now, but from taking our aim at it out of diſtance? Or whence comes the other miſtake of the truth, but from an affectation of overdoing the truth itſelf?

And where's the wonder now for people that live ſtrangers to the world, and in a manner out of it, and under ſuch a reſerve as we do, not to furniſh matter for hiſtory?

Joſephus turns the Greeks reaſoning upon themſelves.

But what if I ſhould turn the Greeks way of reaſoning upon themſelves now, and conclude againſt the antiquity of their race, becauſe our books ſay nothing of it? would not ſuch an inference be exploded as ridiculous?

and would not the Greeks appeal to the writers of adjacent and neighbouring countries to vouch for them? Now if this be allow'd fair on the one ſide, why may it not with equal reaſon be ſo on the other? the Egyptians and the Phenicians, are the chief witneſſes that I ſhall make uſe of in this caſe; and there will be no ground neither of exception to the evidence: for the Egyptians are notoriouſly known to be our profeſſed enemies, and ſo are the Phenicians, particularly thoſe of Tyre. But the Chaldeans have a better opinion of us; as having been in time paſt, under their command; and likewiſe for blood, as well as for country-ſake, they make honourable mention of us in their chronicles.

Joſephus appeals to the Greek hiſtorians themſelves.

The teſtimony of Manetho, an Egyptian writer.

WHEN I ſhall have cleared my countrymen from this calumny of the Greeks, and diſcharg'd all the abominable ſlanders they have caſt upon us, it will be then time to ſee what the Greek hiſtorians ſay of us themſelves, without leaving room for any farther cavil. To begin now with the Egyptians, (who are not looked upon to be any great friends of ours) there is one Manetho, an Egyptian by birth, and well skill'd in the Greek, as appears by a Greek hiſtory he extracted out of the holy ſcriptures about the Jewiſh religion. This Manetho falls foul upon Herodotus, in many places, for belying the Egyptians thro' the ignorance of their ways and cuſtoms; and in the ſecond book of his hiſtory, he delivers himſelf as follows. I make uſe of his very words, as if his perſon were here preſent to make good his teſtimony.

"WE had a king whoſe name was Timeus; and in his reign we fell, beyond all imagination, under God's heavy diſpleaſure. There came pouring in upon us a rugged robuſt people out of the eaſt, that made an inroad into the province; and there encamping, took it by force, and carry'd all before them without ſo much as a ſtroke, putting our princes in chains, cruelly laying our cities in aſhes, demoliſhing our temples, and miſerably oppreſſing our inhabitants; ſome cut to pieces, and others, with their wives and children, ſent away into bondage. After all this, they ſet up a king from among themſelves, whoſe name was Salatis.

Salatis breaks in upon, and over-rules the Egyptians.

"THIS new king advanc'd to Memphis, and having ſubjected both the upper and the lower provinces, and put gariſons into all tenable places, he fortify'd to the eaſtward in a more eſpecial manner, for fear of an invaſion from the Aſſyrians, whom he look'd upon as the ſtronger of the two. He found in the country of Saites, a city formerly call'd Abaris, which was ſituated very conveniently for his purpoſe, to the eaſt of the river Bubaſtis. This city he improv'd and repair'd, and fortify'd it with ſtrong works and walls, aud a body of two hundred and forty thouſand men to cover it. He made choice of harveſt-time for the execution of his deſign, with a regard both to the plenty of the ſeaſon for proviſions, and to the means alſo of paying his ſoldiers, and to the ſecuring of himſelf likewiſe againſt all aſſaults, or invaſions, by his excellent diſcipline and conduct.

The ſucceſſors of Salatis.

"SALATIS dy'd, having reigned nineteen years, and was ſucceeded by one Benion, who govern'd forty four years. After him came Apachnas, and reigned ſix and thirty years, and ſeven months. Apophis came next, and ruled ſixty years and one month; Janias, fifty years and one month; and laſt of all came Aſſis, who rul'd forty nine years and two months. Theſe ſix were the firſt kings, and perpetually in war to exterminate the Egyptians, root and branch. The people were called HYCSOS; that is to ſay, king-ſhepherds; for HYC, in the holy tongue, is as much as king, and SOS, according to the vulgar, is a ſhepherd: So that HYCSOS is taken as a compound. Some will have it that theſe people were Arabians. According to ſome other copies, HYC does not ſignify king-ſhepherd, but ſhepherd-captive; for HYC and HAC, with an aſpiration, ſounds in Egyptian, as much as captive; and it ſeems to me the more reaſonable interpretation of the two, as it ſuits better with the ancient hiſtory.

A people called HYCSOS, or king-ſhepherds.

"WE have it upon the credit of the ſame author, that when theſe —— (call them what you will) kings, or ſhepherds, and their train, had kept the government of Egypt in their own hands for the ſpace of five hundred and eleven years, the king of Thebes, and the remainder of Egypt, that was not as yet ſubjected, made a violent and an obſtinate war upon the ſhepherds, and routed them, under the command of king * Aliſfragmuthoſis: And when the greateſt part of them were driven out of Egypt, the reſt withdrew into a place called Abaris, of ten thouſand acres in content; and this the ſhepherds, (according to Manetho) encloſed with a ſtrong ſubſtantial wall, that ſecur'd them all neceſſaries within themſelves. He ſays further, that Thumoſis the ſon of Aliſfragmuthoſis, laid ſiege to it with four hundred and eighty thouſand men: But when he found that the place was not to be carry'd by aſſault, they came to conditions, upon articles to depart Egypt, and a ſafe convoy to go whither they would. Upon theſe terms they march'd out with their goods and families, to the number of two hundred and forty thouſand ſouls, by the way of the wilderneſs into Syria; and for fear of the Aſſyrians, who were then maſters of Aſia, they retir'd into a country that is now known by the name of Judea; where they erected a city large enough to receive this vaſt multitude, and call'd it Jeruſalem."

The ſhepherds routed and driven out of Egyp into Judea.

The building of Jeruſalem.

THE ſame Manetho tells us in another book of his Egyptian hiſtory, "That he finds theſe people, in books of great authority, diſtinguiſh'd by the name of captive-ſhepherds; our anceſtors having been brought up to grazing, and from that paſtoral employment, taking the name of ſhepherds. They reckon that they had ſome ground for calling them captives too; for it was by that name that our father Joſeph made himſelf known to the king of Egypt, when he obtain'd permiſſion to ſend for his brethren. But of this more particularly elſewhere." So that it will be ſufficient at preſent to conſult the teſ-

Why call'd ſhepherds, and captives.

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* Al. Miſphragmuthoſis. See Marſham's Chronicon.

Manetho confirms the teſtimony of Joſephus. The ſucceſſors of Thumoſis, king of Egypt.

timonies of the Egyptians, upon this ſubject, and to hear Manetho over again in his own words, about the time when this happened.

“King * Thumoſis reign'd five and twenty years and four months, from the departure of the ſhepherds out of Egypt, to the building of Jeruſalem. His ſon Chebron took the kingdom after him, and govern'd thirteen years; and after him, Amenophis, twenty years and ſeven months; his ſiſter Ameſſes, one and twenty years and nine months; her ſon Mephres, twelve years and nine months; his ſon Mephramuthoſis, five and twenty years and ten months; his ſon Thumoſis nine years and eight months; his ſon Amenophis, thirty years and ten months; his ſon Orus, thirty ſix and five months; his daughter Acencheres, twelve and one month; Rathotis her brother, nine years; his ſon Acencheres, twelve and five months; another Acencheres his ſon, twelve years and three months; his ſon Armais, four and one month; his ſon Armeſis, one year and four months; his ſon Rameſſes Miamun, ſixty ſix and two months; Amenophis, nineteen and ſix months. Sethoſis, having rais'd a great force both at ſea and land, conſtituted his brother Armais lieutenant-general of Egypt, and veſted him with all ſovereign powers and privileges, the wearing of the crown excepted; and with a caution not to oppreſs the queen or her family, nor to intermeddle with the king's concubines.

Sethoſis makes his brother Armais lieutenant-general; and over-runs the country.

“Sethosis, upon this, march'd up to Cyprus and Phenicia, and ſo forward to the Medes and Aſſyrians, conquering ſtill as he went; ſome by the ſword, others by the very terror and reputation of his arms. He was ſo elevated by his ſucceſſes, that he ſtopt at nothing; but laying all waſte to the eaſtward, he carry'd the whole country before him. While this was doing, his brother Armais, without any difficulty or ſcruple, broke faith with his brother in Egypt, and did juſt the contrary to what he ſhould have done. He expell'd the queen, abus'd the king's concubines, and, at the inſtance and advice of his falſe friends, aſſum'd the crown, and took up arms againſt his brother. The Egyptian high-prieſt gave Sethoſis notice of all theſe indignities from time to time: Upon which advice, the king came immediately back again by the way of Peluſium, and made good his government. From this prince the country took the name of Egypt; for Sethoſis was alſo call'd Egyptus, and his brother Armais nam'd likewiſe Danaus.”

Armais breaks his articles.

Thus far goes Manetho. And from hence it plainly appears, upon a clear computation, that our predeceſſors, otherwiſe known by the name of ſhepherds, left Egypt three hundred ninety three years before ever Danaus went to Argos; tho' the Greeks value themſelves mightily upon the antiquity of that prince. Wherefore Manetho advances two great points for us, out of the Egyptian writings; one, that our forefathers came over to the Egyptians from ſome other place; the other, that they were gone again almoſt a thouſand years before the ſiege of Troy. As for ſome other reports of Manetho, that he has ſuperadded; not out of the Egyptian memorials, but by his own confeſſion, from ſtories without authors; I ſhall take my time to ſhew that thoſe fancies are nothing more than fables and fictions without any ground. But we ſhall ſee now what account the Phenicians have given the world of this matter. There are among the Tyrians, publick records of great antiquity; and they are ſo carefully preſerv'd too, that nothing eſcapes the regiſtry that is worth the remembring. They make mention, among ſeveral other conſiderable paſſages concerning ourſelves, of king Solomon's erecting a temple at Jeruſalem, an hundred forty three years and eight months before their predeceſſors built Carthage; deſcribing alſo the very model of the temple.

Manetho clears two great points.

Tyrian records of great antiquity.

Solomon's temple built long before Carthage.

Hiram, the king of Tyre, had ſo great a friendſhip and eſteem for David, that he lov'd his ſon Solomon the better, even for the father's ſake; and as an inſtance of the value he had for him, made him a preſent of an hundred and † twenty talents of gold, toward the ornament of the fabrick, and furniſh'd him with the choiceſt wood from mount Libanus, for the roof and wainſcot. Neither was Solomon wanting on the other hand, in a magnificent return: As, among other acknowledgments, he made him a preſent of Zabulon and Naphthali. But the love of wiſdom was the chief inducement to that tenderneſs of friendſhip betwixt them. They exchang'd problems one with another, to be reſolved; in the ſolution of which, Solomon approv'd himſelf the better skill'd, and had the preference. There are extant among the Tyrians to this day, divers copies of the letters that paſs'd betwixt them; and for confirmation of what I ſay, I ſhall appeal to Dius an hiſtorian, among the Phenicians, of an unqueſtionable credit, and in his own words.

The king of Tyre, and Solomon dear friends.

The teſtimony of ſeveral famous hiſtorians, as Dius, a Tyrian, for one.

“Hiram the ſon of Abibal, ſucceeded his father in the government. He repair'd and improv'd divers cities in the eaſtern parts of his dominion; enlarged Tyre, and, by the help of a dam, join'd it to the temple of the Olympian Jupiter, ſtanding in an Iſland, and beautify'd it with many donatives. After this, he went up to mount Libanus, to cut down wood for temples.

Hiram, the ſon of Abibal, ſucceeded his father.

“We have a report that Solomon the king of Jeruſalem, and Hiram, interchang'd certain riddles to be unfolded, upon condition, that he that fail'd of the ſolution, ſhould incur a forfeiture; and that Hiram, finding the queſtion too hard for him, paid the penalty. But one Abdemonus, a Tyrian, after this, reſolved the ſaid queſtion, and propos'd new ones for Solomon to interpret, upon the penalty of paying ſo much to Hiram.” This is the ſubſtance of what Dius ſays upon this ſubject.

I shall come now to Menander, the Epheſian; an author that has made a collection out of hiſtorical memorials, of the lives and actions of princes both Greek and Barbarians. Which, for the better authority of the work, he hath extracted from the records of the ſe-

Menander an Epheſian.

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* Gr. Τέθμωσις.

† An hundred and twenty Jewiſh talents weighed thirteen thouſand ſix hundred eighty ſeven pounds ſix ounces; and their value in gold amounted to ſix hundred fifty ſeven thouſand pounds Engliſh money.

veral places of which he treats; and having paſs'd through the ſucceſſion of the Tirian kings as far as Hiram, thus he goes on.

“ Upon the death of Abibal, his ſon Hiram came to the crown, and liv'd to enjoy it thirty four years. This prince threw up a huge mount that join'd Eurychorus to the city of Tyre, and dedicated a golden pillar to Jupiter, which was there depoſited in his temple. He went after this, into a foreſt, to a mountain call'd Libanus, where he cut down all the cedar for roofs for temples; demoliſhing the old buildings, and raiſing others. One he dedicated to Hercules, another to Aſtartus; the former in the month Peritius, and the other when he march'd againſt the Tityans, for not paying their taxes: but upon the reducing of them, he preſently return'd.

“ Hiram had at this time a young man, a ſervant in his houſe, whoſe office it was to expound Solomon's riddles, and his name was Abdemonus. From this king's time now to the building of Carthage, the computation lies thus.

The pedigree of Hiram.

“ Balleazar the ſon of Hiram, ſucceeded his father, and dy'd in the forty third year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign. The next was Abdaſtartus, the ſon of Beleazar; who dy'd in the twentieth of his life, and the ninth of his reign; this prince was murder'd by his nurſe's four ſons, and the eldeſt of them govern'd twelve years in his place: and after him, came Aſtartes the ſon of * Deleaſtartus, who liv'd ſixty ſix years, and reign'd twelve. After him came his brother † Aſerymus, who liv'd fifty four years, and reign'd nine, and was murder'd by his brother Phelles; who took the government upon him in the fiftieth year of his age, and after a reign of eight months, was ſlain by one ‡ Ithobalus a prieſt of the goddeſs * Aſtarte; who liv'd to the age of ſixty eight years, and rul'd thirty two. His ſon Badezor ſucceeded him, who liv'd forty five years, and reign'd ſix: and then his ſon † Matgenus liv'd two and thirty years and reign'd nine. The next was Pygmalion, who liv'd fifty ſix years, and govern'd forty. It was in the ſeventh year of his reign, that his ſiſter Dido built Carthage in Africa. So that from the time of Hiram to the erecting of Carthage, we account a hundred fifty five years and eight months. Now taking for granted that the temple of Jeruſalem was built in the twelfth of king Hiram, it makes a hundred forty three years and eight months, from the raiſing of the temple to the building of Carthage.”

Can any thing be clearer now, or more pertinent to our purpoſe than this teſtimony of the Phenicians? for our anceſtors were undoubtedly come into Judea before they built a temple in it; and that temple was not built neither, till they had made themſelves maſters of the country by the ſword; as I have made appear abundantly out of holy writ in my hiſtory of the Jews.

The Chaldean writers agree with the reſt.

We ſhall ſee now how far the Chaldeans agree with the reſt, in the juſtification of our hiſtory; and begin with Beroſus, a Chaldean by extraction, and an author of eminent credit with all lovers of letters, for the learned pieces of aſtronomy, and the Chaldean philoſophy, which he wrote in the Greek tongue.

Beroſus the hiſtorian treats of the deluge, &c.

This Beroſus, after the manner of the moſt ancient hiſtorians treats of the deluge, and the deſtruction of mankind, juſt as Moſes reports it: and of the ark alſo; and how the firſt father of our race was preſerv'd in it riding upon the mountains of Armenia. He runs thro' the genealogy likewiſe of the ſons of Noah; their names and their ages, and ſo carries on the train, from Noah himſelf to Nabulaſſar, the king of the Babylonians and Chaldeans, with an account of this king's exploits. He tells how he ſent his ſon Nabuchodonoſor with a mighty army into Egypt and Judea; where finding the people in rebellion, he broke in upon them; and when he had conquer'd them, and ſet fire to their temple at Jeruſalem, he return'd, carrying away our whole nation in captivity to Babylon. After this confuſion, the city lay deſolate for ſeventy years, till the days of Cyrus king of Perſia. He ſays likewiſe, that the Babylonians were in poſſeſſion of Egypt, Syria, Phenicia and Arabia; and the king much a greater prince than any of his predeceſſors. But we muſt not forget Beroſus in his own words: As for example.

Beroſus's account of Nabulaſſar and Nabuchodonoſor.

“ Nabulassar the father, ſays he, underſtanding that his deputy in Egypt, Cele-Syria, and Phenicia, was up in arms, being old himſelf, and paſt the fatigues of war, he ſent his ſon Nabuchodonoſor (in the vigour of his youth) at the head of a ſtrong army to bring him to reaſon. This prince encounter'd the rebel, defeated him, and recover'd all the provinces that were engaged in the revolt.

Nabuchodonoſor's kindneſs to the captive jews.

“ It happened at the ſame time that Nabulaſſar fell ſick at Babylon and dy'd, after a reign of nine and twenty years. It was not long before the ſon had notice of his father's death; whereupon he immediately ſettled his affairs in Egypt, and the reſt of the provinces; and committing the captive Jews, Phenicians and Syrians, that had been in Egypt, to the care of ſome particular confidents, to ſee them brought up to Babylon, together with the army and baggage, he himſelf, and a ſmall retinue along with him, took his journey for Babylon by the way of the deſart. Upon his arrival, he found all things diſpos'd to his wiſh; the Chaldeans, and all the great men declaring themſelves for his intereſt, and for the eſtabliſhing of him upon the throne of his father.

“ In this interim, while the priſoners were upon the way, he order'd them the moſt commodious lodgings of the city for their quarters, and all accommodations to be provided for them. The ſpoils of the war were apply'd with wonderful munificence, to the enriching and adorning of the temples: as that of Bel, and others. He cauſed to be erected a new town for an addition

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* Al. Beleaſtartus. † Al. Aſtarimus. ‡ Al. Ithobarus.

* She was a Phenician Goddeſs, and the ſame as Aſhtaroth in ſcripture, which denoteth ſheep or flocks, to whom in complaiſance to one of his concubines Solomon is ſaid to have built an altar. † Al. Methinus.

“to the old one; and to prevent the turning of the river the city ſtood upon, from the place, in caſe of a ſiege, they ran up a triple wall, part of it brick, and the reſt, of brick and bitumen, * about the whole. And after all theſe fortifications, ſuch gates as might have become the dignity of a temple. He built likewiſe a glorious palace near that of his father's, but incomparably beyond it, both for the vaſt capacity of it, and the expence. The deſcription of it would be too tedious; but it muſt not be omitted however, that this curious and admirable piece was the work of only fifteen days.

“THERE were in it alſo ſeveral artificial rocks, that had the reſemblance of mountains; with nurſeries of all ſorts of plants, and a kind of hanging garden, ſuſpended in the air by a moſt admirable curioſity of contrivance. This was to gratify his wife; who being brought up in Media, among the hills, and in the freſh air, found a relief in ſuch a proſpect.”

THIS is what Beroſus ſpeaks of this king; and there are ſeveral other things worth taking notice of in his Chaldean antiquities, where he blames the Greeks for making Semiramis, the queen of Aſſyria, to be the foundreſs of Babylon. Now Beroſus is the more credible in what he ſays, for coming up ſo near to the Phenician records about the king of Babylon, and his ſubjecting all Syria and Phenicia to his command. Philoſtratus ſays effectually the ſame thing in his ſiege of Tyre; and Megaſthenes, in the fourth book of his Indian hiſtory; where he makes this king of Babylon to have been a greater and a braver hero than Hercules himſelf; adding withal, over and above, that he ſubjected the greateſt part of Libya and Iberia to his dominion.

Beroſus concerning the temple of Jeruſalem.

As to what concerns the temple of Jeruſalem, we have the authority of Beroſus for it, that it was laid in aſhes by the Babylonians; and that Cyrus, who had at that time the abſolute command of Aſia, began afterwards to rebuild it; as the ſame Beroſus has it, in his third book, and in theſe words.

And the ſtory of Nabuchodonoſor.

“WHEN Nabuchodonoſor was juſt enter'd upon the third wall, in the forty third year of his reign, he fell ſick and dy'd. ‡ Evel-Marodoch his ſon ſucceeded him; but having made himſelf odious to the higheſt degree by his exorbitant luſts and oppreſſions, he was cut off by the treacherous practice of Niriglisſoror his ſiſter's huſband, in the ſecond year of his reign. After his death, the traitor advanc'd himſelf to the crown, and kept it four years. His ſon Laboreſardochus came very young to the government, and continu'd in it only nine months; being then deſtroy'd by the treachery, even of his very friends, who look'd upon him as a youth of vicious and very dangerous inclinations, and ſo took him out of the way. He was no ſooner diſpatch'd, but the conſpirators met; and ſo laying their heads together, choſe one Nabonidus for their king, being both a Babylonian, and of the ſame family. The walls about the river of Babylon, were finiſh'd by this prince.

Cyrus over-runs all Aſia.

“IN the ſeventeenth year of this king's reign, Cyrus, with a mighty army out of Perſia, over-ran all Aſia, and ſo marching directly towards Babylon, Nabonidus fairly met him in the field; fought him, and loſt the battle: only himſelf, and ſome few of his people got into the town of Borſippe. Cyrus was now before Babylon; making no doubt, but upon forcing the firſt wall, he might carry the place. But upon ſecond thoughts, finding his deſign impracticable, he quitted the ſiege, and went back to Borſippe, with a full reſolution to attack the place. But Nabonidus choſe rather to caſt himſelf upon Cyrus's mercy, than to ſtand the ſhock, and ſo upon his ſubmiſſion, Cyrus baniſh'd him out of Babylon, and put him in the quiet poſſeſſion of an eſtate in Caramania; where he ended his days in the condition of a private man.

Beroſus agrees with our books.

THESE words of Beroſus agree exactly with our books: That is to ſay, that Nabuchodonoſor deſtroy'd our temple in the eighteenth year of his reign; and in that condition it lay deſolate for ſeven years. In the ſecond year of king Cyrus, the foundations of it were laid anew; and in the ſecond of Darius, the whole was rebuilt. We ſhall now ſubjoin to the foregoing authorities, ſomewhat out of the Phenician hiſtories; for proofs can never be too many, provided they agree in chronology; and the computation ſtands thus.

And ſo do the Phenicians.

NABUCHODONOSOR laid a ſiege of thirteen years to Tyre, in the reign of king Ithobal. Baal came after him, and reigned ten years: and then they erected judges in the place of kings; as there was Ecnibalus the ſon of Baſlech, who govern'd two months; Chelbis the ſon of Abdeus, ten months; the high-prieſt Abbar, three months; † Mytgonus and ‖ Geraſtus Batus the ſons of Abdelimus, ſix years; and Balatorus among the reſt, one year; upon whoſe death they ſent for Merbalus from Babylon, who reigned four years; and upon his death they took his brother Iram, who govern'd twenty years, in whoſe time it was that Cyrus made himſelf maſter of the Perſian empire. Now all this put together, amounts to fifty four years and three months. It was in the ſeventh year of Nabuchodonoſor's reign, that he began the ſiege; and in the fourteenth of king Iram, that Cyrus had the empire: ſo that what the Chaldeans and the Tyrians deliver concerning our temple, does but farther verify our own writings upon that ſubject. Here is enough ſaid already to put the queſtion of our antiquity paſt any farther diſpute, unleſs men will be wilfully blind.

The Jews appeal to their very enemies.

BUT having to do with a people that will have all the world to be Barbarians but themſelves, and allow nothing for authentick, but upon the credit of their own authority; we have no other way than to make uſe of our very adverſaries, for witneſſes on our behalf againſt themſelves, and to appeal to Greek authors in our own juſtification.

Pythagoras.

THERE was one Pythagoras, a Samian, an eminent philoſopher, and the moſt celebrated man of his time for piety and wiſdom. This Pythagoras was not only well ſeen in our laws, but in many caſes a ſtrict obſerver of them,

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* Bitumen was a thick fat ſort of clay or ſlime, like pitch, found near Babylon, made uſe of in building, inſtead of mortar, its cement being of incredible ſtrength and duration. ‡ Scr. Evil-Merodach. † Al. Myttonus. ‖ Al. Geraſtus.

them, as moſt manifeſtly appears: Not from any thing that he ever wrote, but from what others knew, and reported concerning him.

Hermippus.

As Hermippus, for one; a very exact and careful hiſtorian. He tells a ſtory in the firſt book of his * Pythagoras, of one Calliphon of Croton, a particular confident of Pythagoras.

Calliphon.

This Calliphon dy'd, he ſays, and his ſoul would never let Pythagoras reſt, night nor day, for precepts and inſtructions. It gave him in charge not to paſs forward at any time where his aſs had ſtumbled, to abſtain from drinking muddy water, and to ſpeak ill of no man. And then he goes on, that this was in imitation of the Jews and the Thracians, with an application to himſelf. And it was truly ſaid; for this man incorporated divers cuſtoms of the Jews into his philoſophy.

Theophraſtus.

Our people were likewiſe ſo well known in places of note, in times long ſince paſt, that ſeveral cities do, to this day, retain our rites and faſhions; and others reckon them worth the imitation, as appears by Theophraſtus in his book of laws, where he ſpeaks of the Tyrian laws againſt ſwearing by any ſtrange God, naming the Corban among the prohibited oaths; that is to ſay, in Hebrew, the gift of God: And it is only to be found among the Jews.

Herodotus Halicarnaſſeus.

Herodotus Halicarnaſſeus was no ſtranger to our nation neither; for he makes ſome mention of us in his ſecond book: Where ſpeaking of the people of Colchos, he has this paſſage. "As to the matter of circumciſion, I find only the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians to have us'd it of old: But the Phenicians, and the Syrians in Paleſtine, own the uſe of it from the Egyptians. The Syrians, who border upon the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius, and their neighbours the Macronians, are reputed to have taken it up of late from the Colchians. There are no others that are circumcis'd: And they proceed after the manner of the Egyptians. But for the Egyptians and Ethiopians, I cannot ſay which had it of the other." Now this author is poſitive that the Syrians of Paleſtine are circumcis'd; whereas there are no people circumcis'd in Paleſtine but the Jews. Now ſpeaking this upon knowledge, it muſt neceſſarily be intended of the other.

Cherilus.

And then there's † Cherilus, an ancient poet, in an account he gives of the ſeveral nations that fought under Xerxes, the king of Perſia, againſt the Greeks, he makes mention of our people after all the reſt, in words to this effect:

These people, with an admirable grace,
Brought up the rear; their language Tyrian was;
Themſelves unknown, the mountains their abode,
By Solymus, that near a vaſt lake ſtood.
Their hair cut round, and their heads cover'd o'er
With head-pieces of tann'd horſe-hides they wore.

From hence it is evident, that ſpeaking of the mountains of Solyma or Jeruſalem, and of a huge lake at hand there, it can be underſtood of no other than the Jews who inhabit among thoſe mountains, and of the lake Aſphaltites, which is by much the largeſt in all Syria. And ſo much for Cherilus. Neither were the Jews barely known to the Greeks, or only to the common ſort of them, but likewiſe to their wiſe men and philoſophers of the firſt rank; and that with marks too of a ſingular friendſhip and eſteem.

Clearchus, a diſciple of Ariſtotle.

Clearchus, a diſciple of Ariſtotle, a peripatetick, and one of the greateſt men of the ſect, perſonates his maſter in the way of a dialogue with Hyperochides, in his firſt book of ſleep, upon the ſubject of a Jew of his acquaintance.

"It would be tedious, (ſays he) to run through the whole hiſtory of the people of the Jews; and therefore I ſhall only give you a taſte of this particular perſon's admirable wiſdom. Hyperochides made anſwer, That it would be the greateſt favour he could do them. Why then, (ſays Ariſtotle) I ſhall begin, according to the rules of art and method, with what concerns his original or profeſſion. He was a Jew of the lower Syria, of the race of a ſort of philoſophers that the Indians call Calani, and the Syrians call them Jews, from their country of Judea, where they live. Their capital city has a hard name, and they call it Jeruſalem. He was a perſon of great hoſpitality to travellers and ſtrangers; and no leſs conſiderable for his diſcourſes and good manners. It was my fortune to be in Aſia, with ſome diſciples of mine; and this heavenly man gave us ſeveral viſits there, to the high ſatisfaction and improvement of thoſe that underſtood the bleſſing of ſuch a converſation." This is the teſtimony of Clearchus, in favour of the Jews, though but by way of digreſſion.

This is the character, according to Clearchus, that Ariſtotle gave this Jew; over and above his wonderful temperance and moderation, in the government of his appetites and paſſions. They that have a mind to know more of him may read it in the original, without running out into ſuperfluities.

Hecateus the Abderite.

Hecateus the Abderite, a great man both for learning and buſineſs, being trained up with Alexander the Great, and living with Ptolemy king of Egypt, the ſon of Lagus, wrote an entire tract expreſly upon the ſubject of the Jews; from whence I ſhall briefly extract ſome paſſages that I find for my purpoſe, and begin with the timing of them.

He gives an account of a battle fought betwixt Ptolemy and Demetrius, near Gaza, eleven years after the death of Alexander, and in the hundred and ſeventeenth Olympiad, according to Caſtor. "It was in this Olympiad, (ſaid he) that Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus defeated Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus, otherwiſe called Poliorcetes, in a battle not far from Gaza." Now it is agreed on all hands, that Alexander dy'd in the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad, and it follows conſequently, that the Jews were a flouriſhing people in the days of that great prince.

Hecateus ſays farther, that after the battle of Gaza, "Ptolemy made himſelf maſter

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* Origen, who quotes the ſame place, makes it to be in α΄. Νομοθετῶν.

† See Wormius de Corrupt. antiquat. Hebr. apud Tacitum & Martialem veſtigiis. c. 21.

of Syria, and the adjacent places; and that people were ſo charm'd with Ptolomy's humanity and good-nature, that a great many follow'd him into Egypt, for the affability of his converſation. There was among the reſt, one Hezekias, a high-prieſt of the Jews, and a perſon of the firſt quality among his country-men: ſixty ſix years of age, a wiſe man, and a powerful ſpeaker; and one that underſtood the affairs of the world, as well as any man living. The ſame author ſays likewiſe, that the number of Jewiſh prieſts who received tenths, and liv'd all in common, were near fifteen hundred, or thereabout.

Hecateus's character of Hezekias, to the honour of the Jews.

And afterwards, ſpeaking again of the ſame Hezekias; "We had ſeveral meetings and conferences, (ſays he) with this great man and others about him; concerning our different cuſtoms, practices and opinions: Inſomuch that he carry'd us to his habitation, and inſtructed us in the manner of his people's government and diſcipline, which he ſhewed us in writing."

Hecateus proceeds next to the zeal and veneration we have for our laws; even to the degree of chuſing death, torments and all extremities; nay, and ſuffering cheerfully too, rather than be guilty of the leaſt violation of them. And then he goes on upon the ſubject of our patience, under ill uſage and reproach. "What indignities have theſe people endur'd (ſays he) from their neighbours? How have they been perſecuted by the Perſian kings and their officers, and yet ſtood firm to the laſt extremity againſt all trials? As for inſtance: The temple of Bel was fallen down at Babylon, and Alexander, being at that time upon the place, had a mind to repair it, and accordingly order'd all the ſoldiers to aſſiſt, in carrying timber and materials towards the advancing of the work. The Jews were the only people that refus'd, and were ſeverely puniſh'd for their diſobedience: But when the king ſaw nothing would work upon them, out of a generous tenderneſs for ſo brave a conſtancy, he gave them an exemption. Upon their return (ſays the author) into their own country, they demoliſh'd all the temples and the altars that they found erected to ſtrange gods: For which ſome of them were fin'd and puniſh'd, and others pardon'd." This hiſtorian enlarges then upon the wonderful ſteddineſs of our reſolutions, the vaſt multitudes of our people, the prodigious numbers that were carry'd away captives by the Perſians into Babylon, and others again, after the death of Alexander, tranſported into Egypt and Phenicia, upon occaſion of a ſedition in Syria. He ſpeaks likewiſe of the extent, the beauty and the fruitfulneſs of our country, (that is to ſay, of Judea) which he computes at near three millions of acres, and a moſt excellent and fruitful ſoil. And as to the city of Jeruſalem, the ſpaciouſneſs of it, the numbers of its inhabitants, and the model of the temple, he ſpeaks to this effect:

A deſcription of Jeruſalem.

"The Jews have in their poſſeſſion a great many towns, villages and ſtrong holds; but one city above all the reſt for largeneſs and ſtrength. It is accounted * fifty furlongs in compaſs, an hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, and the name of it Jeruſalem. In the middle of this city ſtands an incloſure of ſtone, an hundred † cubits about, and two mighty gates to it. Within this incloſure, is a quadrangular altar, made of unwrought ſtones that never any tool touch'd; the ſuperficies of it ‡ twenty cubits over, and the depth ‡‡ ten. Near about it there ſtands a ſpacious building, with a golden altar and candleſtick in it, of two talents weight; and lamps burning continually night and day. But for images, plants, groves, &c. as in other temples, there was no ſuch thing to be found. But there are prieſts that paſs their time there day and night in great purity, and they drink no wine at all." The ſame author again tells us an odd ſtory of a Jew, upon an expedition, who ſerv'd under one of Alexander's ſucceſſors, and theſe are his words:

"As I was travelling one time (ſays he) toward the Red Sea, there was one Moſollam in the company, a Jew, and one of our horſe guard, who was look'd upon to be very brave, and a famous markſman with a bow and arrow. As they were journeying together, a ſouthſayer, who took upon him to foretel the fortune of their voyage, bad them all ſtand, and they did ſo. This Jew ask'd them what they ſtood for? Look ye, (ſays the cunning man, and ſhew'd him a bird) if that bird ſtands, you are to ſtand: If it riſes and flies on, you are to go forward too; but if the bird takes its flight the contrary way, you muſt all go back again. The Jew, without any more words, lets fly an arrow and kills the bird. The diviner and his companions fell preſently upon the Jew, in moſt outrageous terms. Why certainly, (ſays the other) you are all mad, to make ſuch a buſtle about a fooliſh bird. How ſhould that poor wretch pretend to tell us our fortune, that knew nothing of its own? If this bird could have foreſeen good or evil to come, it would have kept itſelf out of the way of this arrow." But here's enough of Hecateus; and they that deſire more of him, may fetch it out of the book itſelf.

The power of imagination.

Only one word now out of Agatharchides; not as any friend of ours, but I take him in charity to be no malicious enemy. "He tells a ſtory how Stratonice caſt off her husband Demetrius, and paſs'd out of Macedonia into Syria, with a deſign to marry the king Seleucus. But Seleucus not anſwering her expectation, ſhe ſtirr'd up a commotion in Antioch, while he was with his army in Babylon. At his return he took Antioch, and Stratonice, making away for Seleucia, was taken, and it coſt her her life." Now her only courſe had been to have taken her paſſage by ſea: But ſhe was diverted from it by a dream. Agatharchides, reflecting upon Stratonice's ſuperſtition, takes an occaſion

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* Fifty furlongs were ſomething more than ſix miles and a quarter Engliſh meaſure.

† An hundred cubits amounted to ſomething more than one hundred eighty two Engliſh feet, that is threeſcore yards and two feet.

‡ Twenty cubits amounted to ſomething more than thirty ſix feet, that is, twelve Engliſh yards.

‡‡ Ten cubits were ſomething more than eighteen feet, that is, ſix Engliſh yards.

to treat more at large upon that topick; and ſo enters upon an invective againſt the Jews.

The ſtrictneſs of the Jewiſh ſabbath.

"THE people (ſays he) they call Jews, are poſſeſs'd of a city by the name of Jeruſalem, a place of an impregnable ſtrength. They have a cuſtom there of reſting the ſeventh day, without either bearing of arms or tilling the ground, or attending any common buſineſs whatſoever: But they employ it wholly in their temples, and upon their devotions, from the morning to the evening.

"PTOLEMEUS the ſon of Lagus made his advantage of this cuſtom, and enter'd the city with an army upon that day. And what was the conſequence of it? Why when the Jews ſhould have been defending their lives and liberties, their heads were altogether taken up with the ſuperſtitious foolery of not violating their ſabbath: And ſo they deliver'd themſelves up to an inſupportable tyranny, which taught them, by experience, the unwarrantable foundation of ſo pernicious a law: From hence it is that men fly to dreams and opinions; never conſidering that things neceſſary are not to be controul'd by human reaſon." This is Agatharchides's way of ridiculing our conduct: But whoſoever paſſes a ſober judgment upon the whole matter, will find the proceeding grounded upon the moſt glorious foundation of honour and virtue; for what can be more heroical than to poſtpone life and country to the duty we owe to God's holy laws and religion?

Agatharchides reflects upon it.

THERE are many hiſtorians, 'tis true, who liv'd in the ſame age with us, and yet ſay nothing of us; not out of ignorance, but envy rather, or ſome other ſpiteful paſſion, as will be made appear. Jerome was a co-temporary with Hecateus, and wrote a book entituled, Of the ſucceſſors of Alexander. He was the favourite of king Antigonus, and had the government of Syria. Now Hecateus wrote a complete volume of our affairs, and Jerome has not ſo much as one word of us, though we did in a manner draw the ſame air together. But men act according to their differing inclinations: Some are for tranſmitting the memory of the good things that are in us to poſterity; and others for ſuppreſſing them to the ſcandal even of truth itſelf.

The Jews juſtify'd.

BUT we are not yet without evidence, ſufficient to juſtify our claim to the antiquity we pretend to; which may eaſily be prov'd from the Egyptian, Chaldean and Phenician hiſtories, beſides the Greeks over and above: For, to omit thoſe before mention'd, there's Theophilus, Theodotus, Mnaſeas, *Ariſtophanes, Hermogenes, Euemerus, Conon, Zopyrion, and many others, perhaps more than I am aware of, who have particularly made mention of us. Now the greater part of theſe authors muſt undoubtedly be in the dark, as to the hiſtory of the firſt ages of the world, for want of the holy ſcriptures for their guide: But they all agree, however, in a common acknowledgment of our antiquity; and that's as much as we deſire. As for Demetrius Phalereus, the elder Philon, and Eupolemus, they are not much out of the way, and deſerve to be born withal, for want of the means of being better inform'd.

THERE is yet one article behind that I have oblig'd myſelf to clear; that is to ſay, I am to diſprove all the reproaches and ſcandals that have been caſt upon us, and to expoſe the authors of them upon the credit of their own witneſſes; for they have ſpoken as much againſt themſelves as againſt us. But the ſpite and partiality of paſſionate writers is no new thing to men converſant in hiſtory: Some exerciſe their malignity upon whole nations, cities, manners, &c. ſome, in ſhort, upon one thing, ſome upon another; as Theopompus did by the Athenians, Polycrates by the Lacedemonians, and the author of Tripoliticus (not Theopompus, as ſome imagin) did by the Thebans. Timeus hath been very foul alſo, both upon theſe people and others; and it is ſtill their way to derogate from what is moſt excellent. Some out of malevolence and envy, others to get themſelves a name by ſetting up for the authors of extravagant ſtories; by which means they paſs with fools for wiſe men, and with wiſe men for fools. This is their way of defaming the Jews; and, to gratify the Egyptians, they endeavour to blaſt the truth itſelf.

The Egyptians partial and prepoſſeſs'd.

THE Egyptians being known to be our enemies, there was no better way to gratify thoſe people, than to diſguiſe and falſify the ſtory, both of our forefathers coming into Egypt, and that of their going out again: for they hated and envy'd us for many reaſons. Firſt, for growing ſo powerful and conſiderable while we were among them; and afterwards ſo happy when we were from them. The diverſity of religions was another cauſe of diſſention; there being the ſame difference, in proportion, betwixt their religion and ours, that we find betwixt the divine purity and created nature; for they made Gods of their beaſts, and worſhipped brute animals, one with another indifferently. This was the doctrine they drew in with their mother's milk, and that prepoſſeſſion, render'd theſe fooliſh people incapable of better things. They had a mortal hatred for the proſelytes that came over to us; and they were ſunk to ſuch a ſottiſh abjection of mind, that they made no difficulty of contradicting themſelves, and giving the lye to their own records. This ſhall be made good out of the authority of a great man of their own, whom I have already made uſe of in proof of our antiquity.

Manetho's Egyptian hiſtory.

WHEN Manetho was upon his Egyptian hiſtory, he paſs'd a ſolemn proteſtation that he would faithfully extract it out of the holy ſcriptures; "And ſo he prefaces his diſcourſe with a ſtory of our anceſtors carrying an army into Egypt, and ſubduing the country; but that, being driven out again ſoon after, they ſettled themſelves in a province that is now call'd Judea, built a city by the name of Jeruſalem, and erected a temple." Thus far he follows antiquity. But when he comes afterward to give himſelf a looſe, and to deliver vulgar rumours and traditions, (as he calls them) the fables he raiſes of us are altogether incredible; for he makes no more of us than a rabble of Egyptian lepers, and other infected perſons promiſcuouſly jumbled together, that were driven out of Egypt for their uncleanneſs. He fancies them a king too, by the fictitious name of Amenophis; but was ſo conſcious of the impoſture, that he durſt not

A fooliſh ſtory of one Amenophis.

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* Lat. Ariphanes.

venture upon calculating the preciſe time of his reign, as he does in other caſes; for the connexion would betray him. Under this cover he tacks ſeveral idle tales to his hiſtory, wherein he had almoſt forgotten his own reckoning; that is to ſay, that it was now five hundred and eighteen years ſince the ſhepherds went out of Egypt toward Jeruſalem; for it was in the reign of * Thumoſis, that they departed. From Thumoſis to the two brothers, Sethon and Hermeus, the government continued in a ſucceſſion for three hundred ninety three years. "Sethon, he ſays, was otherwiſe called Egyptus, and Hermeus was call'd Danaus, whom Sethon expelled the kingdom, and then kept the government fifty nine years. His eldeſt ſon † Rhampſes ſucceeded him, and reigned ſixty ſix years." Now after owning the departure of our predeceſſors out of Egypt ſo many years before, he caſts the mock-king Amenophis into the royal liſt, and makes him a prince of divine ſpeculations; like Orus, he ſays, one of his predeceſſors; and adds further, "That he had a mind to ſee the Gods, wherein one Amenophis the ſon of Papius, and a prieſt of their way, ſo far gratify'd him, that he told him his deſire ſhould be granted, upon condition that the kingdom might be clear'd of all lepers and other unclean perſons. This Amenophis, (ſays Manetho) was a perſon of ſuch a reputation for a holy man and a prophet, that the king was overjoy'd at the promiſe, and preſently gather'd together out of Egypt a multitude of infirm, foul, and ſickly people, to the number of fourſcore thouſand, and ſent them away to the eaſtward of the Nile, to work in quarries there, with a mixture of other Egyptians to whom that ſervice was allotted. There were, (ſays he) leprous prieſts alſo, and learned men intermingled with the reſt.

MANETHO carries it on; that "This wiſe heavenly man, in a horror of conſcience for what he had done, and in the dread of a judicial vengeance from heaven upon himſelf, for giving that violent counſel, and upon the king for taking it, finding by a revelation that divine juſtice, to balance the tyrannical oppreſſion of their ſufferings, had in providence appointed them the government of Egypt for thirteen years: The prieſt durſt not ſpeak one word of this to the king, but committed the inſpiration to writing, and ſo laid violent hands upon himſelf. This gave the king terrible apprehenſions and anxiety of mind:" And the author goes on as follows, word for word:

"THE king being now ply'd with petitions on the behalf of theſe miſerable people, and particularly for ſome place of retreat where they might live ſafe and eaſy, they pitch'd upon ‡ Avaris, formerly known by the name of Typhon, and the ſeat of the ſhepherds. The prince granted them this boon; and they were no ſooner ſettled in it, but, finding it a commodions poſt for a rebellion, they liſted themſelves under Oſarſiph, a prieſt of Helíopolis, and took an oath of fidelity to him in whatever he ſhould command them; upon theſe preliminary conditions, that they ſhould neither worſhip any of the Egyptian gods, nor abſtain from any of the meats that they account holy, nor intermarry but with people of their own opinion. When they had gone thus far, in oppoſition to the intereſt and cuſtoms of the Egyptians, the commander preſently order'd the fortifying and the walling in of the city, and the levying of war againſt Amenophis; who taking other prieſts along with him, ſent an embaſſy to the ſhepherds at Jeruſalem, whom king Thumoſis had forced away out of Egypt; with inſtructions to the deputies to adviſe upon the common cauſe, and to invite them into a league againſt Egypt, with a promiſe to join in the confederacy, and receive them into Avaris, the ſeat of their anceſtors, where they were ſure they could want nothing; but they might fight when they found it convenient, and with all the eaſe in the world make themſelves maſters of the province. They were tranſported with joy at this propoſal, and immediately drew out to the number of two hundred thouſand men, and ſo marched away outright to Avaris.

"AMENOPHIS, upon the news of this invaſion, was at his wit's end what to think of the prophetical writing the prieſt left behind him, and ſo immediately called a great council of his princes and people together, and ſent away all the beaſts that paſs'd for ſacred among the Egyptians, with a ſtrict order to the prieſts to keep all their idols as cloſe as poſſible. He committed his ſon Sethon, otherwiſe called Romaſſes, after his father's name Rhampſes, a child of five years of age, to the care of a particular friend; and ſo marched away himſelf, at the head of three hundred thouſand fighting men to encounter the enemy. But upon ſecond thoughts, and a check of conſcience, he wheel'd off without fighting, and went his way to Memphis; where he and his people took ſhipping, and with Apis, and the reſt of their Gods, fled into Ethiopia. The king of the country, who was in alliance with him, gave him and his people ſo generous a reception, that they wanted for nothing the place afforded, either proviſions, or habitations, for their entertainment and convenience, to ſerve them the whole courſe of that fatal thirteen years baniſhment. Thus it far'd with the Egyptians in Ethiopia; beſide that they had a guard allow'd them upon the frontier, for the ſafety of their king's perſon.

"BUT in the mean time, the Jeruſalem auxiliaries made infinitely more ravage in Egypt, than they that call'd them in: for there was nothing they ſtuck at that was either inhuman or wicked; and the very ſpectacle of their impiety was a calamity not to be expreſs'd. The razing, burning, and rifling of towns and villages was nothing to them, without ſacrilege, and breaking the images of their Gods to pieces over and above; moſt barbarouſly tearing the conſecrated creatures, that the Egyptians ador'd, limb from limb; forcing the prieſts and prophets to be the executioners of them themſelves, and then turning them off naked."

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* Gr. Teſthmoſis. † Gr. Ramphes. ‡ Gr. Abaris.

THE author ſays yet further, " That the " founder of that polity was one Oſarſiph, a " prieſt of Heliopolis, ſo called from Oſiris, " a God that was worſhipp'd there; and (he " ſays) that this prieſt changing his religion, " chang'd his name too, and called himſelf " Moſes." This is an Egyptian ſtory of the Jews, but contracted for brevity's ſake.

MANETHO ſays yet again, That " Amenophis and his ſon Rhampſes marched afterward out of Ethiopia, with two great armies, encountred the ſhepherds and the " lepers, routed, and had the chaſe of them " with a very great ſlaughter, to the borders " of Syria." This is the account we have from Manetho, which is moſt ridiculouſly trivial and childiſh, as will evidently appear.

Joſephus's reflections upon the abſurdities of the whole.

HE gives it for granted, in the firſt place, that our forefathers were not originally of Egypt, but came thither from abroad, reduced the country, and after that, quitted it. But as to our mingling afterwards with the Egyptian lepers, and Moſes, that led us out of the land of Egypt, being one of them, this is ſo palpable a falſhood, that it will be prov'd out of his own mouth to have been many ages before. Now this is not only a fiction, but the foundation of it as ridiculous, as it is falſe.

KING Amenophis, (he ſays) had a mind to ſee the Gods. What Gods I beſeech you? For the ox, the goat, the crocodile, and the baboon, may be ſeen at any time; and theſe are the gods that they worſhip. But if he means celeſtial Gods, they are altogether inviſible. And what was it that put this conceit in his head now? why, another king, it ſeems, had ſeen them before. And why might not he as well have been told what they were, and how they look'd, without any further trouble? Very good! but the prophet, they ſay, who poſſeſs'd him with this extravagant curioſity, was a good and a wiſe man, and one whom the king did very much confide in: that is to ſay, that he would do a thing impoſſible to be done. But he fail'd of his end however. In one word more; why muſt the gods be ever the more inviſible at laſt, becauſe men are cripples, or lepers? they are offended at us for ill-manners, not for corporal defects. And how ſhall it enter into any man's head to imagine, that ſo many thouſand diſeaſed and impotent perſons ſhould be brought together at ſo ſhort a warning? or how came it that the king did not follow the direction of his prophets; and rather baniſh them according to his order, than condemn them to the mines and the quarries? as if his buſineſs had been rather to get workmen than to purge the province. And then he makes the prophet kill himſelf in the dread of a divine vengeance, and leave the king in a writing the fate of Egypt. But how came the prophet not to fore-his own deſtruction as well as the reſt? why did he not diſſuade the king from the vanity of his fantaſtical longing? or to what end did he trouble himſelf about a calamity, that was not to take place till he ſhould be dead and gone? or was the miſery he fear'd worſe than death itſelf? but the moſt ſottiſh part of the ſtory is yet behind.

" THE king heard of this, (he ſays) and " mightily troubled he was, to think what " might come of it." And what did he do, I beſeech you? why, inſtead of purging Egypt as he ſhould have done, of the ſick and unclean, he reſtor'd them upon their firſt asking to Avaris, the habitation of their forefathers; and there they made choice of the high-prieſt of Heliopolis for their prince and governour, and to him they ſwore allegiance; in particular, that they would neither worſhip any of their gods, nor forbear eating any of their privileg'd meats, but deſtroy all as much, as in them lay, that the Egyptians eſteemed ſacred, and contract no marriages but with their confederates. Theſe were the meaſures that the multitude bound themſelves by oath to live and die by. In fine, they fortify'd Avaris, he ſays, and took up arms againſt the king; ſending to Jeruſalem for aſſiſtance, with a promiſe of putting it into their hands, (as their ſtation of old) not doubting but from thence, upon a conjunction, they might eaſily make themſelves maſters of all Egypt. He follows the ſtory, that they advanced with two hundred thouſand men; but that Amenophis the Egyptian king, becauſe he would not fight againſt God, took his flight into Ethiopia, and took Apis and all his deiſy'd animals along with him; and that afterwards the Jews, breaking in upon Egypt, laid their towns waſte, and then ſet fire both to their cities and temples, put their nobility to the ſword, and ſo committed all manner of out-rages without diſtinction or mercy. The prieſt, (he ſays) that had the adminiſtration of the government, was a native of Hierapolis; his name was Oſarſiph, ſo called from their God Oſiris, which he afterwards chang'd for that of Moſes. He ſays that Amenophis fell into Egypt, out of Ethiopia, with a mighty power, in the thirteenth year after his expulſion; and in a battle with the ſhepherds and the lepers, gain'd a noble victory, cut off great numbers of them, and had the purſuit of the reſt up to the skirts of Syria.

Notes upon Manetho.

MANETHO was not aware here again how unmaſterly he tacks his ſtories together: For though the lepers and the invalids might think it hard meaſure at firſt to be ſo treated by the king, at the inſtigation of the prophet, yet when they came afterwards to be eas'd of the ſlavery of the mines, and to be allow'd the comfort of a commodious habitation, this fair uſage one would think ſhould have ſweeten'd them again: or, if the averſion they had to the king was implacable, why did they not rather contrive ſome practice upon his perſon, than imbroil the publick, where they were all ſo much concern'd for the ſake of their relations? But the conteſt was with men, not with the Gods; neither would they act contrary to the laws they were brought up in; ſo that now we are to pay our thanks to Manetho, fo rdeclaring that the ring-leaders of this uproar were none of thoſe that came out of Jeruſalem, but the very Egyptians themſelves, and the prieſts eſpecially, that had ty'd them up by oath to what they did. What can be more nonſenſical than to ſay, that, when they ſaw none of the lepers friends or allies would join with them in the rebellion, or bear any part in the risk of the war, they were forced to ſend ſome of their ſick people to Jeruſalem for ſuccour? Well! and upon what ſcore of friendſhip or intereſt betwixt them? For they were rather to be look'd upon as enemies, in the contradictions of their lives and manners.

But they came, he ſays, at the firſt call, upon the promiſe, hope, and expectation of being put into the poſſeſſion of Egypt; as if they who had been beaten out of Egypt had not underſtood the condition of the place. 'Tis true, if they had been in a neceſſitous ſtarving condition, it might have been worth their while; but for people at eaſe, and in a much more fruitful and agreeable country than Egypt, to run ſuch a hazard in favour of their own enemies, and thoſe ſo ſcandalouſly diſeaſ'd too, that they would never have been ſuffer'd in a private family; theſe are extravagances for none but madmen to be guilty of. And who could foreſee the king's running away after all this, at the head of three thouſand men? for that was the number (ſays Manetho) that he brought to Peluſium to encounter the rebels. He charges it alſo upon the Jeruſalem army, that they ſeized the Egyptians corn and proviſions, and brought the poor people into great diſtreſs by embezzeling their ſtores. And what could they expect leſs now from an open and a declar'd enemy? eſpecially when the Egyptians had already done the very ſame thing, and bound themſelves by oath to continue the ſame courſe.

WHAT ſhall we ſay then to his ſtory of the rout Amenophis gave the enemy, with the ſlaughter and purſuit of them to the borders of Syria? Does Egypt lie ſo open on all hands, and would not they who had the management of the war, when they knew Amenophis was upon the march, ſecure the paſſes out of Ethiopia, and draw an army together to oppoſe him, which might ſo eaſily have been done? “But he purſued them cloſely (ſays Manetho) over all the dry barren ſands, as far as Syria, and did execution upon them all the way he went.” A likely matter! to purſue an enemy with an army over a deſart that is hardly paſſable, even without any interruption. Here is enough out of Manetho to ſhew that we neither had our original from the Egyptians, nor any mixture with them. As for the leprous tainted part of them, we may reckon that there died many of them in the quarries, more in the war, and great numbers in this laſt action and flight. We ſhall proceed now to confute what Manetho ſays concerning Moſes.

Moſes vindicated from the ſcandals of Manetho.

THE Egyptians themſelves are all agreed upon it, that Moſes was a man of ſingular integrity and wiſdom; and they ſtood out at nothing, tho' never ſo falſe and infamous, to make an Egyptian of him, (that is to ſay, their countryman) and one of the prieſts of Heliopolis, who was expell'd, with ſeveral others, for a leper. Now it appears from chronology, that Moſes lived five hundred and eighteen years before this conjuncture, and conducted our forefathers out of Egypt into the country where we now inhabit; ſo that there needs no further proof that he was no leper, than what ariſes from his own words, i. e. That no lepers ſhould be admitted into any towns or villages, but live apart in a diſtinct habit by themſelves; and that whoever touch'd a leper, or lodg'd under the ſame roof with him, ſhould be reputed unclean; and whoever ſhould come to be cur'd of that diſeaſe, and reſtor'd to his former ſtate, he ſhould paſs ſome certain purifications, waſh himſelf with fountain water, ſhave all his hair off, and offer ſuch and ſuch ſacrifices, before he ſhould be receiv'd into the holy city. Now if Moſes had been afflicted with this diſtemper himſelf, he would never have been ſo ſevere upon others for it.

AND this ſtrictneſs of his was not only in the caſe of lepers, but no man was qualified for the prieſthood who had the leaſt maim upon him, or any other corporal defect; as it was deprivation alſo when it happen'd to be the caſe of a prieſt. Can any man think now that if Moſes had been a leper, he would have made ſuch laws againſt himſelf, and ſo much to his own ſhame and loſs? As to the change of the name at laſt, from Oſarſiph to Moſes, what affinity does there appear betwixt the one and the other? Where's the agreement betwixt them? Moy in Egyptian is water, and Moyſes is as much as preſerv'd out of the water; and that's the whole myſtery. It is now manifeſt, that ſo long as Manetho kept himſelf to the records of antiquity, he was not much wide of the truth; but when he gives himſelf up to fiction and fable, there is no longer any connection in his ſtory.

Cheremon, another Egyptian hiſtorian.

I SHALL now advance to Cheremon, another Egyptian hiſtorian, who ſuppoſes the ſame names and perſons, of Amenophis and his ſon Rameſſes, with Manetho. He ſays, “That the goddeſs Iſis appear'd to Amenophis in a viſion, and chid him ſeverely for ſuffering her temple to be ruin'd in the war. And (he ſays) that Phritiphantes, a holy ſcribe, ſuggeſted it to the king, that if he would clear Egypt of all people labouring under foul and malignant diſtempers, he ſhould never be troubled again with thoſe nightly apparitions. Upon this there was a call made of impotent and infirm wretches, and two hundred and fifty thouſand of them baniſh'd under the command of Moſes and Joſeph, two of the number, and holy men; Moſes in Egyptian being call'd Tiſithes, and Joſeph Peteſeph. (He ſays) that they found at Peluſium three hundred and eighty thouſand men, that Amenophis had left there, refuſing them a paſſage into Egypt, that they ſtruck a league, and join'd in an expedition againſt the Egyptians; but Amenophis would not ſtand it, and ſo withdrew into Ethiopia, leaving his wife big behind him. She ſhifted up and down in caves and holes, till at length ſhe was deliver'd of a male child, that ſhe called Meſſenes; who growing up to man's eſtate, drove about two hundred thouſand of the Jews into Syria, and brought back his father Amenophis out of Ethiopia.” Thus far Cheremon.

Theſe writers contradict one another.

THERE needs no more now to overthrow the credit of theſe writers, than to confront them. There is no reconciling of truth and error, and no dividing of truth againſt itſelf. But when men fly to fables and impoſtures, they write fancy rather than hiſtory. Manetho imputes the baniſhment of the lepers to Amenophis's curioſity to ſee the Gods; Cheremon to the viſion of Iſis: The former makes the prieſt Amenophis the adviſer to the purging of the king's dominions of the ſick people, the other ſays it was Phritiphantes: and they agree every jot as well in their numbers as in their ſtories: One makes them eighty thouſand, the other two hundred and fifty thouſand. Manetho again ſends the lepers firſt to the quarries; and after that, tranſports them to Avaris, where they ſend to Jeruſalem for help, and make that the riſe of the war. Cheremon will have it, on the contrary, that being driven out of Egypt, they made uſe of three hundred and eighty thouſand men at Peluſium, that Amenophis had left there; and with that body of men invaded Egypt, and frighted Amenophis away into Ethiopia. This he tells us, but, (which is wonderful) not one word who theſe men were, whence this vaſt army came, whether Egyptians or foreigners, or why Amenophis would not receive them. And then there's Cheremon's dream of Iſis and the lepers. He ſays again, that Moſes and Joſeph were expell'd together; whereas Joſeph was dead four ages before Moſes's time, computing the whole at about an hundred and ſeventy years. Manetho makes Rameſſes, the ſon of Amenophis, a baniſh'd man with his father, a party in the war with him, and father and ſon fellow exiles in Ethiopia; but Cheremon makes him a poſthumous child, and born in a cave after the death of his father. In time he grows up to be a conqueror, and drives away near two hundred thouſand Jews into Syria. What a ſottiſh credulity is this! Without telling us what theſe three hundred and eighty thouſand were, or how t'other eighty thouſand men periſh'd; whether they fell in battle, or went over to Rameſſes. But which is the greateſt wonder of all, he does not ſo much as tell us who they are that he calls Jews, or to which of the two parties he gives that appellation; whether to the two hundred and fifty thouſand lepers, or to the three hundred and eighty thouſand at Peluſium. But it would be time loſt to confute thoſe who confute themſelves: And there is no conviction ſo ſtrong as that which comes out of their own mouths.

Lyſymachus, a ſhameleſs and a profeſs'd falſifier.

I come now to Lyſimachus, a profeſs'd falſifier, as well as the reſt; but for the faculty of an extravagant invention, ſo much beyond them all, that he out-does them all with the malice of the faction. He ſays “That in the reign of Bocchoris king of Egypt the Jews were ſo leprous, ſcabby, and over-run with foul diſtempers, that they preſs'd into the temples to beg for charities. There dy'd great numbers of them of contagious diſeaſes; upon which there follow'd a famine in Egypt. Bocchoris, in this diſtreſs, ſent to conſult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon about this dearth, and the anſwer was this, That he ſhould purify the temples, by ſending away all unclean and impious perſons out of them into the deſart, and drowning thoſe that were ulcerated and leprous) for the ſun itſelf had a horror for ſo abominable a ſight) and this being done, the earth ſhould bring forth fruit again. Bocchoris, preſently upon this, calls his prieſts and his diviners about him, and, by their advice, orders the ſick people to be ſorted together, and deliver'd up to the ſoldiers: Thoſe who were afflicted with ſores and leproſies, to be wrap'd up in lead, and caſt into the ſea; and the others to be cary'd into the wilderneſs, and there expos'd to be ſtarv'd. The night coming on, theſe poor people began to think what to do with themſelves: So they made fires, ſet watches and guards, and the next night kept a faſt, to reconcile themſelves to the Gods whom they had offended. On the day following, there was one Moſes, (he ſays) who adviſed them to decamp, and march on all together till they met with better accommodation; with a charge to do no good offices upon the way, nor ſo much as to give any man good counſel that ſhould deſire it; and likewiſe to break down and deſtroy all the temples and altars they found in the way. Theſe propoſals were no ſooner approv'd, and the reſolution taken, but the multitude preſently put themſelves upon the march over the wilderneſs, and after many hardſhips, came at laſt into a country that was both dreſs'd and peopled. They treated the inhabitants cruelly to the higheſt degree, burnt and pillag'd their temples, and came, in the end, to a place that they now call Judea, and built a city there by the name of Hieroſyla, (according to the occaſion) being as much as to ſay, the ſpoil of holy things: But coming afterwards into power and reputation, they were aſham'd of their own name, and changed Hieroſyla into Hieroſolyma, and call'd themſelves after their city.”

We have here a third king, quite different from the two former kings of Manetho and Cheremon, who, without one word of the dream and the Egyptian prophet, went to aſk counſel of the oracle about lepers and other unclean perſons. He ſays, “That the Jews gather'd together in multitudes about the temples.” Does he mean the lepers by the Jews; as if the Jews were only tainted with that diſeaſe? For he ſeems ſo to reſtrain it in calling them the people of the Jews. But why does he not tell us alſo whether he means natives or ſtrangers? If Egyptians, why does he call them Jews? Or if ſtrangers, why does he not tell us whence they came? And then again, if there were ſo many of them drown'd, and the reſt thrown out into deſarts, how came there to be ſo many left; and how came they likewiſe to paſs the wilderneſs, poſſeſs the country, erect a city, and to build the moſt glorious temple in the world?

How comes he now again to give us only the bare name of our law-giver, without any thing of his country, his perſon, or his family? And how came he to make ſuch extravagant laws in his paſſage, to the diſhonour both of Gods and men? Either theſe exiles were Egyptians, or not: If the former, they would hardly caſt off their country's laws on a ſudden; or if they came from elſewhere, they had undoubtedly certain laws and cuſtoms of their own, which they could not eaſily be induced to quit. It is likewiſe to be conſider'd, that if they had join'd in an oath of confederacy againſt thoſe who drove them out, they might have had a plauſible colour for it: But for a company of miſerable friendleſs wretches, as they own themſelves, to engage in a mortal feud and defiance againſt all mankind; what greater folly could there be in the world, ſave only the fiction of ſo ridiculous a ſtory? And yet the conceit of the name, with an alluſion to the city, and afterwards changing it, makes the foolery all of a piece. But how could the name of this city (derived, as he ſays, from the ſpoil of holy things) be look'd upon as honourable, in the opinion of its firſt founders, and yet become afterwards ſo great a ſcandal to their poſterity, that they were aſham'd to own it, and for that reaſon changed it? Now this angry gentleman was ſo intent, I ſuppoſe, upon ſpite and miſchief, that he took Hieroſolyma for the ſame thing in Hebrew, that it is in Greek. But what need many words, for the expoſing of an impoſture that has the confidence to contradict, and to diſprove itſelf? Beſide that, it is high time to put an end to this book, and paſs to the next; wherein I propound to make good my undertaking.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
TO
EPAPHRODITUS:
IN ANSWER TO
APION, about the ANTIQUITY of the JEWS.

BOOK II.

HAVING already given ſufficient proof of the antiquity of our nation, upon the credit of ſeveral Phenician, Chaldean, and Egyptian hiſtorians, together with other Greek authors, in my reflections upon Manetho, Cheremon, &c. After this right, I ſay, done to the common cauſe, in the foregoing treatiſe, I ſhall now (my deareſt Epaphroditus) turn my diſcourſe more particularly to my perſonal adverſaries, and to Apion the grammarian, in the firſt place; if at leaſt ſuch a one may be worth taking notice of. As to his relations, they are vulgar and fabulous, after the way of that foul-mouth'd ſort of people; the air of his writings flat and heavy, palpable ignorance over and above, and a vein of calumny running from one end of them to the other; a mixture, in fine, that ſpeaks the compoſitor to be unmannerly, violent, and troubleſome, to the higheſt degree. But yet conſidering that there are more fools in the world than wiſe men, and that fools are better pleaſed with fooleries than with matters of more gravity and weight; and conſidering again, how many there are that had rather hear their neighbours traduc'd, than well ſpoken of; I find myſelf under ſome kind of neceſſity to call this fond falſe man to an account for the groſſneſs of his arrogance, in making himſelf judge of the cauſe. But then I have this encouragement on the other hand, that people are generally well enough content to ſee the miſchief of malicious ſcandals and clamours turn'd upon the heads of the authors.

Apion a dark, a coarſe, and a fabulous writer.

As to his very manner of writing, it is ſo dark and intricate, that there is hardly any gueſſing at his meaning, in the confuſion, contradictions, and inconſiſtence of his ſtories. One while he miſtakes the hiſtory of our forefathers departing out of Egypt, the ſame way that others have done, whom I have already confuted: Another while, he falls foul upon the Alexandrian Jews, and then launches out into outrages againſt the rites and ceremonies of our holy temple and worſhip.

Now as to the two points, of our forefathers deriving their deſcent originally from Egypt; and of their being driven out again for any foul diſeaſe, or infectious diſtemper, or any other reaſon of that kind; I have ſaid more than needed, to the clearing of thoſe imputations. So that I ſhall only ſum up what Apion hath added over and above, and particularly in the third book of his Egyptian hiſtory. “Moſes,
“(he ſays) was by birth, of Heliopolis, as I
“have heard from the oldeſt men upon the
“place, of my time. The people formerly
“had their religious meetings in the open air,
“till Moſes, who was well-skill'd in the wor-
“ſhip of his country, brought their congre-
“gations out of the fields into private houſes
“in the city, enjoining the people to addreſs
“their prayers ſtill toward the ſun. Now
“with a reſpect to the ſituation of the place,
“there were, instead of obeliſks certain pil-

Joſephus's remarks upon Apion's follies and miſtakes.

“lars advanc'd upon the figures of baſons with engravings upon them; and the ſhadow falling upon theſe baſons, (for all was open above) ſtill as the ſun mov'd, the ſhadow mov'd along with it.

The whole ſtory ridiculous from one end to the other.

This was the rare conceit of our wonderful grammarian. But I ſhall rather leave the confutation of him to the writings of Moſes, than take it upon myſelf. As for Moſes, he gives no account, either of any ſuch form preſcrib'd, or made uſe of, at the firſt erecting of the tabernacle; or that he ever order'd poſterity to do any thing like it; neither was Solomon (afterward the founder of the Jeruſalem temple) ever aware of any ſuch fantaſtical curioſity, as Apion ſpeaks of.

As to the authorities he cites, of the old men, who told him Moſes was an Heliopolitan, he was too young, it ſeems, to know it himſelf, and therefore conſulted ſome of his cotemporaries, who, he ſays, were well acquainted with him. Was there ever ſo rank or ſo ridiculous a contrivance? Apion could not find out what countryman either Homer, or Pythagoras was; though the latter but of yeſterday in compariſon. How comes he then to be ſo poſitive in the caſe of Moſes, who liv'd ſo many ages before them; and all this upon the credit of what he had heard old men ſay?

And theſe hiſtorians are no leſs divided, about the time of Moſes's leading the lepers, the lame, and the blind out of Egypt. Manetho makes it to be in the reign of Tethmoſis, near three hundred ninety three years before the baniſhing of Danaus to Argos. Lyſimachus will have it in the reign of king Bocchoris; that is to ſay, ſeventeen hundred years before Molon, and ſeveral others reckon according to their own fancy. But Apion, who ſets up for the oracle of the whole party, fix'd the time preciſely upon the firſt year of the ſeventh Olympiad, the very year, he ſays, of the building of Carthage. He makes mention of Carthage, as a token that would infallibly confirm the truth of his computation. Whereas, at the ſame time, without conſidering what he does, he furniſhes arguments and evidence againſt himſelf; at leaſt if any heed may be given in this caſe to the Phenician records; for we find in that hiſtory, that Hiram liv'd at leaſt an hundred and fifty years before the building of Carthage, as we have proved already out of the Phenician annals; and that he had a particular friendſhip and veneration for Solomon, the founder of the temple at Jeruſalem, and contributed materials in abundance toward the perfecting of that work. But Solomon, in fine, laid the foundation of the temple ſix hundred and twelve years after the Jews went out of Egypt.

As to the number of the exiles, Apion agrees in the ſame falſe account with Lyſimachus, of an hundred and ten thouſand. But then the original he gives of the word ſabbath, is childiſh even to admiration. “When the Jews, (ſays he) had been ſix days upon the way, they were ſeized with ulcers, and inflamations about the groin; and for this reaſon they reſted the ſeventh day. And being now ſafely arriv'd in the country, called at preſent Judea, they gave the day the name of the ſabbath, from the Egyptian Sabbatoſis; which is as much as to ſay, the diſeaſe of the groin, as aforeſaid”. Ought not an author of this compilation to be laugh'd at, for ſuch ridiculous trifling, or exploded for offering to impoſe upon the world, under the face and countenance of hiſtory, ſuch intolerable abſurdities, ſuch monſtrous and inconſiſtent improbabilities? An hundred and ten thouſand men all labouring under the ſame diſtemper! And if they were likewiſe blind, lame, and languiſhing, as Apion elſewhere reports them, how was it poſſible for ſuch an infirm multitude to hold out, but ſo much as one day's journey, in the deſart? And this was not all neither, for they were to cut their way thro' all oppoſition over and above. Is it not an unlikely thing, I ſay, that an hundred and ten thouſand men ſhould all fall ill at the ſame time, of the ſame diſeaſe? This could never be according to the ordinary courſe of nature; and it would be the groſſeſt of blunders to impute it to chance.

And is it not an admirable fancy of Apion's, the bringing of an hundred and ten thouſand ſick and weak men, ſafe and ſound, every ſoul of them, to Judea in ſix days? And then what a ſtory does he tell you of Moſes's advancing up to mount Sinai, between Egypt and Arabia, and lying cloſe there for forty days; at the end of which, coming down, he deliver'd the law to the Jews? I would fain know now, how it is poſſible for ſuch a body of men to march over ſo vaſt a deſart in ſix days; or to ſubſiſt forty days in a place that affords neither bread nor water.

His trifling with the grammatical reaſon of the word ſabbath, is frivolous to the laſt degree of impertinence and folly; for there is a mighty difference betwixt the two words Sabbo and Sabbatum: By the latter, we underſtand the Jews day of reſt; and the other he expounds himſelf, to be only the name of the Egyptian diſeaſe. This may paſs for a ſupplement of certain new fables, that Apion has ſuperadded to the ſtory of Moſes; and ſo for the Jews going out of Egypt, that was never heard of before. But where's the wonder for a man to bely other people, who firſt claſhes with himſelf? He was born at Oaſis in Egypt, but renounces the place of his nativity to be thought an Alexandrian; which ſhews what opinion he hath of the Egyptians; for that's the name he gives to all people, whom he would repreſent for the worſt of men: And this is it that makes him take ſuch pains to diſguiſe his extraction, and ſhuffle off his original. They that glory in the dignity of their country, reckon it a point of honour to make good their title, and to maintain the rights and privileges belonging to it, againſt all violence and intruſion. Now this is the caſe of the Egyptians, with reſpect to us. Either they claim country and kindred of us, on the one hand, where they pretend to value themſelves upon that relation: Or where they take themſelves to lie under a ſcandal, they are willing, on the other ſide, that we ſhould bear our part in the reproach. But Apion manages all his outrageous paſſions againſt us, as if his buſineſs were to gratify the Alexandrians, for allowing him the freedom of their city; well underſtanding the mortal feud there was at that time betwixt them and the Alexandrian Jews; and ſtill, though he pretended to expoſe only one ſort of Jews, the venom of his calumny and malice extended to the whole race.

But what were the grievous and intolerable indignities all this while, that he charges with ſo much bitterneſs upon the Alexandrian Jews? The Jews, ſays Apion, upon their coming out of Syria, ſettled themſelves along the coaſt, at a place within the waſh of the tide; but no port at hand for a veſſel to ride in. Well! and was not Apion much to blame now to caſt a ſcandal upon ſo famous a city; and a city he ſo much glory'd in (how vainly and falſely ſoever) as the place of his nativity! For that quarter is a dependency upon Alexandria, and univerſally reputed a moſt commodious habitation. If the Jews took it by force, and ſo maintain'd it againſt all oppoſition, ſo much the more to their honour.

The Jews had ſeveral eminent benefactors.

But to deliver the plain truth of the matter, it was Alexander the great that put the Jews into poſſeſſion of it, and granted to them the ſame freedoms and immunities with the Macedonians themſelves. But what would Apion have ſaid now, if, inſtead of an eſtabliſhment in this royal city, they had had their reſidence allotted them at Necropolis; and if their tribes were yet call'd Macedonians to this very day? But either Apion hath read the epiſtles of king Alexander, Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, and the ſucceeding kings of Egypt, the inſcriptions that Ceſar cauſed to be engraven upon the pillar at Alexandria, in memory of the privileges by him granted to the Jews: Apion, I ſay, hath either read theſe memorials, or he hath not; if the former, he muſt needs be a very ill man to write things ſo contrary to his knowledge; and if the latter, he has forfeited his credit, for undertaking a ſubject he was ignorant of.

A nonſenſical cavil.

And his wonder and admiration at the Jews calling themſelves Alexandrians, argues no leſs ignorance; for do we not know that all colonies take their names from the firſt founders? To prove this we ſhall not need to look out for foreign inſtances, having ſo many nearer home. The Jews of Antioch we call Antiochians, our foreſathers being made free of that city by king Seleucus; and ſo the Jews of Epheſus, are called Epheſians, and thoſe of Ionia, Ionians: to which right they ſtand entitled by the ſucceſſive privileges of former grants. And this is a grace that the ſtate of Rome hath vouchſafed, not only to particular perſons, but to whole provinces and nations. How came the ancient Iberians, the Tuſcans, and the Sabines to be called Romans elſe? Now if Apion will not allow the benefit of this common liberty to others, why does he claim it to himſelf, in taking upon him the name of an Alexandrian? What pretence hath any man (according to his rule) who was born in the inland part of Egypt, to write himſelf an Alexandrian, and eſpecially an Egyptian; thoſe people being the men of the whole world to whom the maſters of it, the Romans, refuſe this liberty? But our envious hiſtorian, lying under an incapacity of pretending to this advantage himſelf, turns his diſpleaſure againſt thoſe that are in a rightful poſſeſſion of it.

The Jews highly in favour with Alexander.

In the erecting of this city, Alexander made uſe of the aſſiſtance and ſervice of the Jews; not for want of men, but in the teſtimony and approbation of their faith and integrity, and with a reſolution to do them farther honour and reſpect. Alexander, ſays Hecateus, had ſuch a tenderneſs for the modeſty and loyalty of the Jews, that, beſide other ſignal bounties, he gave them the province of Samaria, over and above, tax-free.

And ſo with Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus.

After Alexander, came Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus; who had every jot as good an opinion of the Alexandrian Jews, as his predeceſſor, and into their hands he committed the truſt of all the forts and ſtrong holds in Egypt. And for his better ſecurity, he planted Cyrene, and other cities of Libya, with theſe people.

Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Ptolemy Philadelphus ſucceeded Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus; who did not only ſet all the Jewiſh priſoners at liberty that he had in his country, but remitted them ſeveral duties, and other ſums of money; and, which was more than all the reſt, he contracted a paſſionate inclination to be inſtructed in our laws and cuſtoms, and in the holy myſteries of the ſacred ſcriptures; inſomuch that he preſs'd earneſtly for interpreters to be ſent him in order to his better information. Now for the more ſpeedy advance of the work, the care of it was committed to Demetrius Phalereus, Andreus, and Ariſteas (no common men): Demetrius the miracle of his age for learning and virtue, the other two, captains of the guards of his body, to whom was committed the care of the work. It was not to be thought now, that this prince could ever have had ſuch a veneration for the Jewiſh laws and cuſtoms, and for the piety and wiſdom of our foreſathers, without a ſuitable reverence and affection for the profeſſors of theſe holy rules and methods. But Apion muſt be very little read in that hiſtory, if he did not know that the Jews were highly in favour with almoſt the whole race of the Macedonian kings.

Ptolemy Euergetes.

The third Ptolemy (called Euergetes) having made himſelf maſter of Syria by force, paid no ſolemnity of acknowledgments for his victory to the Egyptian Gods, but ſacrific'd, and gave God thanks in the temple at Jeruſalem, after the manner of the Jews.

Ptolemy Philometor.

Ptolemy Philometor, and the Queen Cleopatra, committed the charge of the whole government to Onias and Doſitheus, who were both Jews. Apion meanly derogates from the action; whereas he ſhould rather have thank'd them for preſerving that Alexandria, whereof he very falſely pretended himſelf to be a citizen. For when Egypt was up in a rebellion, and upon the very brink of being irrecoverably loſt, theſe two Jews ſet all right again. Soon after this, Onias enter'd the place (ſays Apion) with a ſmall army, in the preſence of Thermus the Roman embaſſador: and this is all he ſays of the exploit, tho' it cannot be deny'd to have been a brave and a generous action.

Ptolemy Phyſcon ſucceeds Ptolemy Philometor. Phyſcon makes war upon Cleopatra, and Onias engages in her defence.

Upon the death of this Ptolemy Philometor, Ptolemy Phyſcon the ſon, marched out of Cyrene, with a deſign to force Cleopatra * and the king's ſons out of Egypt, and uſurp the kingdom to himſelf. Upon this ground it was that Onias made war upon Phyſcon, in defence of Cleopatra, like a true friend to a crown'd head, as well in adverſity as in proſperity. But there never was a more remarkable inſtance of God's power and juſtice than

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* This part of the Greek copy is loſt, and the vacancy ſupply'd out of the Latin.

upon

A miraculous providence in favour of the Jews.

Envy and detraction all over.

upon this occaſion. For when Ptolemy was ready to join battle with Onias, he cauſ'd all the Jews in Alexandria, men, women and children to be ſtript and bound, and ſo thrown naked to the elephants to be trampled to death; and the beaſts were made drunk too, to inflame their fury. But in the concluſion, and beyond all expectation, the elephants quitted the Jews, and turning their rage another way, they deſtroy'd a great many of Ptolemy's beſt friends. In this inſtant of time, there appeared to him a hideous figure, with a menacing precaution to him to leave perſecuting the Jews; and the favourite miſtreſs of all his concubines, (ſome call'd her Ithaca, others Hirene) joining in the ſame office of mediation, the interceſſion wrought ſo effectually upon him, that he not only granted the requeſt, but heartily repented himſelf of all the cruelties that he had either actually committed or intended. This is a truth ſo notorious, that the Jews of Alexandria keep to this day an anniverſary feſtival in memory of their deliverance. And yet ſuch is the ſpiteful malevolence of Apion, that enemy of mankind, that he takes upon him to reproach the Jews for joining in this war againſt Phyſcon, as an impious action; whereas he ſhould rather have extoll'd it as a laudable piece of juſtice.

Apion celebrates the laſt Cleopatra, though the lewdeſt of women.

And ſo for the laſt Cleopatra that reign'd in Alexandria, how does Apion celebrate that queen, and lay all the blame at our door, only becauſe ſhe was ungrateful to us? Why does he not expoſe her in the lewdneſs of her life and manners, in her iniquity and falſeneſs to the tendereſt of husbands, friends and relations, to the Romans in general, and to her imperial benefactors? Did ſhe not cauſe her own ſiſter Arſinoë to be put to death in the temple without a crime? Did ſhe not as treacherouſly murder her brother? Did ſhe not rifle the temples of the Gods of her anceſtors, and the ſepulchres of her forefathers? Did ſhe not receive her kingdom as a bounty from the hand of the firſt Ceſar, and afterwards rebel againſt his adopted ſon and ſucceſſor? What was it but Cleopatra's charms and philtres that debauch'd Anthony, and made him a traitor both to his country and to his friends? Some princes ſhe dethron'd, others again, ſhe made the paſſive inſtruments of her iniquity.

To paſs now from her ingratitude, lewdneſs, inhumanity and avarice, to that infamous meanneſs of ſpirit that ſhe ſhew'd at the naval battle of Actium, where ſhe abandon'd even her belov'd Anthony himſelf, and the father of many children by her; and her forcing him to deliver up his army and his honour, and all this to follow her. Could any thing be meaner, or more contemptible? In fine, upon Ceſar's taking Alexandria, ſhe was tranſported to ſuch a degree of rage, that ſhe valu'd herſelf upon the merit of a mercileſs barbarity: Inſomuch that ſhe reckon'd it would have made ſome amends for the loſs of the town, if ſhe could but have put all the Jews that were in it to death with her own hand. Now if it be again, as Apion reports, that Cleopatra refus'd corn to the Jews in a time of famine, why does he charge that upon us as a diſgrace, which in effect redounds to our honour? But Cleopatra receiv'd the juſt reward of her evil doings.

The Jews appeal to Ceſar himſelf in juſtification of their loyalty.

And what can we do better now for our own juſtification, than to appeal to Ceſar himſelf, the publick decrees of the ſenate of Rome, and the teſtimonials of Auguſtus Ceſar? Which will all bear us witneſs of the faith and true allegiance we have ever paid to the empire; and particularly in the war againſt the Egyptians.

Now theſe are the pieces and the authorities that Apion ſhould have conſulted, if he would have done us right. He ſhould have examin'd what opinion Alexander himſelf and other great princes had of us; all the Ptolemies, the ſenate, and ſo to the moſt illuſtrious of Roman emperors. If Germanicus could not ſupply all the Alexandrians with corn that wanted it, this was no fault of the Jews, but the infelicity of a barren ſeaſon, or a hard year. For nobody ever doubted the good affection of the emperors toward the Alexandrian Jews, neither were they deny'd wheat any more than their neighbours; but, on the contrary, they found credit upon all occaſions, as in the command of the river and other conſiderable paſſes; and they were truſted, in fine, in all places and matters of moment, beyond other people.

Apion's objection anſwer'd.

But then, ſays Apion, if the Jews be citizens of Alexandria, how comes it that they do not worſhip the ſame Gods, and embrace the ſame religion with the reſt of their fellow citizens? Now to anſwer you in your own way; how come you, who are all Egyptians, to fall foul on one another, and to have irreconcileable differences in opinions in the matter of worſhip? Shall we pronounce you preſently to be no Egyptians for this? Or ſhall we doubt, on the other hand, whether you are, in truth, men or no, for taking ſo much pains to breed up beaſts, even contrary to nature, and then for worſhipping them when you have done? Whereas our people live in union and agreement. Now if you are ſo divided among yourſelves, what wonder is it if the Alexandrian Jews, who came thither from abroad, ſtick to their old laws ſtill, how different ſoever from yours?

Apion imputes all the ſtate factions to the diviſions among the Jews.

Joſephus turns them upon Apion and his party.

But Apion will have it again, that all the broils and commotions in the ſtate there, were occaſion'd by theſe diſagreements in matters of religion betwixt the Alexandrian Jews and ancient inhabitants. Now if this imputation holds good againſt the Alexandrian Jews, why not as well againſt all other Jews elſewhere too? For whereſoever we are diſpers'd, we are nevertheleſs all of a piece. So that he that looks narrowly into theſe turbulent revolutions, will find them occaſion'd only by ſuch as Apion himſelf: For ſo long as the Greeks and Macedonians were in this city, the Jews had the free exerciſe of their religion, and the people lived all quietly and happily together. But as the Egyptians more and more encreaſed, ſo the times in proportion grew more and more troubleſome. But the Jews all this time continu'd the ſame, throughout all changes; while the other, having neither the conſtancy of the Macedonians, nor the prudence of the Greeks, ſtirr'd up all theſe broils: And being, over and above, poiſon'd with the ill habits and practices of the Egyptians, and irritated by the averſion they had for the Jews. Theſe were the people, I ſay, that gave the riſe to all our

The Jews vilify'd by Apion; and vindicated by Joſephus.

confuſions: So that we are only charg'd for the errors and miſcarriages of our very accuſers. Apion is likewiſe pleaſed to vilify us as ſtrangers, tho' fully qualify'd with the rights of freemen; and yet our adverſaries at the ſame time ſet up for citizens, without the leaſt colour of a pretence or title to that privilege. We do not read that any prince in the hiſtory of former times, or that any of the late emperors ever granted letters of freedom to the Egyptians. But the firſt who introduc'd us to a right to that claim, was Alexander the Great, and the grant hath been ſince enlarged with additions by other kings; and ſince that again, continu'd and confirm'd to us by the Romans.

The caſe of graven Images.

Apion takes occaſion to lay great blame upon us alſo, for not ſetting up images and ſtatues in honour of the emperors; as if they could not have taken notice of this themſelves, without his intermeddling on their behalf. Now inſtead of arraigning us, he ſhould rather have celebrated the generous courteſy of the Romans, in allowing their ſubjects the freedom of their own religion, without extorting from them ſuch honours as they could not pay them with a good conſcience; ſo that they contented themſelves with thoſe reſpects which might be honeſtly render'd them. It is the good-will that ſtamps the obligation, and ſets a value upon the benefit, without the intervention either of neceſſity or violence. Well! But it is a common practice, you will ſay, both with the Greeks and other nations, to ſet a high eſteem upon the pictures or images of their fathers, mothers, children; nay, and of ſtrangers ſometimes, and ſo to their very ſervants, &c. And ſhall men grudge a defference of the ſame kind and quality to their lords and maſters? My anſwer is, That ours is a quite different caſe, with reſpect to our venerable lawgiver, who hath poſitively forbidden us the uſe of all images, and of any creature whatſoever, either animate or inanimate. And he did not this in any proſpect of derogating from the dignity of the Roman empire; but he would not ſuffer any corporeal image or repreſentation to be made of an inviſible and an incomprehenſible God. But we are not yet forbidden the paying of a reverence to good men, in the next place to God himſelf; as in the caſe of the emperors and the people of Rome, for whoſe welfare and proſperity we offer daily ſacrifices, at the charge of the publick, and for no other mortals under the ſun.

This may ſerve for any anſwer to Apion's extravagances about Alexandria; but not without admiration at the confidence of Poſidonius, and Apollonius Molon, who furniſh'd the materials, and charge us for not worſhipping the ſame gods with other people. To ſay nothing of numerous ſcurrilous ſtories upon that ſubject, even to the degree of blaſpheming and ridiculing our very temple itſelf, and without any check of conſcience for what they do. Not but that a falſity of any ſort is one of the moſt unmanly of vices, and moſt unbecoming of gentlemen; but eſpecially where the ſcandal of it falls upon a holy temple, ſo famous all over the world for the exemplary ſolemnity of an orderly devotion.

A ſenſeleſs tale of an aſs with a golden head.

“In this holy place (ſays Apion) the Jews had the golden head of an aſs of very great value; which head the Jews worſhipp'd, and it was a deity anſwerable to their religion; the image (he ſays) of an immenſe value was found depoſited in the treaſury, and carry'd away by Antiochus Epiphanes, upon the rifling of that ſacred place.’’ Now my anſwer to Apion is this: That ſuppoſing the ſtory to have been a truth, it would not yet look well out of the mouth of an Egyptian to reproach us with it; for an aſs is not one jot more ſcandalous than a goat or a weezle, or ſeveral other beaſts which the Egyptians adore. How could any man be ſo beſotted now as to believe himſelf, in ſo incredible an impoſture, with twenty groſs contradictions in the face of him? Have we not ſtill govern'd ourſelves from time to time by the ſame laws and cuſtoms, without ever ſhifting or changing? And tho' Jeruſalem hath borne her part in the common fate of other cities, and fallen into the hands of enemies over and over, as Theos, Pompey the Great, Licinius Craſſus, and of Titus Ceſar now at laſt, temple and all, there was no talk of an aſs's head found there, nor of any thing extraordinary, but the pureſt piety, and the enſigns of it, which will not be properly a ſubject for this place.

The treachery and ſacrilege of Antiochus.

As for Antiochus, his pilaging of the temple was a faithleſs and a perfidious action. He did not maſter it as a fair enemy, but as a treacherous friend, and a traitor to his allies. He wanted money, and thus he ſupply'd his neceſſities, like a common thief by robbery: But in ſhort, we have many grave hiſtorians to bear us witneſs, that there was nothing found, as he pretends, upon the rifling of it, to make the party or the cauſe ridiculous. As among others, I may reckon Polybius the Megalopolitan, Strabo the Cappadocian, Nicolas the Damaſcen, Timagenes, Caſtor the chronologer, and Apollodorus; who do all agree, that Antiochus being very neceſſitous, broke faith with the Jews, and robb'd the temple of a prodigious maſs of gold and ſilver. Now if Apion had not had the heart of an aſs, and the impudence of a dog, two of the gods uſually worſhipp'd by them, he would have taken theſe circumſtances into conſideration. But we are not yet come to have that veneration for our aſſes, that the Egyptians have for their aſps and crocodiles; wherein they are ſo ſuperſtitious, that whoſoever is ſtung by the one, or ſnatch'd away by the other, they reckon he goes immediately to the gods. But aſſes are to us the very ſame thing they are to other wiſe men: We make uſe of them to carry our burdens, and do our drudgery; but if they ſpoil the corn, or will not do as they ſhould do, we correct them with blows.

Now after all this ſpite and calumny, Apion's inventions have been either ſo ill laid, or ſo ill put together, that he could never get credit enough in the world yet to do us any hurt. But there is another malicious ſtory ſtill behind, that paſſes all the reſt, and he borrow'd it from the Greeks: We ſhall not need to ſay more of it than this, That they know little of what belongs to piety or holy things, who do not underſtand, that the prophaning of a temple by walking through it, is a much more pardonable offence, than the raiſing of ſcandals againſt religious men, and reflecting indignities upon thoſe who ſerve at the altar: But it was their buſineſs rather to palliate a ſacrilegious and a perfidious prince, by impoting what he did to his neceſſities, than to do right to us, and our temple.

A fantaſtical encounter between Antiochus and a Grecian.

Apion ſays farther, "That Antiochus, "upon entring the temple, found a man in "bed there, with a table before him, ſet out "with all the delicacies that either ſea or "land afforded. This man was ſo ſurpriz'd "at the encounter, that, looking upon Antiochus "as his good angel, and one that came "to reſcue him, he threw himſelf at his feet, "and in a poſture of adoration, implor'd his "aſſiſtance. The king bade him ſpeak freely, "and tell him what he was; how he came "thither, what he did there; and finally, "what was the meaning of that treat there "upon the table. The poor man, upon this, "burſt out preſently into a paſſion, and with "ſighs and tears gave him this anſwer.

"I am (ſays he) a Greek; and as I was "wandring up and down this country for a "livelihood, I was taken up at unawares by "ſome outlandiſh people, who brought me "to this place, and ſhut me up here, with "order not to let any creature come at me. "I was at firſt well enough pleaſed with an "entertainment ſo much beyond my expectation: "but upon ſecond thoughts, finding myſelf "a little ſuſpicious and uneaſy, I ſounded "ſome of my keepers to know what might "be the meaning of this way of proceeding, "and the reſolution they gave me was this; "That the Jews had a law or cuſtom among "themſelves once a year, upon a certain day "prefix'd, to ſeize upon a Grecian ſtranger: "and ſo when they had kept him a fattening "for one whole year, to take him out into a "wood, and offer him up for a ſacrifice, according "to the ſolemnity of their own forms; "taking a taſte of his blood, with a horrid "oath at the ſame time, to live and die mortal "enemies to the Greeks: after which, they "caſt the remainder of this miſerable carcaſs "into a ditch. The Greek told Antiochus "likewiſe, that his time was within a few "days of being expir'd; adjuring him by the "veneration he had for the Grecian Gods, to "deliver him from that inhuman treachery of "the Jews."

This tragical invention was carry'd on to the higheſt pitch of ſhameleſs cruelty; but not ſo far yet, as to diſcharge Antiochus of the ſacrilege in any ſort, as thoſe paraſites would have had it, who trump'd up this ſtory in his favour. For it was not upon the Greek's account that Antiochus enter'd the temple; but he found him there after he was in, without any foreknowledge of the matter; ſo that it was a wickedneſs in his heart, not to be warranted upon any falſe pretence whatſoever, as will appear manifeſtly from the thing itſelf. Now the difference is much greater betwixt our laws and the Egyptians, and thoſe of ſeveral other nations, than betwixt us and the Greeks; or where is the country, in fine, that has not people of all religions ſome time or other to paſs thro' it? and how comes it now at laſt, that this fantaſtical barbarity ſhould be exerciſ'd only upon the Greeks? or how is it poſſible that the Jews ſhould all join in the ſolemnizing of theſe ſacrifices; and ſo many thouſands, as Apion numbers them, have every one a morſel out of the carcaſs of one miſerable wretch? and then how comes it that we have not the name of this perſecuted Greek, whoever he was; and that Antiochus did not ſend him back again in pomp and ſtate, into his own country, which would have given him the reputation of a prince of piety and a true lover of his people, beſides procuring him the alliance of all other nations, who wou'd have readily join'd him againſt the power and hatred of the Jews?

No convincing of a fool but by demonſtration.

But there's no working upon fools by argument, without the demonſtrative evidence of ſenſe and fact. Now there is not any man that ever ſaw this temple of ours, but can witneſs the care that was taken, by inviolable laws and proviſions, to order every thing in purity and perfection. It was divided into four partitions, and a guard appointed for each of them apart. The firſt diviſion was open to all comers, ſtrangers and all, without any reſerve; only women excepted in their monthly courſes; Jews and their wives (that is to ſay, clean and purify'd) were admitted into the ſecond; and male Jews purify'd in like manner, into the third. The fourth was only for the prieſts in their ſacerdotal habits; and none but the high-prieſt, in his pontifical robes peculiar to his dignity, to enter the holy ſanctuary: nay, ſo ſtrict and punctual were they in all the niceties of form and decorum, that the very prieſts themſelves could not have admittance but at ſuch certain hours.

A deſcription, and a diviſion of the temple.

The rules and methods of the Jewiſh worſhip and diſcipline.

Upon the opening of the temple in the morning, the prieſts that were to officiate, attended and enter'd; and ſo at noon, upon the ſhutting of it up again. There was in the temple an altar, a table, a cenſer and a candleſtick, according to the direction of the law; neither was it lawful to carry into it any other veſſel. There was no eating or feaſting, nor any thing at all done in myſtery, but in the face of the whole congregation; and all things in ſuch method too, that tho' there were four tribes of prieſts, and in every tribe upward of five thouſand perſons, they took their turns yet of attendance upon their ſet and certain days; and ſo ſucceſſively, as one went off, another came on: and then about noon, meeting all together in the temple, they deliver'd up their reſpective truſts one to another: ſome diſcharging themſelves of the keys, others of the veſſels, and without bringing any thing at all into that holy place that belongs to meat or drink: for it is not lawful to offer any thing upon our altars, but what is provided for the ſacrifice. What then can we call Apion's writings but an heap of inconſiſtencies and improbabilities, put together at a venture without any regard to truth or falſhood; which is certainly the fouleſt thing that can be ſaid of any man who ſets up for an hiſtorian, or a lover of letters? beſide that at the ſame time, when Apion publiſhes his ſpiteful invectives againſt us without any foundation, on the one hand, he ſuppreſſes all the good things of us, that he certainly knows to be true, on the other. Now for the fancy of his Greek priſoner, his luxurious entertainment, and the people's paſſing thro' the temple as a thoroughfare, where it is notoriouſly known that none but prieſts durſt preſume to ſhew their heads; this is all a forgery and a contrivance of malice prepenſe, to ſeduce thoſe who are unwilling to give themſelves the trouble of ſearching out the truth. Theſe are the evil practices he has made uſe of to vilify and traduce us.

Nothing ſo foul as partiality in an hiſtorian.

Apion purſues the humour ſtill, with one

fable

A ridiculous fiction of one Zabidus.

fable upon the back of another, to make us yet more and more odious; and ſo furniſhes another foppiſh ſtory out of the mouth of the Grecian, in theſe words. “While the Jews and the Idumeans, (ſays he) were engaged in a long and an obſtinate war, there came a man over to the Jews out of ſome city or other of Idumea, where they worſhipped Apollo, and this man's name was Zabidus; who promis'd them to put Apollo, the God of the Dorians, into their hands, if they could but get the Jews to gather all together into the temple in a body. Zabidus, upon this, contriv'd a certain machine of boards, and, conveying himſelf into it, ſet up three rows of lights upon it, which appear'd at a diſtance like a comet upon the ground.*

“This apparition was ſo great a ſurprize to the Jews, that they ſtood gazing at it a far off, without ſo much as one word ſpeaking. Zabidus, in the mean while, ſtole into the temple, and without any difficulty, ſeiz'd the aſs's golden head (as he pleaſantly renders it) and carry'd it away to Dora.” The ſillineſs of this invention ſpeaks Apion the greater aſs of the two; together with an incomparable impudence, over and above the folly of it; for there are no ſuch places to be found as ſeveral that he mentions. He does not ſo much as know where Idumea lies; or that there is no ſuch city in it as Dora. There is a place indeed of that name in Phenicia, not far from mount Carmel; but this is four days journey from Judea, and none of Apion's Dora.

Reflections upon Apion's fooleries.

He is much in the right ſure to condemn us for not worſhipping other people's gods, if, as he ſays, our forefathers were ſo credulous as to believe that Apollo would come over to them, and that he look'd like a walking comet. It was a wonder again that the Jews ſhould not know a lamp or a torch, when they ſaw it, from a ſtar, that had ſo many of their own: and the miracle was little leſs, that Apollo ſhould go off clear with his aſs's head thorough ſo many thouſands of people, without ſo much as being queſtion'd about it, and no guards to ſtop him, either in town or country; and this in the heat of the war too.

Here are more words already about a ridiculous hiſtory than the thing is worth; and yet I cannot but wonder again, over and over, how the temple gates of ſixty † cubits in in height, ‡ twenty in breadth, plated all over, and within a little of maſſy gold; two hundred men every day to ſhut them, and a crime unpardonable to leave them open: —— How theſe gates, I ſay, ſhould be manag'd by one ſingle man, and Zabidus, according to the ſtory, to keep the aſs's head to himſelf. Wherefore it may be a queſtion, whether Zabidus brought the head back again, or elſe gave it to Apion, to be laid in the temple on purpoſe for Antiochus to find it, and ſo to furniſh matter for another lying ſtory.

Apion forgeth an oath, and chargeth it upon the Jews.

It is as falſe again, what he ſays of the oath: That is to ſay, that the Jews do ſolemnly ſwear by the Maker of heaven, earth and the ſeas, That they will never do good to any ſtrangers, and above all others, not to the Greeks. Now if this falſifier had ſaid, (eſpecially not to the Egyptians) he might better have conſiſted with himſelf; at leaſt if our predeceſſors were driven out of Egypt, not for their ill manners, but for their misfortunes. As to the Jews and Greeks, they were at ſo great a diſtance one from the other, that there was not the leaſt colour for envy or hatred betwixt them. Nay, on the contrary, ſeveral of them came over to our religion; ſome perſiſted in it, others went off again: but for this pretended oath, Apion is the only man that ever heard of it; and no otherwiſe neither, than as a fiction of his own contriving.

The Jews misfortunes turn'd to their reproach.

But the next is a moſt admirable contrivance. He brings it as an argument againſt the juſtice of our laws, or manner of worſhip, and the truth of our religion, that we are under the burden of ſervitude, and oppreſſion, not only in our perſons, but in our capital city itſelf; a city, that how free and powerful ſoever it hath been formerly, is at preſent no better than a tributary to the Romans; and where are the people now that are to contend with them? or who but Apion would reaſon the caſe at this foppiſh rate, as if dominion were an entail? Whereas government and ſubjection take their fortunes in the world by turns. Only the Egyptians pretend an immunity from all ſervices to the rulers of Aſia and Europe; which they ground upon the gratitude of the ſtrange gods, that fled from abroad into their country for ſanctuary, and there ſecur'd themſelves in the ſhape of beaſts. Was ever ſo ſenſeleſs a vanity as this heard of, from the mouth of a ſort of people who never enjoy'd one day of liberty in an age, either at home or abroad? How often have the Perſians had the Egyptians at their feet; razing their cities, ravaging their temples, deſtroying their idol deities, and vilifying their worſhip? But I am not for writing after Apion's copy, and turning a misfortune into a reproach. Where was there ever a braver people than the Lacedemonians, or a nation of more exemplary piety than the Athenians? And yet neither the virtue of the one, nor the courage of the other was ſufficient to ſecure them againſt the chances of war, and the common fate of kingdoms and ſtates. To ſay nothing of the miſerable diſaſters that have attended the beſt of kings, as Creſus for one; the laying of the tower of Athens, the temples of Epheſus and Delphi, and ſeveral other illuſtrious places and palaces, all in aſhes. Now the ſcandal in ſuch inſtances as theſe, falls in courſe upon the actors of theſe tragical devaſtations, not upon the ſufferers of them; however our accuſer Apion has found out a new way of crimination, without ſo much as dreaming how far Egypt itſelf is concern'd in the parity of the caſe. But he was ſo taken up with the fabulous exploits of Seſoſtris king of Egypt, that he knew not what he did. Now if we were given to be vain on the other hand, we might find kings of our own to boaſt of, as David and Solomon, with the hiſtory of the princes and nations that were ſubdu'd by their victorious arms. But we ſhall rather keep to our text. What were the Egyptians, but firſt,

A diſcourſe upon government and ſubjection.

The Lacedemonians and the Athenians, brave but unfortunate. No fence againſt the chances of war.

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* Here ends the chaſm in the Greek copy ſupply'd by the Latin.

† Sixty cubits were upwards of one hundred and nine Engliſh feet, that is thirty ſix yards and one foot.

‡ Twenty cubits were ſomething more than thirty ſix Engliſh feet, that is, twelve yards.

ſlaves to the Perſians, with other princes of Aſia, and ſo to the Macedonians; while we all this while liv'd in a ſtate of freedom, with the command of all the neighbouring cities, for the ſpace of a hundred and twenty years, that is to ſay, to the time of Pompey the great? And then at laſt, when the Romans had over-run all the other kings they had to do withal, our forefathers were the only people they treated like friends and allies for their faith and valour. But Apion, it ſeems, knew nothing of all this, and makes himſelf a ſtranger to things as clear as the ſun to all the world beſide.

The Jews the only favourites of the Romans.

The calumnies of Apion laid open.

Apion has now another throw at us, for an obſcure ignorant ſort of people. “The Jews (he “ſays) have no famous men among them for arts “and ſciences, or for the political wiſdom of “managing governments and ſtates; ſuch, I “mean, as Socrates, Zeno, Cleanthes, and the “like.” Nay, he does not forget to place himſelf in the liſt of his famous men; but bleſſes Alexandria in the honour of having Apion for a citizen. As to this character of Apion, all people have ſo mean an opinion of him, for the extravagant corruption of his life and manners, that it would never have been believ'd but from his own mouth: So that Alexandria is rather to be pity'd than envy'd for valuing itſelf upon ſuch a ſupporter. As to the point in competition betwixt the two nations, which of them ſhould have the preference for men of art and learning, the reader has no more to do but to conſult our Antiquities for his ſatisfaction. And then for that part of the ſcandal that remains unanſwer'd, we cannot do better than to refer him to his own contradictions, wherein he accuſes himſelf and other Egyptians.

His vanity and ſelf-conceit.

He takes great offence at our ſacrificing ordinary beaſts, the ſcruple we make at the eating of ſwine's fleſh; and then for the ceremony of our circumciſion, he makes a downright mock of it. As to our killing of beaſts, it is no more than what all the world does as well as we; and then for our ſacrifices, he diſcovers himſelf before he's aware to be an Egyptian, by ſpeaking againſt them; for a Greek or a Macedonian, that makes a profeſſion of offering whole hecatombs to the Gods themſelves without any difficulty, would never have ſtumbled upon that block. They ſhare alſo with their prieſts in the fleſh of their oblations, and no danger all this while of deſtroying the ſpecies of thoſe animals, as Apion ſeems to apprehend; whereas if all other people were of the Egyptians humour, the world would come quickly rather to want men, and there would be a ſtock of ravenous wild beaſts to fill their places; for thoſe are the Gods they train up and worſhip.

The precepts of the Egyptian prieſts.

If the queſtion were now put to Apion, what ſort of Egyptians he takes to be the holieſt and the wiſeſt men, his anſwer undoubtedly would be the prieſts; for they have theſe two precepts tranſmitted down to them in a tradition from their firſt kings, i. e. to worſhip the Gods, and to apply themſelves to the ſtudy of wiſdom. And this they all make profeſſion to do; they are all of them circumciſ'd over and above, forbear ſwine's fleſh, and join with no other ſort of Egyptians in their ſacrifices; ſo that Apion did wonderfully miſtake his meaſures, when, inſtead of gratifying the Egyptians with invectives againſt us, he advanced a direct accuſation againſt thoſe he pretended to favour, in charging the ſame ceremonies upon them that he blames us for; and likewiſe adviſing and encouraging circumciſion in others, as we have it upon the credit of Herodotus. It ſeems to me now that Apion's puniſhment (as it follows here) was very juſt upon him, for ſpeaking ſuch bitter things againſt the laws of his country. He was forced, by advice, upon a circumciſion; the wound feſter'd, and the part ulcerating upon it, the diſtemper carry'd him off in miſerable torments. This may ſerve for a warning to thoſe that, like Apion, abandon all the rules and duties of life and good manners themſelves, and then employ their wits in defaming of their neighbours. This was Apion's caſe: He apoſtatiz'd from the laws of his own country, and he bely'd ours. We are now come to the end of Apion's life, and it is time to put an end to this book too.”

The miſerable death of Apion.

But ſince ſo it is, that Apollonius Molon, Lyſimachus, and ſeveral others, have caſt out ſome words, like fools or madmen, to the diſhonour of Moſes, our excellent law-giver, aſperſing him for an impoſtor and a magician, and repreſenting his laws as peſtilent and dangerous, it will not be amiſs to give the world ſome ſhort account, as well particular as general, of our converſation and government; and I doubt not but to make it appear that there was never ſuch a body of laws fram'd for the common good of mankind, as theſe of Moſes; either for the advancing of piety, juſtice, charity, induſtry, the regulation of human ſociety, reſignation, and patience, to the very contempt of death itſelf; never the like, I ſay, if people would but impartially conſider them; for I am not here upon a panegyrick to the honour of our anceſtors, but doing a neceſſary right to the cauſe, againſt calumny and detraction.

Moſes defended againſt Apollonius and others.

The excellency of Moſes's laws.

Now Apollonius does not carry on his malice, like Apion, in a continu'd ſet diſcourſe, but now and then by intervals as the humour takes him: One while he makes atheiſts of us, and a hateful ſort of people both to God and man; another he will have us to be cowards; and then our fault is at the next word that we are too forward and fool-hardy, and arranter ſots than the moſt ſtupid of barbarians; for the Jews never invented any thing (he ſays) that mankind was the better for. Now there needs no more to the confuting of theſe ſpiteful ſuggeſtions, than to examine the conſtitution of the laws by which we are govern'd, and the ſtrict conformity of our lives and practices to thoſe precepts. But now if we ſhall be forc'd, in our own juſtification, to rip up the imperfections of other polities, they may thank themſelves for provoking us to it by an opprobrious compariſon, and making the reproach we caſt upon them neceſſary to our own defence.

Apollonius his way of defaming the Jews.

There are, in ſhort, but two points in the caſe. Firſt, are the laws we pretend to good and profitable, or not? Secondly, are we ſtrict obſervers, or not, of our own laws? If they ſhould deny the former, we are ready to make it out from an undeniable abſtract of the very laws themſelves. And then the ſecond part is ſo clear, that it will not bear ſo much as a queſtion. But to carry it a little farther yet;

Two main points in the caſe.

It is without diſpute, that the firſt founders of laws for the eſtabliſhment of order and diſcipline, out of a good will to the publick, are to be prefer'd infinitely before thoſe that live without any rule or method at all; for they all appeal to antiquity, and take it for a greater honour to teach others what they ought to do, than barely to imitate what they ſee done before them. Now this being given for granted, it is the law-giver's part in the firſt place, to make ſuch a proviſion of laws, as may ſerve to promote the good of the community, by the very convenience and reaſon of them; while the people, on the other ſide, ſtand firm to the eſtabliſhment, in deſpite of all trials and temptations.

Moſes undoubtedly the firſt law-giver.

As to the antiquity of our law-giver, he has undoubtedly a right to a precedence before all others: For Lycurgus, Solon, and Zeleucus of Locris, with the reſt of the eminent Greeks they ſo much boaſt of, were all but novices and upſtarts compar'd with Moſes. The very name of law was not as yet ſo much as heard of, and Homer himſelf wanted a word for it. The people in thoſe days were not govern'd by written precepts, but by the abſolute will and pleaſure of kings, and ſo it held a long time by authoritative orders and proviſions to anſwer the occaſion. But our law-giver, having his claim of priority granted him by his very enemies, acquitted himſelf likewiſe to admiration, in all the offices of adminiſtration and council. Firſt in compoſing ſuch a body of laws as might anſwer all the neceſſities of human life; and after that, in getting them receiv'd among the people, with a declaration that they would mantain and obey them. But we ſhall the better judge of the man by his works.

Homer himſelf wanted a word for a law.

The hiſtory of Moſes.

When our fore-fathers, under his conduct, to the number of many thouſands, march'd out of the land of Egypt into the country that God had had appointed for them, thorough a barren, ſandy deſart without water, and had ſeveral encounters with the enemy by the way, in defence of themſelves, their wives, and their children; who was their guide all this while to carry them off through theſe almoſt inſuperable difficulties, but our careful law-giver ſtill, in the quality both of a valiant general, a wiſe councellor, and their common protector? A perſon of ſo exemplary a modeſty, that, tho' the people were every man of them at his command, to do what he would with them, he never took upon himſelf to act any thing by his own power; but in caſes where other men pretended to tyrannize and domineer, and to indulge a general licence and debauch, Moſes, on the contrary, walk'd in the fear of God, and by his example encourag'd the people in the exerciſe of piety and juſtice, as their beſt ſecurity, together with the improvement of all accidents.

Moſes was the peoples guide and God himſelf was Moſes's.

Moses was much in the right to look upon God as his oracle and adviſer; and then, being ſatisfy'd in himſelf that he could not do amiſs, ſo long as he committed himſelf to the conduct of divine Providence, he did his uttermoſt to poſſeſs the common people alſo with the ſame thing; for nothing puts ſuch a check upon us in all our iniquities, as to conſider that God ſees us; ſo that, in fine, our law-giver was not a ſeducer or a magician, as he is falſely repreſented, but ſuch another as Minos and others after him were reputed among the Greeks; ſome aſcribing the original of their laws to Jupiter, others to Apollo, or the oracle at Delphi. But whether theſe men believed this themſelves, or only gave it out to have the people believe it, may be a queſtion; but we ſhall beſt judge of the excellency and ſacredneſs of theſe laws by comparing them, which is the next thing we are to do.

The original of the Grecian laws.

Several forms of government.

Several nations have their ſeveral forms of government, and their diverſities of laws. Some governments are committed to a ſingle perſon, others to the people: But our law-giver was neither for the one nor the other, but, betwixt both, for that which he calls a holy common-wealth; aſſigning God himſelf for the head of it, with a reſpect both to worſhip and power, as the fountain and the author of all good. To him it is that we fly for ſuccour in our diſtreſſes, who hears our prayers, and ſearches the very ſecrets of our hearts. He inculcates to us the doctrine of one God, one uncreated, unchangeable, and eternal being, infinitely glorious and incomprehenſible, any further than what we know of him by his works. Now this is no more than what we have in a great meaſure from the wiſer ſort of the Greek philoſophers themſelves, even by the light of nature; for they do all unanimouſly agree, upon the congruity of theſe principles, to the majeſty and excellence of God; as Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, and after them the Stoicks, who are almoſt wholly of the ſame mind as to this ſubject. But the multitude, being engag'd in a violent and a ſuperſtitious prepoſſeſſion againſt theſe opinions, the philoſophers durſt not venture too far in the promoting of them. But our law-giver was the only man that liv'd as he taught, both to the ſatisfaction of the preſent age, and to the eſtabliſhing and confirming of poſterity in the truths that he deliver'd, governing himſelf alſo by this conſtant rule, that he made the publick good the end ſtill of all his laws. He gave to underſtand, that God's worſhip was but one part of a holy man's duty, and ſo caſt in the other branches of it, as fortitude, juſtice, and a conſtant interchange of good offices toward mankind over and above; inſomuch that all his precepts and preſcriptions terminated in the advancement of piety, to the honour and glory of God; this being a point that he had thoroughly ſtudy'd and examin'd.

Moſes's holy common-wealth.

What thoughts the Greek philoſophers had of a deity, by the light of nature.

The difference betwixt Moſes and other law-givers.

As to what concerns religion and good manners, it was his way to join the theory with the practice; whereas other law-givers commonly took one part of the diviſion, and left the other. As for example; the people of Lacedemon and Crete were nevertheleſs inſtructed in morals, tho' not by rule and precept; but the Athenians, and well nigh all the other Greeks, had their laws for every thing, tho' they fell ſhort in the practice; whereas our law-giver provided for both in one, attending at the ſame time to the cultivating and perfecting of our morals, with the adapting of proper proviſions in writing to anſwer all occaſions. He begins upon the ſubject of meats and diet, what we may be allow'd to eat, and what not, and with whom, and reducing all people indifferently to the order of that method. He takes the ſame care alſo for a regulation in the matter

Of morality and religion. The Jews are all train'd up to the ſame laws and government.

They keep one day of the week holy according to the law.

of labour and reſt, to the end that no man may be ignorant of his duty; for what the law bids us to do, is the dictate and command of our maſter, and it puniſhes only wilful offenders: But to leave us wholly without excuſe now, in caſe of tranſgreſſing any of theſe holy laws; it is not enough to hear them read over and over (once, twice, or perhaps oft'ner) but we are poſitively commanded (all other work or buſineſs apart) to meet conſtantly once a week in a full congregation, expreſly to attend the reading of the law, and the getting of it by heart, which was never practiſ'd by any other law-givers. Nay, ſo far are the generality of the world from living in a conformity to their own laws, that they do not ſo much as underſtand what they are; but upon committing a fault, they are oblig'd to aſk other people what law they have broken. This is, in ſhort, the very caſe even amongſt men of the firſt quality too; who are not aſham'd tacitly to confeſs their ignorance, in the taking of men learned in the law to their counſel and aſſiſtance; whereas our people have the laws at their fingers ends, as ready as their own names; having been train'd up to them from their very cradle, till they are imprinted in their hearts. And this makes men the more wary of offending, when they find themſelves ſure to be detected and puniſh'd.

A wonderful agreement in life and manners.

THIS is the foundation now of that admirable agreement we find among ourſelves. We have all of us the ſame thoughts of God, the ſame forms of diſcipline and worſhip, our way of life and manners, the very ſame too. It is not with us, as it is with other people that entertain various opinions of one and the ſame God; and thoſe, not only the common ſort of men, who utter their own wild and extravagant notions, and bolt out whatever comes next, but the philoſophers themſelves. Some of them deny the very divinity of God, others his providence, upon an impious ſuggeſtion that all men are equal, and that all things are in common. Now we ſay, on the contrary, that God ſees and diſpoſes of all things, (nay our very wives and ſervants are of the ſame perſuaſion) and that all the actions of our lives ought to be directed to the honour and ſervice of God.

Antiquities ſacred and of divine authority.

Qualifications for the prieſthood.

To ſpeak now to that reflection upon us, as men of no induſtry or invention, either in arts or letters, for keeping ſtill (as they ſay) to the dull plodding train of acting the ſame over and over again: Whereas men of wit and ſpirit value themſelves rather upon making of old things look new, and refining upon the wiſdom and cuſtoms of their fore-fathers. Now for our parts, we make it a point of conſcience not to depart, either in word, thought, or deed, from the eſtabliſhments of former times: The very antiquity itſelf being an infallible mark of a good and well grounded law, which neither time nor argument, will be ever able to deſtroy. But for us now, who firmly believe theſe laws of ours to be of divine inſtitution, we have nothing more to do than to preſerve them ſacred and inviolate. For who ſhall dare to offer at the removing of thoſe foundations which God himſelf hath laid? Or but to think of mending them; tho' by tranſferring the moſt beneficial proviſions out of the beſt of other governments, to the ſervice of our commonwealth? Can any conſtitution be more agreeable, firm, or juſt, than that whereof the king of kings hath vouchſafed to be the author? As to the prieſts, they are qualify'd in common for ſeveral ſpecial ſervices, and the high-prieſt in an order of power and ſuperiority above all the reſt. And they are not promoted by the law-giver to that dignity, for ambition, wealth, or any corrupt intereſt, but for the ſignal teſtimony they have given of their piety, temperance and wiſdom; and to them is committed the care of religion, and God's holy worſhip. They ſerve alſo as judges in controverſies betwixt man and man, with a power to puniſh thoſe that do amiſs. What government now, or what form of government, can be more ſacred or venerable than this; or what greater honour can we do to almighty God, than to ſpend our lives in a daily attendance upon his ſervice, and under the inſpection of the prieſts, to ſee that all things be done with order and reverence? The ſolemnity of this devotion makes every day look like a feſtival: And, whereas other people have much ado to hold out, tho' but for ſome few days, in the continu'd celebration of their myſteries or ſacrifices, as they call them, we are yet as firm, chearful and vigorous in the diſcharge of our duties at this hour, as we were ſo many ages ſince, upon the very firſt inſtitution of them.

Of God's power and providence. Of God and his works.

AMONG other known precepts of our religion, we are taught in the firſt place, That God is all in all, perfect, happy, and ſelf-ſufficient; the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things, glorious in all his actions and works; nothing ſo manifeſt as his power and greatneſs, or at the ſame time ſo incomprehenſible. It is not for the tongue of man to expreſs, or for the heart of man ſo much as to conceive any reſemblance of that divine majeſty. He is, in fine, incomparable in all his excellencies and attributes, infinitely beyond art or imitation: ſo that it is impoſſible to ſee, or to imagine any thing like him; for, being a ſpirit, he is alſo inviſible. But we are allow'd to read him however in his works; as in the light, the heavens, the earth, the ſun, the moon, the rivers, the ſea, ſeveral ſorts of animals, various plants, &c. which were all the work of God, and created without either labour or hands, or any ſecond to his aſſiſtance: But his will, and his word gave them their being. He made every thing by the word of his power, and in the ſame inſtant looking upon it, he pronounc'd it to be good. This is the almighty Sovereign that we are all bound to love and adore, in the ſtudy and exerciſe of virtue, which is the only way to pleaſe him.

One God, one world, and one temple.

The office and authority of the prieſts.

As there is but one God, and one world, in common to all mankind, it holds in the analogy that there ſhould be but one temple too; for God takes delight in the congruities of order and proportion. In this temple, the prieſts offer up their daily devotions; the firſt in quality, is the firſt that ſacrifices. He takes care that the laws be duly obſerv'd, hears cauſes, and puniſhes thoſe that the law condemns; and it is in effect as penal to diſpute the authority of the prieſt, as to appeal from the judgment of God himſelf.

An abſtract of Moſes's laws and precepts. The ſacrificers are to be temperate and ſober.

IN eating the fleſh of our ſacrifices, we muſt have a care not to extend that liberty to the degree of gluttony and exceſs; for God, who is a lover of ſobriety, and all manner of temperance, can never be pleas'd with the extravagances of violence and profuſion.

The prieſt begins his office with prayers for the general good of mankind, and after that, every man for himſelf, as a part of the whole; being well aſſur'd, that nothing is ſo acceptable in the ſight of God as a mutual charity and tenderneſs among men, one for another.

What to pray for.

When we offer up our prayers and vows to Almighty God, we are not to petition for wealth, honour, and the good things of this world; for theſe are bleſſings which he is pleaſed to beſtow in common upon mankind; but our prayer muſt be for a good diſpoſition of mind, to make a proper and right uſe of what we have.

Of purifications.

The law hath alſo preſcribed us certain formal purifications, in the caſe of women, and under other ſorts of limitation and reſtriction, too many and too tedious to be inſerted in this place. This is what the law ſays of God, and of the ways of pleaſing him, and he himſelf all this while is effectually that very law.

Of marriages.

But now to the point of marriage: If it be purely for the ſake of children, without any by-regard to the fortune, and not to gratify any looſe appetite; if there be no force or fraud in the caſe, and, provided it be done with the conſent of parents, and not within the degrees forbidden, our laws approve of it. But as for the ſin of unnatural luſts, the very attempt is puniſh'd with death.

The wife to be ſubject to her husband.

Penalties in caſes of incontinence.

The law ſays further, that the woman ſhall be ſubject in all things to her husband; which muſt not be taken for a diſpenſation to abuſe her under that cover, but as a proviſion for the upholding of decency and good order; for God hath given the man power over his wife. The woman is to have no carnal knowledge of any other man, upon pain of death without mercy; and he that abuſes a betrothed virgin, incurs the ſame penalty. It is the ſame thing alſo in caſe of corrupting a married woman, or a mother of children. This is all according to our law, which is likewiſe no leſs ſevere upon thoſe women who either conceal their children when they are brought into the world, or otherwiſe deſtroy them: for the ſoul ſuffers with the body, beſide that it is in ſome degree an unpeopling of the world. Whoever accompanies with a woman, is look'd upon by our law to be unclean; and the woman alſo is obliged to waſh and purify herſelf after that congreſs with her husband; to which end there is purifying water ſtill at hand for ſuch an occaſion: ſo near is the communication in this caſe betwixt ſoul and body.

Corporal purifications.

As to the cuſtom of feaſting, or merry-making at the birth of children, our law doth not upon any terms approve of it; partly, to train them up to ſobriety betimes, and in part, for fear it might prove a temptation to intemperance and debauch. It is alſo provided that children ſhould be brought up to the knowledge of letters, both in law and hiſtory; for an encouragement to them on the one hand, to do great things in imitation of great examples, and to fortify them on the other ſide, in a perfect underſtanding of their duty.

Care taken to moderate the pomp of funerals.

There was care taken alſo for moderating the vain pomp and expenſe of burials, in monuments, and funeral ſolemnities. But yet for the decency of an office ſo human and neceſſary, it was committed to the domeſticks to ſee right done to the memory of their maſters; and all people were permitted upon the death of any man, to come in, and lament, and condole over the deceaſed; but the houſe was ſtill to be purify'd ſo ſoon as the funeral was over, and the family to keep at a diſtance, as men reputed unclean.

Neither is the law ſilent in caſes either of wilful murder, or of chance-medley; but it directs a diſtinguiſhing puniſhment according to the quality of the crime.

The duty of children to parents, and of the younger to the elder.

We are enjoined reverence to parents, next to the veneration we pay to God himſelf; and the law appoints the ungrateful and the diſobedient to be ſton'd to death. The younger ſort are commanded to pay a reſpect to their elders; for God was before all things. There muſt be no ſuch thing as a ſecret among friends; for friendſhip implies an entire confidence without any reſerve. Nay, where a friendſhip is diſſolv'd, we muſt not yet be falſe to a former truſt.

Of friendſhip

Severe laws againſt bribes, fraud, extortion, &c.

The judge that takes a bribe is to be puniſh'd with death, for ſiding with the guilty, and oppreſſing the righteous. Every man is reſtrain'd from touching any thing wrongfully of his neighbour's, from taking away what does not belong to him, or lending his money upon uſury. And ſo let this ſuffice as to the regulation of our dealings one with another.

How to treat ſtrangers.

It will be worth our while, in the next place, to ſee how we are to behave ourſelves toward ſtrangers, and to ſhew that our law-giver hath not been wanting in any thing toward the advancing of the publick good; either by keeping us firm to our own laws, or by communicating the benefit of them to others that have a mind to partake of them. For he receives with open arms all that come over to us, of what nation ſoever, indifferently; provided they agree in the ſame common principles of life and manners. But for thoſe who come to us only by the bye, and without any intent to join with us, thoſe people are not ſuffer'd to intermix with us in our ſolemnities: But we are obliged, however, to do them the beſt offices we can to all other purpoſes. As for example: If they ſhould want fire, water, food, or the like, we are commanded to ſupply them, or to ſet any of them right that are out of the way; and ſo to give a dead body a decent burial. Now theſe are all duties of humanity abſtracted from religion.

How to behave our ſelves towards our enemies.

He preſcribes rules of moderation alſo to be obſerv'd toward enemies, without forcing war to the extremities of fire and ſword. Nay, our law-giver's charity extends to the very eaſing of priſoners, women eſpecially; and ſo for the dead bodies that fell in battle, he would not ſuffer them to be ſtripp'd.

Duties of humanity apart from thoſe of religion.

Such, in fine, was the paſſion he had for the encouraging of tenderneſs and good nature among men, that he recommended the practice of it, even towards unreaſonable creatures, in allowing us no other power over them, than for the lawful and the neceſſary uſe and ſervice of mankind. As for domeſtick creatures that are brought up tame in our houſes, they are to be ſpar'd; neither in other caſes are the dam and the young to be deſtroy'd together. Beaſts of labour and common uſe, are likewiſe to be forborn, tho' in ſome reſpects miſchievous.

These were the conſtitutions and proviſions of our law-giver upon this topick, both for the promoting of tender inclinations by inſtructive doctrines, (as aforeſaid) upon that ſubject; and likewiſe for the deterring of tranſgreſſors by anexemplary and an inexorable rigour. For the puniſhment in many caſes is no leſs than death; for inſtance, in adultery, rape, and unnatural practices, as well in the agent as in the patient, and the penalty reaches all conditions too, whether bond or free.

Duties of common juſtice between man and man.

We have our laws alſo concerning weights and meaſures, and all ſorts of frauds in buying or ſelling, taking away another man's goods, or appropriating to ourſelves what is not our own. Now offenders of this kind, are puniſh'd with much more ſeverity under our laws, than elſewhere.

The reward of well doing.

He that blaſphemes God, or but attempts any kind of indignity upon his divine Majeſty, and he that behaves himſelf contumaciouſly toward his father or his mother, they are all doom'd to death upon the place. And the reward at laſt promiſed to theſe people for what they do and ſuffer, in the obſervance of theſe laws, is not gold and ſilver, imperial crowns, and precious ſtones, but the comfort and teſtimony of a good conſcience, with an aſſurance of an eternal happineſs; an aſſurance grounded not only upon the predictions of the law-giver, but upon the promiſe alſo of the God of truth to thoſe that keep his laws. And in this truſt and confidence, they look upon death itſelf only as the bleſſed means of tranſporting them from this life to a better.

The Jews firm in all extremities.

I ſhould have made a conſcience of ſaying thus much, if the matter of fact were not as clear as the ſun in the hiſtory of our fore-fathers, what torments they have undergone, and with what reſolution they have borne them, rather than let fall one word to the diſhonour of their profeſſion. But let us make it the caſe now, that the Jews were a people never ſo much as heard of upon the face of the earth, and no witneſſes to the veneration we have conſtantly paid to our laws: What would the Grecians think of it, if any body ſhould but tell them a ſtory of what they had heard, or read, of a people in ſome imaginary unknown land, that had ſtood true and firm for ſo many ages, to the religion, laws, and cuſtoms of their predeceſſors? Would they not all wonder at it, eſpecially when there are ſuch continual changes among themſelves?

Plato a great man, and yet ridicul'd for his politicks.

Lycurgus famous for the reputation and continuance of his laws.

As for their modern writers that treat of ſtate and government, how are they ridicul'd for relating incredibilities? To ſay nothing of ſeveral other philoſophers, that have handled the ſame ſubject, there is Plato himſelf, the very oracle of the Greeks, and a man in ſingular eſteem for his wiſdom, piety and manners, and a philoſopher of the firſt rate over and above; how is this great man banter'd and buffoon'd upon a publick theatre, by ſome ſelf-conceited pretenders, for his wild notions of government, as they call them! When yet upon a ſtrict examination of his writings, they will be found agreeable both to reaſon and nature. But to take him upon his own confeſſion: “It is not ſafe (he ſays) for a wiſe man to “tell what he thinks of God, for fear of the “impetuous ignorance of the common people.” But Plato (they ſay) writes like a man of vanity and licenſe. Lycurgus indeed was a man celebrated for a law-giver in perfection, out of a reverence they had to the duration of his laws under the ſame adminiſtration. Now if ſo it be, that antiquity and long continuance of laws adds to their ſanction, and is an argument of their goodneſs, with what face ſhall the Lacedemonians ſet up for competitors with us, in the point of antiquity, who have been now upward of two thouſand years in poſſeſſion of our claim? To which I muſt add this over and above, that the Lacedemonians themſelves kept up their laws to the height, no longer than while they were free and enjoy'd their liberty: But ſo ſoon as fortune abandon'd them, they fell off, and abandon'd their laws.

The Jews ſtand all trials.

But for our parts, after all the broils and changes in Aſia, and ourſelves reduc'd to the laſt extremity, it cannot be ſaid that we ever departed from the cuſtoms and ceremonies of our fore-fathers; neither can it be objected againſt us, that we ever conſulted either our eaſe or our pleaſure, in preſerving them as we did. For whoever compares the condition of both parties, will find the Jews to have been upon much harder duty than the Lacedemonians. For they were put to no offices of drudgery, in digging and delving, or to any other handicraft-labour; but liv'd in the city, at their eaſe, fat and fair, and all manner of neceſſaries provided them to their hand; ſo that they had nothing more to do, but now and then upon occaſion, to encounter the publick enemy. And what if I ſhould ſay now, that they fail'd in that too? For they went over in frequent deſertions, not only here and there one, but in whole troops together ſometimes; who contrary to law and duty, and the common obligation of citizens and ſoldiers, deliver'd themſelves up with their arms tamely to the enemy. Can any body ſay the ſame thing of us now? I cannot call to mind above two or three at moſt of our people, that ever betray'd their cauſe for fear of death. I do not ſpeak of a ſoldier's death with his ſword in his hand, and in the field of battle, but of a death of exquiſite cruelty and torment; a miſery that many of our people have been expos'd to; not out of a bloody malice, as I verily perſuade myſelf, but to try the experiment of ſo heroical a conſtancy, and to ſee if there be any ſuch men in the world, as will rather be torn to pieces, than be guilty of any one word or action derogatory to the dignity of their laws.

The ſeverity of the Jewiſh diſcipline.

Now this conſtancy of the Jews above all other nations is no great wonder neither; for the very ordinary way of our living would be a kind of ſeverity to any other ſort of people: That is to ſay, in the fatigues of labour, hard fare, days of indiſpenſible abſtinence and reſt, coarſe lodging, cloathing, and the like. I would fain know now how theſe people, in the heat and freedom of a military life, would behave themſelves at the ſame time in the forbearance of forbidden meats, and in the caſe of other reſtrictions? Whereas the thing that we glory in is, the giving of ourſelves up to an unchangable conſtancy and reſignation, in obedience to our laws and duties.

Wherefore let the Lyſimachus's, and the Molons, and all that ſcribbling crew of cenſorious pretenders, and perverters of youth; let them all go on, I ſay, in their uncharitable way of repreſenting us for the worſt of men.

It is not our buſineſs to traduce other people's laws, but to keep ſteaddy to our own. Nay, ſuch was the tenderneſs of our gentle

Moſes makes a conſcience of irreverence, even towards falſe gods.

The Greeks fabulous deities.

law-giver, that he would not ſuffer ſo much as the leaſt indignity or contempt to be put upon the reputed gods of other nations: and this he did, out of a reverence to the very name of a deity. But it will not become us yet to be altogether ſilent, in a caſe where it is both ſo eaſy, and ſo neceſſary, to ſtop the mouths of our adverſaries; and where, in truth, the work is done by other authorities ready to our hands. As for inſtance: Where is that wiſe man among the Greeks, that does not heartily exclaim even againſt the moſt celebrated of their poets, and eſpecially their law-givers, for poiſoning the common people with the impious doctrine of a plurality of Gods, and advancing the account to what number they think fit, and deriving their original from what age and country they pleaſe: nay, and allotting them their proper ſtations and places like other creatures? as they have their ſubterranean gods, their ſea-gods, and ſome of the eldeſt of the race, or family, they keep up chain'd in hell. As for their celeſtial gods, they give Jupiter ('tis true) the name of father, but with the heart and practice of a tyrant: inſomuch that his wife, his brother, and the daughter of his own brain, enter'd into a conſpiracy, according to the fiction, to deſtroy him, as he himſelf had ſerv'd his father. This was the value, in fine, that all wiſe men had of theſe fabulous deities; the fancy being ſo ridiculous, that they could not ſo much as think of it without ſcorn and deriſion. Some of their gods they make to be ſtriplings, others in the prime of their youth and ſtrength, and others again they repreſent to be grave ſeniors with long beards. They have their gods likewiſe (or patrons) of mechanical arts and trades; as ſmiths, weavers, &c. pilgrims, champions, harpers, archers. They have their feuds and factions alſo among themſelves, and ſide with mortals againſt one another. They receive wounds in the quarrel, grieve and pine away under the anguiſh of them. Nay, theſe pretended gods and goddeſſes go farther yet ſtill, even to the horrible licence of amours, and embraces, indifferently with men and women. And what's the caſe of their almighty Jupiter himſelf, the father, as they call him, and the prince of their whole train of gods! but after the whoring and corrupting of his miſtreſſes, he has not the power at laſt to ſave either them or their baſtards; but, with an aking heart, he ſees them all ruin'd before his face, becauſe the Fates will have it ſo?

What a train have we here of lewd and execrable debauches, and of worſe conſequences in probability yet to come! adulterers in heaven, open and barefac'd; and not only committed by the gods, but by them alſo celebrated and proclaim'd, to the degree of envying the proſtitutes. Now if their ſovereign lord of heaven and earth, Jupiter himſelf, could not hold out againſt the charms of a laſcivious ſtrumpet, what are we to expect from the paſſions and weakneſſes of other ſubordinate and inferior deities? and what ſhall we ſay again of god's turn'd into ſhepherds, and maſons, and made cloſe priſoners in hell? of gods in liveries, and ſerving-men for wages? can any man endued with common ſenſe and reaſon, do leſs than abhor and deſpiſe the inventors, the encouragers, and the believers of theſe blaſphemous ſtories? in ſome caſes again, they make gods of their paſſions, as frights, fears, and the like; and then worſhip them in the worſt of forms; ſo that there can be nothing ſo ſcandalous among men, but may do well enough in the character of one of their gods. And yet all this is not ſufficient to deter the people from ſacrificing to the more tolerable ſort of theſe monſters. But they look upon their gods as the authors of good and evil, and conſequently as their friends, or their enemies, in proportion to the one or the other. Upon this conſideration they do by their deities as with ill-natur'd men; they worſhip and endeavour to appeaſe them with preſents, for fear they ſhould hurt them.

The ground of ſo many groſs miſtakes concerning God.

But how comes mankind all this while to labour under ſo many deſperate and dangerous miſtakes concerning God? unleſs either from the law-giver's ignorance of the divine nature from the beginning, or elſe for want of communicating to the world the notions they had of things, as matters of little moment perhaps in their opinions; and ſo left the poets and the orators betwixt them to make gods after their own wild and extravagant imaginations; and by this means confounding their politicks, with idle tales and amuſements of uncouth deities and ſtrange worſhip.

Painters and ſtatuaries create deities.

Painters and ſtatuaries contributed alſo in a great meaſure to this abuſe, by the liberty the Greeks took in dreſſing up their gods in what ſhape and figure the workman pleas'd, every man according to his particular fancy. And they had their varieties for matter alſo as well as for form; ſome working in plaiſter, others (of the better ſort) in gold and ivory, ſome in ſculpture, others in colours: and the laſt piece, for novelty's ſake, was ſtill reputed the beſt. As the old gods fell off, and went out of faſhion, they were ſucceeded inſenſibly by new; and upon the failing of one religion, another ſtarted up. It was the ſame thing with their temples too; as one was laid in rubbiſh, another was rais'd out of the ruins of it, according to the humour of the preſent age; whereas the worſhip of God ought to be as unchangeable as God himſelf.

A divine worſhip is as unchangeable as God himſelf.

The Greek ſages had the ſame veneration for a deity with the Jews themſelves.

We may reckon Apollonius Molon in the number of the overweaning fools. But for thoſe among the Greeks that deſerve the name of philoſophers, they are no ſtrangers to the truth of what I have deliver'd; but entertain the ſame reverent thoughts of God that we do, and with as ſenſible a contempt for the fables and fooleries on the other hand, as they ought to have. It was not for nothing that Plato would ſuffer no poets in his common-wealth: nay, he diſcharg'd Homer himſelf too, tho' with all the honours of a poet laureat, for fear the fabulous religion ſhould deſtroy the true. This great man of all others comes the neareſt to the example of Moſes, in the model of his common-wealth; where he charges all his ſubjects to ſtudy their laws, and to get them by heart, and not to intermingle cuſtoms with ſtrangers; but to preſerve their government in its original purity, and to pay a ſtrict obedience to their ordinances and decrees.

Plato's common-wealth in ſome ſort after the model of Moſes's.

Apollonius Molon never thought of this, when he fell ſo heavily upon the Jews, for not admitting men to a participation in the myſteries of their religion, who were of a differing way and perſuaſion, as if this were our caſe alone; whereas all people (generally ſpeaking) do the ſame thing; the Greeks themſelves, and the ſobereſt men of the party too.

The Lacedemonians admit no ſtrangers.

The Lacedemonians, we ſee, would neither ſuffer a mixture of ſtrangers among them, nor ſo much as their own citizens to travel abroad, for fear of contracting ill habits either way, and degenerating into a liking of ill cuſtoms and manners. Now this was a ſeverity liable enough to a cenſure, to debar them the common privileges of ſociety and commerce: but ſo far are we from this unmerciful rigour, that, tho' we do not thruſt ourſelves into other people's matters, we are yet ready and open to entertain all proſelytes, and to receive thoſe that have a mind to join with us; which muſt not be deny'd to be a generous and a charitable diſpoſition.

The Athenians open to all proſelytes. The Athenians made it death to act or ſpeak againſt their religion.

But to paſs now from the Lacedemonians to the Athenians; they, on the other hand, make it their glory to give admittance to all ſtrangers: but this was more, I ſuppoſe, than Apollonius was aware of. The Athenians were ſo inexorably zealous for the honour of their gods, that it was made capital to let fall ſo much as one irreverent word upon that ſubject. What was it that Socrates dy'd for? not for betraying the common-wealth, or burning their temples; not for treaſon or ſacrilege; but for framing new oaths by the direction, as he ſuggeſted, of a divine ſpirit. Whether this was jeſt or earneſt, it remains a ſecret to this day: but for this it was however that Socrates was try'd, condemn'd, and put to death by poiſon. He was likewiſe charg'd for infuſing falſe doctrines into the heads of the people, and endeavouring to ſupplant the religion and the laws of his country. This was the end, in fine, of Socrates, a citizen of Athens.

I shall now produce another inſtance of Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, who was put to death for affirming the Athenians god, the ſun, to be only a red-hot ſtone. And then there was a * talent offer'd by proclamation to any man that ſhould bring in the head of Diagoras the Melian for ridiculing the myſteries of their religion. And they would have gone the ſame way to work with Protagoras too, if he had not gotten away in time. His pretended crime was the writing of a tract, wherein he delivers himſelf doubtfully of the Athenian gods. But what wonder is it to ſee men treated at this barbarous rate, where even the women themſelves found no better quarter. As for example; did they not put a prieſteſs to death, upon an accuſation of worſhipping ſtrange gods? and was it not made death alſo for any man to introduce a foreign religion? what can be more evident now, than that, ſo far as theſe laws were in credit, the people thought the gods of other nations falſe, and unfit to be believed: for if they had not, they would never have barr'd themſelves the comfort and benefit of their favour.

Nay, the Scythians themſelves, tho' the moſt blood-thirſty people upon the face of the earth, and ſcarce one degree above brutes, made ſo great a ſcruple yet of preſerving the myſteries of their profeſſion, that they butcher'd the famous Anacharſis, only for ſpeaking too reverently of the Grecian gods. We read likewiſe of ſeveral of the Perſians that ſuffer'd death upon the ſame account. Now for Apollonius Molon, he was a known friend to the Perſian laws, and one that had them in admiration as well as the Greeks, for their firmneſs and agreement in the matter of worſhip (I ſpeak of their conſtancy upon the burning of their temples,) yet Molon had not only a good opinion of their ways, but was alſo in ſome ſort an imitator of them, in the extravagant liberties he took of abuſing other men's wives, and putting out the eyes of their children: inhumanities that are declar'd death without mercy by our laws, tho' committed but upon irrational creatures.

The barbarous Scythians themſelves have a tenderneſs for laws and cuſtoms.

The conſtancy of the Jews, and the grounds of it.

Such is the veneration we have, in ſhort, for the obſervance of theſe laws, that neither power, profit, fear, or any other conſideration under the Sun, can ever divert, or deter us from the conſcientious diſcharge of our duty. And we do not put ourſelves upon theſe hazards and experiments, in a proſpect of picking a quarrel, and making an advantage of it, but for the ſupport and maintenance of our lawful rights. We have ſubmitted to all other ſorts of outrage, with patience and reſignation; but whoever offers to force us to a tranſgreſſion of our laws, touches us to the quick: in which caſe the ſenſe of that oppreſſion hath made us daring and obſtinate to the laſt degree. But what have we to do to envy the laws of other nations, which we ſee abandon'd by the very founders of them? What have the Lacedemonians to ſay for themſelves in excuſe of their hard-hearted inhoſpitality, and the liberties they take in an unmarry'd life? and ſo for the people of Elis, and Thebes, in the impudence of their prepoſterous and unnatural luſts? a practice that a ſhameleſs connivance hath almoſt turn'd into a legal allowance: and it hath ſo far prevail'd among the Greeks alſo, that they have intitled their very gods to the abuſe; who, in the heat of an unbridled appetite, married, and coupled with their own ſiſters, and compounded for the tranſgreſſion.

The practices of lewd law-givers.

What shall we think of thoſe law-givers now, that take more pains to ſave the criminals than to puniſh them; by commuting for a pecuniary mulct in the caſe of adultery, and atoning for fornication by marrying the abuſed virgin? It would be endleſs to ſum up all the deſperate temptations, to the renouncing of piety and virtue, that are thrown out to unwary people, in theſe compoſitions and expedients, even to the total ſubverſion of their laws: nay, the reſolution is often taken beforehand of trampling all that is ſacred under foot. But this can never be ſaid of us, whom neither diſtance, abſence, tyranny, nor death

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* As there were two Attick talents, which was here meant is not very certain: the leſs weighed fifty ſeven pounds ſeven penny weight and twelve grains, and its value in ſilver amounted to one hundred ſeventy one pounds one ſhilling and tenpence halfpenny, and in gold to two thouſand ſeven hundred thirty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings. The greater weighed ſeventy ſix pounds ten penny-weight, and its value in ſilver amounted to two hundred twenty eight pounds two ſhillings and ſixpence, and in gold to three thouſand ſix hundred and fifty pounds of Engliſh money. Was to be indulged the liberty of gueſſing, I ſhou'd think it moſt probable to ſuppoſe that the greater ſilver talent is here underſtood.

itſelf, the ſaving of life, liberty, or fortune could ever remove from the rule of our obligation. Now if it be for the intrinſick excellency of our laws, that our hearts are ſo ſet upon them, it muſt be granted, that our affections are well plac'd, and that the laws themſelves anſwer the end they were made for: but if it ſhall be ſaid, that they are void of all goodneſs, how much more to blame are they who pretend to have better laws of their own, and will not maintain them?

The antiquity of a law proves the goodneſs of it.

But time tries all things, and no ſuch proof of the goodneſs of a law as the antiquity of it. So that we ſhall caſt the cauſe upon that iſſue, for the honour both of our law-giver, and of the laws themſelves, with a regard to God's holy worſhip. It will be granted us beyond all controverſy, that Moſes was the firſt law-giver we read of, by many ages; and that as our laws were deliver'd from heaven by him, ſo they were follow'd and imitated, more or leſs, by all other nations. The ancient Greeks, as to the generality of them, had in appearance, I muſt confeſs, laws peculiar to themſelves; but their philoſophers had all this while the very ſame perſuaſion of God that we have, and inculcated the ſame doctrines of life and manners.

All nations imitate the Jews, more or leſs.

Nay, ſuch is the reputation we have a long time had in the world, for our piety and good government, that there is hardly any nation, either Greek, or Barbarian, that does not live in ſome ſort of conformity to our example; either in the obſervance of our ſeventh day's ſabbath, the uſe of lamps, the celebration of faſts, abſtinence from ſuch and ſuch certain meats; and ſo in matter of humanity, charitable agreement and ſociety, indefatigable labour and induſtry, and an invincible conſtancy in ſuffering for the truth. In all theſe obſervations, I ſay, they do but write after our copy.

But the moſt wonderful thing of all is yet to come: that is to ſay, how this ſingle body of laws ſhould of itſelf work ſo powerfully upon all mankind, without any other authority for the putting of it in execution, and influencing mens minds, in ſome proportion, as the Almighty influences the univerſe. Now whoſoever looks but into his own country, or into his own family, will find all this to be true that I have ſaid.

Will any man, that does not hate us, adviſe us now to change our old laws for new ones; and the better for the worſe too? or if it be otherwiſe, let the people give over reproaching us. We do not eſpouſe this cauſe out of ill-will to any man, but out of the veneration we have for the memory of our prophet, and in a full perſuaſion that God himſelf ſpeaks to us by the mouth of Moſes. Or make it the caſe now, that we did not ſufficiently underſtand the value of our own laws, purely upon their own account; the mighty number of profeſſors and admirers, would be enough to give us a high eſteem of them. I have handled this ſubject more at large in my antiquities, being forc'd upon what I have ſaid at preſent, by a kind of neceſſity, for the vindication of truth againſt calumny and injuſtice, without any deſign of advancing our own credit upon the diſparagement of others.

The Jews no upſtarts.

Several malicious ſcandals diſprov'd.

To draw towards a concluſion, I reckon now that I have been as good as my word to every point of my undertaking; for I have abundantly prov'd the antiquity of a people that were calumniated for upſtarts, and I have likewiſe produc'd ſeveral eminent authorities, that make honourable mention of us in their annals. They will have it that our anceſtors came originally out of Egypt, which I have undeniably diſprov'd. They have trump'd up another ſtory of our being expell'd Egypt for corporal maladies and contagious diſtempers: whereas I have made it evident, on the other hand, that they cut out their way through the troops of their enemies into their own country. There are others again, who repreſent Moſes for one of the worſt of men, in contradiction to the concurrent teſtimonies of ſeveral ages to his immortal honour.

The deſign and intent of the Jewiſh laws.

As to the vindication of our laws from ſcandalous tongues, there needs no more to convince any man of the piety and wiſdom of them, than barely to read and underſtand them. Theſe laws are in the firſt place declared enemies to iniquity and luxury, and promoters of peace, charity, induſtry and juſtice. They allow of no war, either to ſatisfy ambition or avarice: neither do they approve of returning evil for evil. They encourage boldneſs and reſolution in the common defence. They precaution people againſt being circumvented with fair and falſe pretences; and teach men to make their actions ſpeak more than their words.

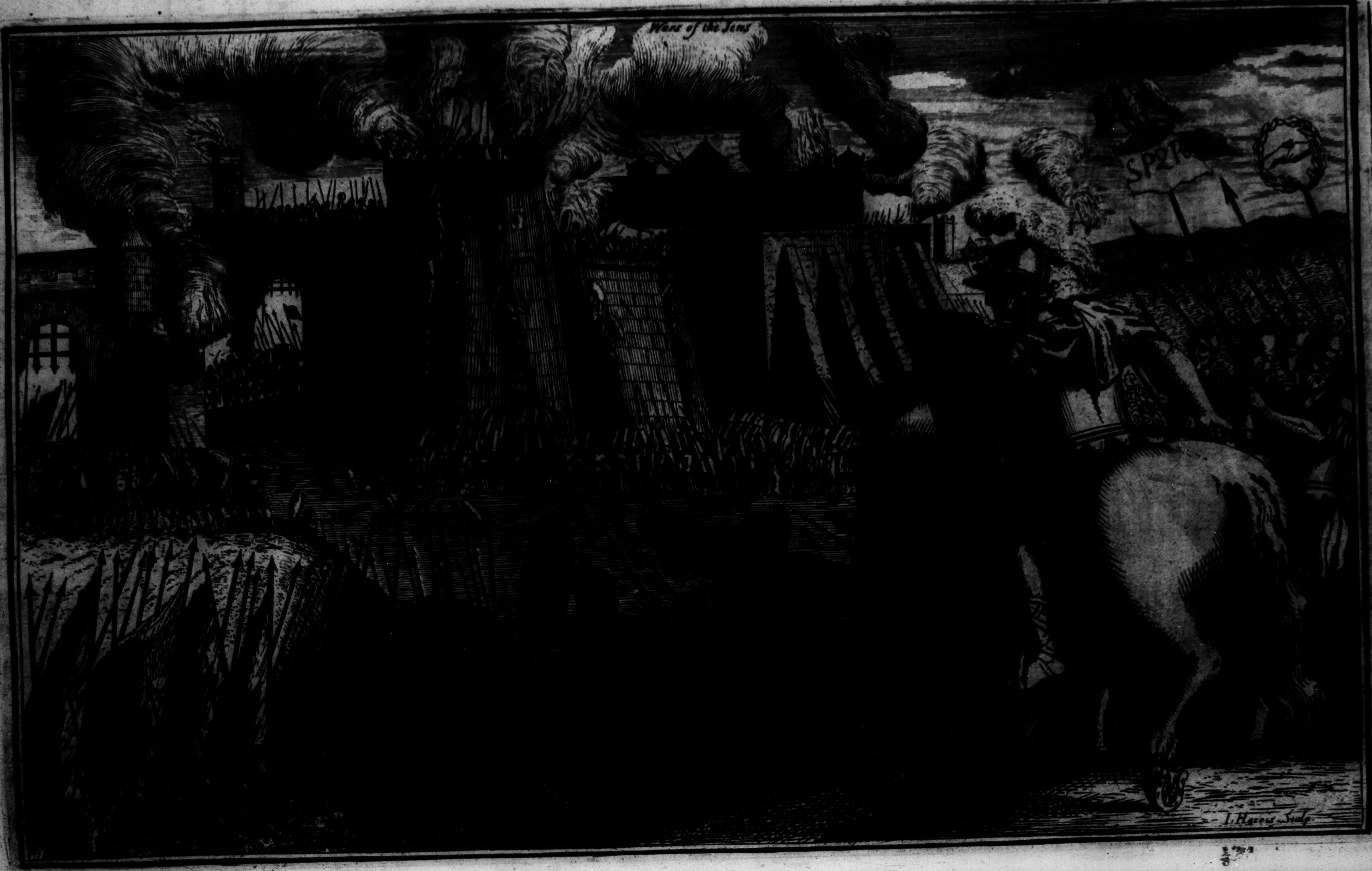
The original of the Jewiſh laws.

The Jews make their laws the rule of their lives and manners.

Upon theſe conſiderations, I may with confidence affirm, that we have the beſt laws under the ſun. For what is there in nature preferable to an inviolable piety? what more agreeable and beneficial than union in proſperity, and a true friendſhip in adverſity? an intrepid bravery in the hazards of war, a ſedulous application to arts and huſbandry in times of peace; and finally, whatever we do, or whereſoever we are, to have it conſtantly in our minds that an all-ſeeing God overlooks us, and a divine Providence governs all things? Now if theſe things were either written elſewhere, or lodg'd in other hands before they came to us, we are to acknowledge the ſame obligation to them, who had them firſt in poſſeſſion, that the pupil owes to his tutor. But if they were never ſeen or heard of any where elſe before, and if from generation to generation, for a long ſeries of ages, we have made them conſtantly the preciſe rule of our practice and profeſſion (as we have moſt certainly done) let the Apions and the Molons, and all ſuch as delight in the inventing and ſpreading of lies and detraction, ſay and do their worſt; I have my end in the account I have given to you, generous Epaphroditus, and other curious inquiſitors into the truth of our ſtory, for whoſe ſatisfaction chiefly theſe books in defence of our antiquity were written.

The End of the Second Book of Josephus againſt Apion.

Wars of the Jews



I. Haynes Sculp.

THE
PREFACE
OF
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
TO THE
Wars of the *JEWS.*

OF all the wars that were ever ſeen or heard of in this or former ages, whether national or civil, that of the Jews with the Romans, was undoubtedly the moſt conſiderable; and there are ſeveral pretenders to the writing of the ſtory. Some take up their materials barely upon truſt, and hear-ſay, without any knowledge at all of the matter in queſtion. And there are ſome again, who were eye-witneſſes, that ſtifle and diſguiſe the evident truth of things with partial reports and falſe gloſſes, more like orators than hiſtorians, in favour of the one ſide, or the other, as the faction ſtands affected, without any regard to the good faith or reputation of the work.

No war like that of the Jews with the Romans. Several men write with ſeveral ends.

UPON this conſideration, I Joſeph the ſon of Matthias, an Hebrew born, and a prieſt of Jeruſalem, have now enter'd into a deſign of turning that narration into Greek, for the common benefit of the ſubjects of the Roman empire, which I formerly communicated in my mother-tongue to Barbarians, for their better information: And I ſhall give farther to underſtand, that, in the beginning of the war, I firſt bore arms for the Jews againſt the Romans, and during the whole of it, was conſtrained of neceſſity to be preſent as eye-witneſs, being detained priſoner in the Roman camp, while all the remaining part of it was tranſacted.

This work originally in Hebrew. Joſephus a party in the war.

THIS terrible war broke out at a juncture, when the Romans were all embroil'd among themſelves: And the Jews, being ſtrong, rich, and ſeditious, wanted neither men, money, nor reſolution, to improve the opportunity; which they inflam'd into ſo deſperate a tumult, that they did not only flatter themſelves with the hope of carrying all before them, but at the ſame time ſtruck whole nations in the eaſt with an apprehenſion of being totally over-run: For the Jews, as well thoſe beyond Euphrates, as the reſt, were all determined unanimouſly to riſe as one man. The Gauls were alſo in motion upon the borders of Italy, the Germans unquiet; and in one word, every place in commotion, and things in confuſion every where upon the death of Nero: Some ſetting up for the empire itſelf, others for making their fortunes by a change of government, the ſoldiery as well as the reſt, and all bent upon innovations.

The ſtate of things when the war broke out.

Joſephus bound in honour and conſcience to write the hiſtory.

IN this ſtate of affairs, I thought it a duty neceſſary and incumbent upon me to vindicate ſo many important truths from impoſture and miſtake; and after having inſtructed the Parthians, the Babylonians, the moſt remote of the Arabians, the Jews on the other ſide of the Euphrates, and the Adiabeni, in a juſt account of the riſe, progreſs, and event of the war, not to ſuffer the Greeks, and ſo many of the Romans, who were unconcerned in the action, to be impoſed upon, by flatteries and fictions, and to continue wholly ignorant upon the main.

The partiality of hiſtorians.

The braver the enemy, the more glorious is the victory.

BUT with what face ſhall people cry up that for hiſtory, which has neither ſenſe nor connexion in it, nor ſo much as one ſyllable, (in my opinion) that makes for their purpoſe? As if they could not do honour ſufficient to the Romans, without vilifying the Jews. Now I do not underſtand how glory can be attained by triumphing over a weak adverſary. Why were they not aſhamed rather of being ſo long about it, conſidering the mighty power of the Romans, with the fame and conduct of their generals? Which is all leſſen'd, if, upon the gaining of their point, they derogate from the bravery and reſolution of thoſe they have overcome.

The generoſity of Titus toward the Jews.

The glory and miſery of Jeruſalem by turns.

FAR be it from me at laſt to enlarge upon the exploits of the Jews, as others do upon the Romans; for the thing I pretend, is to do right indifferently to both parties; without adding or diminiſhing; to give a true and faithful narrative of what I know and can prove to be facts, and to content myſelf in the indulgence now and then of an affectionate and tender affliction for the deplorable calamities and deſtruction of my country: But we were ruined by our own diviſions; and then for the burning of the holy temple, it was the tyranny of our own governours which forc'd the Romans, very much againſt their wills, upon that extremity. Witneſs Titus Ceſar himſelf, under whoſe command it was deſtroy'd: How did he compaſſionate us all along, when he ſaw how we were torn to pieces by inteſtine factions! Even to the degree of ſuſpending the final deſtruction of the city, when he had it in his power to have laid it in aſhes out of hand: And all this on purpoſe to give the authors of the war time to bethink themſelves better, and repent of the folly of their undertakings. If it ſhall be objected, that, in this paſſion and bitterneſs of mine againſt the oppreſſors and ſpoilers of my country, I have tranſgreſs'd the laws and bounds of an hiſtorian, I have nothing to offer, but the impotency of an ungovernable ſorrow in my excuſe. For of all the places that ever fell under the dominion of the Roman empire, Jeruſalem was undoubtedly the city that had the greateſt ſhare in both extremes, by turns, of glory and miſery: From the creation of the world, in fine, to this very inſtant, never were any people reduced to ſuch a tranſcendant pitch of miſery as the Jews were. And, for a farther aggravation of the calamity, we ourſelves were our own executioners, which makes the caſe yet more inconſolable. Now if any man ſhall think me too ſenſibly affected in ſo deplorable a ſtate of things, let him diſtinguiſh betwixt the tragical circumſtances of the ſtory, and the good-natur'd infirmities of the author.

The Greeks no friends to the Jews.

UPON this occaſion, I cannot but blame and wonder at ſeveral eloquent men among the Greeks, to ſee them only by-ſtanders and eye-witneſſes of ſo remarkable a revolution for war and military actions, in compariſon of which the wars of former ages were but mere trifles, without concerning themſelves in any memorials of the hiſtory: Nay, (which is worſe) and derogating at the ſame time from the ability of others, who were willing to perform that office, whom, tho' they may excel in capacity and talent, they abundantly fall ſhort of in choice of a ſubject and laudable deſign. And yet theſe cenſorious criticks can take upon them at the ſame time to compile hiſtories of the Medes and Aſſyrians, though done already to their hands by antient writers, to whom they are as much inferior for ſtile and matter, as for deſign. But their way of writing was to relate what they had ſeen, ſpeak upon knowledge, and to be as good as their words, without laying themſelves open to the ſcandal of a contradiction, by any diſguiſe or falſe ſuggeſtion whatſoever. It is the part of a faithful and a judicious hiſtorian, to furniſh himſelf with materials that are new and not common, and ſo to tranſmit the memorials of his own time down to poſterity. Now that man cannot properly be ſaid to be a man of ſkill and induſtry, who only tranſpoſes like a plagiary the order and diſpoſition of another man's writings; but he rather who obliges the world with an entire body of hiſtory, that's all new, and his own. It has coſt me (being a ſtranger) a great deal of money and labour, to furniſh both Greeks and Romans with a memorial of tranſactions worthy to be known. But for the Greeks themſelves, tho' their mouths are open enough either upon the ſubject of controverſy or profit, yet in the matter of hiſtory, which requires truth and pains, they are all as mute as fiſhes; leaving it to a company of pitiful ſcriblers, who underſtand nothing at all, to manage the province of hiſtorians, and communicate to the world the lives and actions of princes. But the good faith of hiſtory is never the leſs venerable with us, tho' the Greeks undervalue it.

The duty of a faithful hiſtorian.

I MIGHT give you an account here of the original of the Jews; who they were, how they came to leave Egypt, what countries they paſs'd thorough in their wandrings, where they inhabited, how long and how often, and when and whither they went from thence: But at this time, and in this place, it would be both ſuperfluous and unſeaſonable; in regard that the ſtory has been ſo faithfully deliver'd over and over already, by ſeveral of our own people, and as candidly tranſlated by ſome of the Greeks into their own tongue. I ſhall begin my hiſtory where their writers and our prophets left off. As to the conduct of the war, which I was an eye-witneſs of, I ſhall be as copious and particular as is poſſible; but for what paſs'd before my time, I ſhall be more ſhort and general.

Joſephus's method and deſign.

THE method I propoſe to myſelf, ſhall be to ſet forth how Antiochus, ſirnamed Epiphanes, after the conquering of Jeruſalem, and keeping poſſeſſion of it for three years and an half, came to be driven out by the ſons of Aſamoneus; and afterwards, upon a conteſt betwixt the ſucceſſors who ſhould govern, how the Romans, under the command of Pompey, made their advantage of that diviſion; and how Herod, the ſon of Antipater, by the help of Soſius the general, put an end to the power of the Aſamonean line.

An hiſtorical abſtract of the war.

IN the next place, how after the death of Herod, and under the reign of Auguſtus, there happen'd a popular revolt of the Jews from the Romans; Quintilius Varus being at that time governour of Judea. I ſhall likewiſe treat of the war that broke out in the twelfth of Nero, and what paſs'd under the command of Ceſtius, with the notable exploits of the Jews upon their firſt entering into arms.

THEIR fortifying the borders upon the diſaſters of Ceſtius, and Nero's putting Veſpaſian at the head of the army for fear of the main chance; how this general, with his eldeſt ſon, enter'd into Judea with a powerful army of Romans; the defeat of a body of auxiliaries that were ſcatter'd all over Galilee, with the number of the ſlain; how he took ſome of their towns by force, while others ſurrender'd. I ſhall deliver nothing, in fine, but what I know to be true upon ſight, and certain knowledge: With a reſpect to the Roman management of the war, their government and diſcipline, the bounds and content of both Galilees, the condition and limits of Judea, the particular quality of the ſoil, the lakes and fountains, what towns were taken, and the miſeries they endur'd by fire and ſword. I ſhall do all this, without ſuppreſſing any part of my own misfortunes; wherein I doubt not of being believ'd, for I write to thoſe who know I ſpeak the truth.

MY next point will be, to ſhew how the tidings of Nero's death coming to Veſpaſian, juſt as he was ready to take Jeruſalem by ſtorm (the Jews at that time being reduced to a very weak condition) the affairs of the empire diverted him, and call'd him away to Rome. I ſhall take notice alſo of the preſages he had of his future greatneſs, the changes he found there, and the ſoldiery declaring him emperor, even againſt his will.

How upon his going into Egypt, to give neceſſary orders for ſettling of the commonwealth there, the Jews broke out into inteſtine feuds; the ſlavery they endur'd under tyrannical oppreſſors, and the fierce animoſities one amongſt another; how Titus, upon his return out of Egypt, made two inroads into Judea; how he levy'd an army, where he drew them up, and in what form of battle.

How many deſperate commotions he ſaw in Jeruſalem with his own eyes; the number of his approaches, the ſtrength and vaſt bigneſs of his works, the compaſs and the thickneſs of the three walls, the fortifications of the city, as alſo of the temple, the figure and the dimenſions of the altar: All this ſhall be exactly and faithfully related. And ſo for our ſolemn feſtivals, and the ceremonies which attend them; the ſeven ſorts of purification, the offices of the prieſtly function, the ſacerdotal robes, and all that is ſacred belonging to the holy temple. Nothing of this ſhall be either alter'd or omitted; but an exact and punctual account of it given, without making it either more or leſs.

I shall then come to the cruelty of our own governours towards thoſe of their own tribe and profeſſion, and the humanity of the Romans, even towards ſtrangers; and ſhew how often, and how generouſly Titus, out of an honourable deſire to ſave both the temple and the city, preſs'd and invited the Jews to come to an agreement among themſelves. I ſhall enlarge alſo upon the ſufferings and calamities of the people, and the variety of afflictions they labour'd under; one while by war, another while by ſedition, and then again by famine, till in the end they were made priſoners: Neither ſhall I paſs over the deſtruction of the fugitives, or the torments inflicted upon thoſe who were taken priſoners.

Jeruſalem taken, and the temple burnt.

Nor ſhall I forget the conflagration of the temple, againſt the very will and liking of Ceſar himſelf: The ſacred treaſure of all ſorts that was there conſum'd, the remainder of the city laid wholly in aſhes, the prodigies and portents that preceded the captivating of our tyrannical maſters, and the ſlavery of the people that were carry'd away, with an account of their reſpective adventures; the eager purſuit of the Romans after thoſe who eſcap'd the dint of the war; and the razing of the retreats and habitations of the conquer'd down to the very ground. I ſhall ſay ſomewhat likewiſe of Titus's progreſs through the country, to put things in ſome ſort of order again; and then of his return into Italy, and of his triumph.

These are the heads of the ſeven following books, which I have written for the ſake of truth, not diverſion; in confidence, that no man who knows any thing of the matter, or was preſent at the war, will blame me for it: And for the order of the work, I ſhall only refer the reader to the chapters.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Wars of the *JEWS.*

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Antiochus and Ptolemy contend for the sovereignty of Syria. Antiochus enters Judea, and takes Jerusalem. A cruel persecutor of the Jews, and Bacchides as bad. Matthias kills Bacchides. Judas gets the temple, and restores God's worship. Antiochus dies. Eleazar kill'd by the fall of an elephant. Judas slain by the troops of Antiochus.

See Antiquities, lib. 12. cap. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 19.

THE great men of the Jews being divided into factions among themselves, upon an impulse of honour, (for men of dignity and power do not naturally love to be subjected to their equals) and this happening at a time when there was a contest betwixt Antiochus Epiphanes, and Ptolemy the sixth, concerning the sovereignty of Syria, Onias, one of the high-priests, got the better of it, and drove the sons of Tobias out of the city; who flying to Antiochus for refuge, earnestly besought him with supplications, that he would break into Judea, and make use of them for guides. The king was easily prevailed upon to do the thing his heart was set upon before; and so he march'd into Judea with a very powerful army, took Jerusalem itself by assault, and put a prodigious number of people to the sword, who were suspected to be favourites of Ptolemy. The pillage in general he gave to the soldiers, rifled the temple itself, and for three years and a half discontinu'd the prayers and sacrifices which were wont to be offer'd up daily there to Almighty God. The high-priest Onias fled to Ptolemy, who gave him leave to build a temple and a city near Heliopolis, after the model of that at Jerusalem; which we shall have occasion to speak of elsewhere.

Antiochus and Ptolemy competitors. Onias too hard for Tobias.

Antiochus enters Judea, and takes Jerusalem.

ANTIOCHUS, notwithstanding he was now become master of a strong and wealthy city, of which he had got the possession beyond all thought or expectation; his enemies slaughter'd and humbled at his feet, and their country ravaged and laid desolate before him; yet all this was not sufficient to put a stop to the course of an insatiable cruelty and ambition: Beside, the malice he carry'd in his heart for the difficulties he suffer'd in the siege, prompted him to force the Jews to renounce their laws, rites, and religion of their country. They were no longer to circumcise their children, nor to offer any sacrifices upon their altars, but hogs, which the law has expresly forbidden. This was a barbarity that all good men had a horror for, and whoever discover'd but the least resentment of it, was sure to die for it. Bacchides had at that time the command of Judea under Antiochus, and the world could not have found him out a fitter instrument for his purpose; he being a man naturally merciless and fierce, and as ready to execute mischief, as the other could be to command it. It was his common practice to treat men of quality with blows, like slaves; and Jerusalem, in fine, was no other than the image of a city that was taken every day over again. This was his way of proceeding, till the insupportable insolence provok'd some of the sufferers to meditate a revenge.

Antiochus a cruel persecutor of the Jews.

Bacchides as bad.

MATTHIAS the son of Asamoneus, (of Modin) and one of the priests, drew out a troop of his own domesticks, (having five sons) and arming them with daggers, kill'd Bacchides, and so withdrew immediately to the mountains for their security, out of reach of the garisons. Great numbers of the people join'd Matthias, till he found himself strong enough to venture down into the plain; where he gave Antiochus's generals battle, and beat them out of the country. This success gave him such a reputation, that the people, in acknowledgment of their deliverance, chose him for their general; in which command he dy'd, leaving

Matthias makes a party, and kills Bacchides.

leaving the government to his eldeſt ſon Judas.

Now Judas (upon a preſumption that Antiochus would not give it over thus) got a conſiderable body of an army together of his own countrymen; and in the firſt place ſtruck up an alliance with the Romans. Antiochus, upon this, made another incurſion into Judea, where he received a terrible repulſe and defeat. Judas ply'd his advantage, and gave an aſſault to the city-gariſon, being as yet untouch'd. In this action, the ſoldiers were beaten out of the upper city (commonly call'd the holy place) into the lower. Judas being now poſſeſs'd of the temple, purify'd it all over, run a wall about it, and furniſh'd it anew with all ſorts of veſſels for the ſervice of God's worſhip; the other being look'd upon as polluted and prophan'd. He caus'd to be erected alſo another altar, and ſacrifices to be offer'd upon it; but as ſoon as ever religion was reſtor'd, Antiochus dy'd.

Judas gets the temple, and reſtores God's worſhip. Antiochus dies, and his ſon Antiochus ſucceeds him.

This Antiochus was followed by another of the ſame name, the ſucceſſor of his father's enmity to the Jews, as well as of his crown. He put himſelf at the head of an army of fifty thouſand foot, near five thouſand horſe, and eighty elephants; and ſo fell in upon Judea by the way of the mountains. He took the town of Bethſura; and paſſing through a narrow defile, in a place called Beth-zacharias, Judas engag'd him in the paſs, and before the armies could join, his brother Eleazar taking notice of one elephant taller than the reſt, with a great caſtle upon his back, and rich golden trappings, he took it for granted that Antiochus muſt needs be there upon it. In this confidence, he advanc'd upon the enemy, and made his way into their body, up to the elephant; but finding that the perſon upon him, whom he took for the king, was out of his reach, he ſtabb'd the beaſt into the guts, and was cruſh'd to death under the weight of him upon his fall; giving only to underſtand how much a brave man valu'd his honour above his life. But he, it ſeems, that rode this elephant, was only a private man; and if it had been Antiochus himſelf, Eleazar could have got no more by it than the reputation of preferring the glory of an heroical exploit above life. This diſappointment was look'd upon by his brother, as a preſage to the fate of the battle; for though the Jews maintain'd a long and an obſtinate fight, they were yet in the end over-borne by numbers; and after a great loſs of men, Judas with the remainder, retir'd into the Toparchy of Gophnis; but Antiochus march'd directly to Jeruſalem, and, after a few days ſtay, was forc'd to withdraw again for want of neceſſaries, leaving behind him a competent gariſon, and ſending the reſt to take their winter-quarters in Syria.

Eleazar cruſh'd to death by the fall of an elephant.

The king being now out of the way, Judas was not idle; but taking heart upon the recourſe to him of ſeveral of his own nation, together with thoſe who had eſcap'd out of the late battle, he encounter'd ſome of the troops of Antiochus at a place call'd Adaſa; where he made himſelf ſo ſignal by his conduct and valour, that, being known in the battle, he was oppreſs'd by multitudes, and fell in the action. His brother John did not live many days after him, being inveigled into an ambuſh, and ſlain by the friends of Antiochus.

Judas ſlain by the troops of Antiochus.

CHAP. II.

Jonathan betray'd, and put to death by Tryphon. Simon recovers Judea, and is murder'd by the treachery of Ptolemy. A plot upon John, alias Hyrcanus, but diſappointed. The barbarous cruelty of Ptolemy to the mother and brothers of Hyrcanus. Antiochus lays ſiege to Jeruſalem. Sebaſte deſtroy'd by Ariſtobulus and Antigonus.

See Ant. l. 13. c. 1, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

JONATHAN ſucceeded his brother as prince of the Jews, and behav'd himſelf with great caution and prudence towards thoſe of his own nation; ſtrengthening his intereſt alſo by making friends of the Romans, and coming to a better underſtanding with the ſon of Antiochus. Nevertheleſs all this was not ſufficient to ſecure him from danger. For the tyrant Tryphon, the tutor of young Antiochus, had recourſe to treachery, and how he might deprive Jonathan of the aſſiſtance of his friends over and above: So that upon Jonathan's coming to Antiochus at Ptolemais, with a ſlender train, Tryphon ſeiz'd him by ſurprize; and when he had him priſoner, march'd with his army againſt Judea, where Simon, the brother of Jonathan, beat him off, and routed him; upon which he went away in a rage, and put Jonathan to death.

Jonathan betray'd by Tryphon, and put to death.

Simon went on at the ſame rate of conduct and courage; he took * Gazara, Joppa, and Jamnia, made himſelf maſter alſo of † Accaron, and demoliſh'd it, aſſiſted Antiochus againſt Tryphon, who, before his expedition into Media, laid ſiege to Dora. But ſuch was the avarice of this king, that though Simon had contributed to the death of Tryphon, by the aid he had given him, it was not long after yet, that Antiochus ſent Cendebeus with an army, to lay waſte Judea, and to enſlave Simon himſelf. This prince of the Jews was ſomewhat in years, but manag'd the war however with a ſpirit of youth and vigour. He ſent his ſons before with the beſt of his troops, and went another way with the reſt; and having planted ſeveral ambuſhes up and down about the mountains, he ſucceeded every where, and gain'd a mighty victory: After which, he was declar'd high-prieſt. Thus was Judea deliver'd out of the hands of the Macedonians, after a ſubjection to them of an hundred and ſeventy years.

Simon overthrows Cendebeus, and recovers Judea.

This great man was murder'd afterward at a feaſt, by the treaſon of his ſon-in-law Ptolemy, who, having at the ſame time his wife and two of his ſons priſoners, ordered certain of his ſervants, whom he ſent for that purpoſe, to diſpatch John the Third, called alſo by the name of Hyrcanus. The young man, having notice of this deſign upon his perſon, haſtened away to the city, where he had a great many friends; partly out of the reverence they bore to his father's memory, and partly out of the hatred they had to Ptolemy,

Simon murder'd by the treachery of Ptolemy his ſon-in-law.

A plot upon John, or Hyrcanus, but diſappointed.

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* So it ſhould be read, and not Zara.

† In the Gr. Ἀκρᾶν. Lat. Arcem evertit ſubactis præſidiis.

for his ill conditions. Now Ptolemy would fain have gotten into the city at another gate; but the people, having already taken Hyrcanus into the town, would not admit him. Upon this repulſe, Ptolemy betook himſelf to the caſtle of Dagon beyond Jericho; and Hyrcanus, being at this time poſſeſs'd of the ſacerdotal dignity, in ſucceſſion to his father, ſo ſoon as ever he had ſacrific'd, and diſcharged the duties of his function, he marched away preſently to beſiege Ptolemy in the caſtle, and to ſet his mother and his brothers at liberty.

Hyrcanus ſucceeds his father in the pontificate.

Hyrcanus advanced up to the place, and had certainly carry'd it, if his tenderneſs and good nature had not hindred him: For ſtill as Ptolemy found himſelf preſs'd, his mother and his brothers were brought out and expos'd upon the wall for a ſpectacle, with menaces to caſt them down headlong from the battlements, unleſs Hyrcanus drew off that very moment; and thoſe menaces were accompany'd with blows too. Hyrcanus muſt needs be tranſported with rage and indignation at ſo barbarous a treatment; but ſtill the tenderneſs of piety and duty ſoften'd him again, on the other hand: The mother all this while, without any dread either of torments or death, adjuring the ſon to do juſtice upon that monſter, without any regard to what ſhe ſuffered; for to die by the hand of Ptolemy, ſhe ſaid, would be more welcome to her than immortality itſelf; provided only, that ſhe and her family might have juſtice done them upon that inhuman wretch. Hyrcanus, in fine, betwixt the reſolution and the authority of his mother, was prevailed upon to reſume his courage, and to proſecute the aſſault. But finding that ſtill as he repeated the attack on the one ſide, Ptolemy repeated the blows and indignities on the other, his courage failed him, and his very heart was drown'd in ſorrow. Theſe expoſtulatory deliberations continued the ſiege ſo long, that they were now overtaken by the ſeventh year; which with the Jews is a year of reſt, as the ſeventh day is a day of reſt. Ptolemy finding that upon this revolution the ſiege was reſpited, he put both the mother and brothers to death, and then fled to Zeno, otherwiſe called Cotylas, the governor of Philadelphia.

The barbarity of Ptolemy to the mother and brothers of Hyrcanus, whom he afterwards put to death.

Antiochus bearing an old grudge in his mind, for a defeat Simon had formerly given him, carry'd an army into Judea, with a reſolution to be revenged upon the ſon for the father's ſake; and there ſat down before Jeruſalem, and beſieged Hyrcanus in it. Hyrcanus in this diſtreſs, open'd the ſepulchre of David; (the richeſt prince that ever was,) took upwards of three thouſand talents out of it, and came to a compoſition with Antiochus for * three thouſand talents to raiſe the ſiege. This was the firſt prince of the Jews that ever entertained foreign mercenaries.

Antiochus lays ſiege to Jeruſalem.

And compounds for three thouſand talents to raiſe the ſiege.

Antiochus having now quitted Jeruſalem, and being upon the march with all his troops into Media, Hyrcanus took his time, and preſently moved towards Syria, upon intelligence that their towns were neither mann'd nor fortified; which he found accordingly to be true. So he took Medaba, and † Samea, Sichem and Garizim, with divers other places thereabouts: He over-ran the country of the Chuthites, a people bordering upon a famous temple erected there, in imitation of that at Jeruſalem. He took likewiſe ‡ Dorion, and Mariſſa, and a great many other towns in Idumea.

He went afterwards to Samaria, a city rebuilt by king Herod, and now call'd Sebaſte. He begirt the place on all hands, and committed the care of the ſiege to his ſons Ariſtobulus and Antigonus; who brought them to ſuch diſtreſs for want of food, that the people were forced to make ſhift with that which, in truth, was not man's meat. In this extremity, they addreſs'd themſelves to Antiochus (otherwiſe called ** Aſpendius) for ſuccour, who come readily to their aſſiſtance, but to his own undoing; for the two brothers gave him a total overthrow, following him upon the purſuit as far as Scythopolis; but in the end he got clear of them. Ariſtobulus and Antigonus returned after this to Samaria, ſhut them up again, took the city, and laid it in rubbiſh, carrying away the inhabitants captives. Every thing ſucceeding thus to their wiſh, the ſoldiers well diſpos'd and chearful, they would not ſuffer the briſkneſs of their tempers to abate; but in that heat marched as far as Scythopolis; where they divided among them the lands about mount Carmel.

Sebaſte deſtroy'd by Ariſtobulus and Antigonus.

CHAP. III.

The death and character of Hyrcanus king of the Jews, &c. Ariſtobulus ſtarves his mother, and puts his brother Antigonus to death, &c. He falls into a judicial diſtemper upon his brother's death. His laſt words. Alexander ſet at liberty and declared king. Theodore defeats Alexander. Alexander takes Raphia, Gaza, and Anthedon. A dangerous mutiny. He ſubdues the Galaadites and Moabites; razes Amathus, and is routed by Obodas. A battle betwixt Demetrius and Alexander. Eight hundred priſoners crucify'd for a ſpectacle. The miſerable end of Ariſtobulus.

John and his ſons were ſo proſperous in all they undertook, that out of pure ſpite and envy, the nations entered into a conſpiracy againſt them, and would never let them be quiet, till they themſelves were brought to reaſon by an open war. After that deciſion, the remainder of John's life and government was eaſy and happy; and at the end of three and thirty years, he died, leaving five ſons behind him. He was ſo good a man, that never any perſon living had reaſon to complain of him. A ſingular felicity! and he was in poſſeſſion likewiſe, of three other advantages almoſt peculiar to himſelf. He was at the ſame time, a prince, a high-prieſt, and a prophet, receiving his revelations from God himſelf, and ſeldom or never failing in his predictions. As to his two eldeſt ſons, he foreſaw and foretold, that their dominion would not laſt long. It will be worth the while to write the hiſtory of their lives, and

See Ant. l. XIII. c. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.

The death and character of Hyrcanus.

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* The compoſition was for five hundred talents, three hundred of which were paid in hand. See Antiquities, B. XIII. C. XVI. P. 334. and our notes upon the place.

† Samega, Antiq. l. XIII. c. XVII.

‡ Al, Adora.

** Spondius Ruf. perhaps it ſhould be Cyzicenus. See Valiant's Num. Seleucidarum, p. 350.

to ſhew how ſhort they fell of the reputation and happineſs of their father.

After the death of Hyrcanus, Ariſtobulus, the eldeſt ſon, tranſlated the principality into a monarchy, and, in the firſt place, ſet the crown upon his own head. This was four hundred and eighty one years and three months after the return of the people into Judea from the captivity of Babylon. Ariſtobulus had ſo great a kindneſs for his brother Antigonus, that he made him co-partner with him in the royal dignity; but the reſt of his brethren were taken into cuſtody, and he cauſed his mother to be clap'd up too, for pretending ſome ſort of right to the government, upon a ſuggeſtion that John had left the regency in her hand: Proceeding, in ſhort, to that exceſs of cruelty that he ſtarved her in the very priſon.

Ariſtobulus ſtarves his mother, and puts his brother Antigonus to death.

But Ariſtobulus was effectually puniſh'd for theſe unnatural violences, in the loſs of Antigonus, whom he cauſed to be put to death, upon the calumnies of a faction, whoſe buſineſs it was to make him odious. Now Ariſtobulus had ſo great a tenderneſs for his brother, (having made him, as I ſaid, his companion in the government) and ſo good an opinion of him, that it was a conſiderable while before he would believe theſe ſpiteful ſtories, to be any other then forgery and ſlander. But there fell out one time an unlucky accident: Ariſtobulus happen'd to fall ſick during the celebration of the feaſt of tabernacles, and Antigonus, in the mean time, came back from the camp to Jeruſalem in a very ſplendid manner. Toward the end of the ſolemnity, he marched up to the temple in an extraordinary pomp and dreſs, attended with a train of armed men; and the more glorious he appeared, the greater honour (as he intended it) he did his brother; but all this upon an impulſe principally of devotion. The court-paraſites and tale-bearers, went preſently to inſtil evil notions into the king upon this occaſion. "They did not underſtand this appearance of arms and ſoldiers (they ſaid) nor was it for a private man "to march with troops and guards; neither "could Antigonus have any honeſt end in this "parade. But the honour of a ſhare in the "government would not ſerve his turn, they "ſaw, without the whole and abſolute poſſeſſion of it, which he intended to gain by "cutting him off."

Ariſtobulus was ſo far prevailed upon by little and little, though with ſome difficulty, that he bethought himſelf of providing againſt all hazards, without diſcovering any ſort of jealouſy. He lodged at that time in the caſtle of Baris, afterwards call'd Antonia; where he ſent for his guards, and ordered them to wait for Antigonus in a certain dark paſſage under ground there. If he came without arms, they ſhould let him go; but if otherwiſe, they were to kill him upon the place. Ariſtobulus upon this ſends for Antigonus to come to him, but to bring no arms along with him. The queen concerted the plot with the conſpirators artfully enough, by engaging the king's meſſenger not to deliver the right meſſage: but rather to tell Antigonus, that the king heard of a very fine ſuit of armour he had got in Galilee, and being at preſent a little indiſpoſed, he had a great mind to ſee him as ſoon as he could, and that he ſhould come accoutred in thoſe arms. Antigonus (without the leaſt ſuſpicion of his brother's good faith and kindneſs) dreſs'd himſelf in his armour, and made all the haſte he could to ſhew himſelf. But in the blind paſſage before ſpoken of (known by the name of Straton's Tower) the guards fell upon him, and killed him. This inſtance may ſerve for a leſſon to us, that the bonds of nature, equity, and friendſhip, are all cancelled, where the ear is once open'd to pick-thanks and tale-bearers; and that there is no confidence to be put in the profeſs'd affection of court-favourites.

In this place I muſt not forget a memorable ſtory of one Judas, by ſect an Eſſene; a man famous for divination, and one that was never charged in the way of his profeſſion, either with a falſity or a miſtake. It was his chance to be paſſing by as Antigonus went through the temple, and he cry'd out aloud (upon the ſight of him to ſome of his acquaintance there within hearing, as he had followers and diſciples in abundance.) "Nay then (ſays he) "the Lord bleſs us! 'tis e'en time for me to "leave the world. What ſhould we do living "any longer when truth itſelf is dead? My "prediction is falſe, I perceive, and I have "foretold a lye: For that very Antigonus who "was to have been ſlain this day, is yet living. "The fatal place where he was to have been "kill'd is Straton's Tower; which is no leſs "than ſix hundred * furlongs from hence, "and the day is, at this preſent, within "four hours of being ſpent." After theſe reflections upon the preſage, the old man, with a ſadneſs in his countenance that betray'd the anxiety of his heart, ſtood a while muſing and thoughtful; and by and by comes the news of Antigonus's death, in a ſubterranean paſſage, bearing the ſame name alſo of Straton's Tower, with that of Ceſarea upon the ſea coaſt; and this was it that miſled the prophet.

A ſtrange prediction of one Judas, an Eſſene.

Ariſtobulus ſickens upon the news of his brother's death.

A judicial diſtemper.

The laſt words and deanh of Ariſtobulus.

The horrid fact was no ſooner committed, but the conſcience of Ariſtobulus flew in his face, and enflamed his diſtemper: So that betwixt horror of thought, a troubled mind, and the torments of his diſeaſe, his guts burſt, and he fell into a vomiting of blood. One of the ſervants who carry'd it out to throw it away, caſt it, by a moſt remarkable providence, upon the very place where Antigonus was ſlain, and the blood of the murderer fell upon the very ſtains of the blood of the murdered. Some who ſaw and obſerved it, took it to be done on purpoſe; as if it had been intended only for an oblation to the ghoſt of Antigonus. The by-ſtanders gave ſuch a ſhriek upon it, that the king, over hearing it, ſent preſently out to enquire what was the matter; and the more afraid they were of telling it, the more eager was the king to know it: So that in the end, betwixt force and menace, they told him the whole truth of the ſtory. This ſurprize brought tears into the king's eyes; and then fetching a deep ſigh. "Well (ſays he) it "it was not to be expected, that my ſecret ſins "ſhould eſcape the eye of an all-ſeeing God, "or that divine vengeance ſhould not quickly

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* Six hundred furlongs, or ſtadia, amounted to almoſt ſeventy ſix English miles. This ſame ſtory is recited, Antiquities. B. XIII. about the middle of C. XIX. p. 337.

“ overtake ſo horrid a wickedneſs. Ah! thou miſerable body of mine, how long wilt thou keep my ſoul from doing the juſtice that I owe, to my murdered mother and brother! Why do I not rather ſacrifice my blood all at once, than drain it out thus drop by drop, to go off at laſt in the bitterneſs of my pains and agonies, the ſport of fortune?” With theſe words, he expired, having reigned but one year.

Alexander ſet at liberty, and declared king; but rules tyrannically.

THE widow-queen, after the death of Ariſtobulus, ſet Alexander at liberty, and declared him king. He was the eldeſt ſon, and reputed a prince of moderation: But yet, ſo ſoon as ever he came to the crown, he put one of his brothers to death for aſpiring to the ſovereignty; but the other ſubmitting to live in a private condition, he took him home to himſelf.

AFTER the taking of Aſochis by Ptolemy Lathur the king of Egypt, Alexander gave him battle, and killed a great many of his men; but Ptolemy however got the better of it. Cleopatra, the mother of this prince, forcing him away into Egypt, Alexander took Gadara by ſiege, and Amathus, the faireſt caſtle by much of all beyond Jordan, and the place where Theodore, the ſon of Zeno, had depoſited his treaſure, and all he had that was precious. But Theodore coming upon him before he was aware, did not only recover his own, but took the king's baggage, and cut off near ten thouſand Jews in the battle. Alexander, by the help of ſome enforcements, after this blow, carry'd the war towards the ſea-coaſts, took Raphia, Gaza, and Athedon; which Herod afterwards called Agrippias.

Theodore defeats Alexander.

Alexander takes Raphia, Gaza, and Anthedon.

The Jews in a mutiny againſt him.

IT is no new thing, where there are great numbers of people, to have great ſeditions; as at publick meetings, feaſtings, and the like. This was the caſe of the Jews againſt Alexander, in one of their ſolemn feſtivals; and it came to ſuch a height, that it fell little ſhort of a general revolt: So that, in his own defence, he was forced to take ſtrangers into pay; as Piſidians and Cilicians; but for Syrian mercenaries, their natural averſion to the Jews was ſo great, that he durſt not meddle with them. In ſhort, he cut to pieces upwards of eight thouſand of the mutineers, and then made war upon Arabia; where he ſubdued the Galaadites and the Moabites, made them his tributaries, and ſo returned back again to Amathus. By this time, Theodore being frightened away with the reputation of Alexander's ſucceſſes, quitted the place; and the other, finding it without a gariſon, raz'd it to the ground.

Alexander ſubdues the Galaadites and the Moabites. Amathus razed to the ground.

Alexander routed by Obodas.

HIS next adventure was againſt Obodas the king of the Arabians; who lay poſted in the province of Gaulan, the fitteſt place in the world for an ambuſcade. Alexander was there ſurprized, and driven into a deep valley; where his people were cruſhed to death in the defiles by the multitude of camels, to the ruin, in fine, of the whole army; Alexander himſelf eſcaping with much difficulty to Jeruſalem, where he found his old enemies more violent and implacable now than ever, ſince his laſt diſaſter. They gave him a great deal of trouble; but upon all encounters he was ſtill too hard for them: inſomuch, that within the compaſs of ſix years, he deſtroy'd at leaſt fifty thouſand Jews; but he had little joy of theſe victories, where he himſelf was the worſe for them. He betook himſelf, in the end, from arms to reaſoning, and to attempt the ingratiating of himſelf with the people ſome gentler way: But this vanity and inconſtancy of his humour, inſtead of gaining them over, rendered him ſo odious and contemptible, that, upon asking them what he could do in the world to pleaſe them, they told him he muſt die, and try what that would do; for they could hardly pardon him in his grave, for the injuries he had done them in his life-time.

Demetrius aſſiſts the Jews.

THEY called to their aſſiſtance king Demetrius Eucerus; who finding it his intereſt to come over to them, readily comply'd, and advancing with an army, joined the Jews near Sichem. They reckoned in all three thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot: And Alexander, with only a thouſand horſe, ſix thouſand mercenary foot, and about ten thouſand well affected Jews, encountred them. The two kings, before they engaged, made a trial what deſerters they could gain over from either party; Demetrius applied himſelf to Alexander's mercenaries, and Alexander, to the Jews that followed Demetrius; in hope of ſucceeding on both ſides, back and forward. But when they ſaw that neither the Jews nor the Greeks were to be wrought upon, they put it to a battle, and Demetrius carried it: Not but that Alexander's mercenaries ſhew'd themſeves men of honour and courage. This did not hinder, however, but that, upon the final event of this action, they ſeemed beyond all expectation to have both the better of it: For ſome of thoſe troops that had ſollicited Demetrius's aſſiſtance, deſerted him, and the compaſſion that ſeveral of the Jews had for their unfortunate king, tranſported ſix thouſand even of thoſe that had fought againſt him, to ſeek him out and join him in the mountains, where he had taken ſanctuary. This turn of humour and fortune, gave Demetrius ſuch a ſurprize, for fear the reſt of the army ſhould follow their example, that he quitted his deſign and withdrew. But theſe deſertions of the auxiliaries had no effect yet upon the multitude; for they maintain'd the war ſtill againſt Alexander, till they were all loſt: One part of them cut off, and the remainder driven in * Bemezel; where they were all made priſoners, and carried to Jeruſalem. But we ſhall now ſee how far the ungovernable rage of an impetuous paſſion will tranſport people, when they come once to abandon the meaſures of honour and virtue. Alexander made a treat for his concubines; and one part of the entertainment, was the ſpectacle of eight hundred priſoners upon the croſs, in the middle of the city; having firſt cut the throats of their wives and children, before their faces. This execrable frightful tragedy was preſented for a diverſion to Alexander and his women, in the height of the debauch: But then it ſtruck the party with ſo aſtoniſhing a terror, that eight thouſand of the inhabitants fled their country next night, and never came back again till after the death of this prince. By theſe ſanguinary methods, he came at laſt, with much ado, to ſettle himſelf and his people in ſome ſort of quiet.

A battle betwixt Demetrius and Alexander.

Eight hundred priſoners crucify'd for a ſpectacle.

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* Bethoma in the Antiquities, B. XIII. C. XXII.

CHAP. IV.

See Ant. b. 13. c. 23, 24. b. 14. c. 1.

Antiochus ſurpriz'd by Aretas, &c. Alexander's wars, exploits, ſickneſs, and death. He leaves the regency to his wife Alexandra, and two ſons, Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus. Hyrcanus is advanced to the pontificate, &c. Alexandra governs the people, and the Phariſees Alexandra. Alexandra falls ſick and dies, leaving the command to Hyrcanus: But Ariſtobulus takes the government upon him, and his wiſe and ſons are made priſoners in Antonia. The two brothers come to a battle, and Ariſtobulus carries it. They compound afterwards, and agree.

THIS peace of Alexander was not ſo well ſettled, but Antiochus (otherwiſe called Dionyſius) the brother of Demetrius, and the laſt of the race of Seleucus, brought him into freſh trobules. This prince, having overcame the Arabians, put Alexander into ſome aprehenſions for himſelf: ſo that he ran a line, with a deep ditch, with a high wall before it, ſtrengthened with wooden towers of ſome tolerable defence. This line, or retrenchment, was carried all along the mountains near Antipatris to the borders of Joppa. But all this was no obſtruction to the progreſs of Antiochus; for he ſet fire to the towers, filled the ditches, and ſo paſſing over with his army, marched ſtraight away againſt the Arabians; poſtponing his revenge upon Alexander, who would have hindred him, to ſome other more convenient opportunity. Aretas, the Arabian prince, upon the approach of Antiochus, drew his men into ſtrong holds; and then, all on a ſudden, when Antiochus thought himſelf ſafe out of danger, the Arabian fell upon him at unawares with ten thouſand horſe. The fight was obſtinate and bloody; but yet ſo long as Antiochus lived, his men ſtood bravely by him, though the Arabians made a very great ſlaughter. But when Antiochus fell (as he was always the hotteſt in the action) his men turned their backs and fled: ſo that upon the iſſue, betwixt thoſe that were cut off in the fight and upon the purſuit, the army was totally deſtroy'd. Some ſlipt into Cana; where the greater part of them periſhed for want of bread.

Antiochus ſurpriz'd by Aretas. A bloody battle.

Antiochus ſlain, and his army totally routed.

Aretas and Damaſcus join.

The people of Damaſcus had ſuch a dread and hatred for Ptolemy, the ſon of Menneus, that they entered into a league with Aretas, and made him king of Cele-Syria; who carried the war into Judea, defeated Alexander, and ſo went off again upon conditions.

Alexander's exploits.

The king of the Jews, having taken Pella, went and aſſaulted Geraſa and carry'd it, though fortify'd with a triple circumvallation; making himſelf maſter, not only of the place, but of all Theodore's treaſure that was laid up there, both at once. After this, he demoliſhed Gaulan, Seleucia, and a city known by the name of Antiochus's Phalanx; with the ſtrong caſtle of Gamara, over and above. In this place he took priſoner Demetrius the governor, (a man of a moſt infamous character) and ſo return'd to Jeruſalem, where he was receiv'd with joy and acclamations, after a three years proſperous ſucceſs. At the end of the war, he fell into an indiſpoſition by a quartane ague; and, being poſſeſs'd with an opinion that action and ſtirring would do him good, he enter'd into a new and an unſeaſonable war, and ſtruggling beyond his ſtrength, he tir'd himſelf out with the fatigue, and ſo ended his days in a hurry, dying in the twenty ſeventh year of his reign.

His ſickneſs.

Alexander's death.

He leaves the regency to Alexandra.

The king left the government to his wife Alexandra, as one that had made herſelf very popular by her moderation and virtue: a woman far from the rigour and hardneſs of her husband, and therefore he made no doubt of the people's ready ſubmiſſion and reſignation to her authority. Neither was Alexander deceiv'd in his opinion, for the reputation of her piety atton'd for the diſadvantages of her ſex: being a woman perfectly well inſtructed in the Jewiſh rites and cuſtoms, and one that had ever given conſtant proof of her zeal for the obſervance of thoſe holy laws. She had, by Alexander, two Sons: the elder, Hyrcanus, and him for his age ſhe advanced to the pontificate. And then, finding him alſo of an unactive temper, and thereby the more manageable, ſhe reckon'd there would be no danger in declaring him king too. But then for Ariſtobulus the younger, being of a more ſprightly and enterprizing ſpirit, ſhe thought it more adviſable to keep him in a private ſtate of life.

And two ſons, Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus. Hyrcanus advanced to the pontificate.

The character of the Phariſees.

There was among the Jews a certain ſect call'd Phariſees, that valued themſelves upon being thought holier than their neighbours, and better skill'd in the law. Alexandra, who was bigotted in her religion, even to the degree of ſuperſtition, had a mighty reverence for theſe holy men, upon the pure account of their pretenſions; and they play'd their game ſo well on the other hand too, by fair appearances and inſinuations, that the powers and privileges of the government were effectually engroſs'd into their hands. If any body was to be put in, or put out; laid in chains, or ſet at liberty; it was to be all as they pleas'd. The honoorable and the profitable commiſſions of the government, they reſerved to themſelves; but the cares, the expences, and the difficulties were left to Alexandra. No creature better underſtood the art of publick management and adminiſtration than herſelf; ſhe made it her buſineſs to advance the militia of the nation to the height; ſhe kept two armies, and a great number of foreign auxiliaries, in pay; which made her ſtrong at home, and formidable abroad. But ſtill, as ſhe had all this while the command of others, ſhe herſelf was yet under the dominion of the Phariſees.

Alexandra govern'd the people, and the Phariſees Alexandra. The envy and tyranny of the Phariſees.

There was one Diogenes, a man of quality, and a moſt particular friend to the late king. The Phariſees caus'd him to be put to death, upon ſuggeſtion that he had a hand in the cruciſying the eight hundred priſoners before mention'd, who were put to death by the king's command. Nay, they preſſed the queen further yet, not to let any one man eſcape that was an adviſer in that horrible action. The queen was ſo captivated, that ſhe had not the power to deny them any thing: ſo that under that colour they deſtroy'd whom they pleas'd, and carry'd it on ſo far that no good man was ſafe; inſomuch that ſeveral perſons of condition were forced to fly for ſanctuary to Ariſtobulus; who preſently mov'd his mother on the behalf of thoſe perſons, for their dignity's ſake, and for the future to turn thoſe out of the town that ſhe ſhould ſuſpect to be guilty. This being granted, inſtead of being put to death, they were only baniſh'd. Alexandra, about this time, ſent an army to Damaſcus, upon a pretext that Ptolemy preſs'd very hard upon the town: She took the place, without any thing remarkable that paſs'd at the taking of it. Cleopatra was now beſieg'd in Ptolemais, by Tigranes the king of Armenia, and Alexandra, at the ſame time, plying him with preſents and propoſals. But Lucullus being already enter'd into Armenia with the Roman army, Tigranes march'd preſently away, to prevent miſchief that threatned his affairs at home.

Cleopatra beſieg'd by Tigranes in Ptolemais.

Alexandra falls ſick. Ariſtobulus takes the government upon him.

SOME ſhort time after this, Alexandra fell dangerouſly ill; whereupon her younger ſon Ariſtobulus, with a train of his ſervants, (as he had a great many, and all in the flower of their youth, faithful and brave) got poſſeſſion of the caſtles, took what money he could find, engag'd a body of auxiliary troops, and declar'd himſelf king. Hyrcanus, upon this turn, made complaints to his mother, who ſo far commiſerated his caſe, that ſhe caus'd the wife and ſons of Ariſtobulus to be ſhut up in the caſtle, on the north-ſide of the temple, formerly call'd Baris, (as I ſaid before) and afterwards Antonia in the government of Anthony; as Sebaſte and Agrippias drew their names from Auguſtus and Agrippa. Alexandra, after a nine years reign, was taken off by this ſickneſs, before ſhe could revenge herſelf upon Ariſtobulus, for endeavouring to depoſe his brother.

The wife and ſons of Ariſtobulus made priſoners in Antonia.

Sebaſte and Agrippias. The death of Alexandra.

She leaves the command to Hyrcanus.

ALEXANDRA left Hyrcanus all ſhe had in the world, and tranſmitted the government into his hands, while ſhe was yet living; but Ariſtobulus was much his ſuperior yet, both in force and credit. The diſpute betwixt the two brothers came to a battle near Jericho; where the greater part of Hyrcanus's men went over to Ariſtobulus; Hyrcanus, and the wretched remainder of his people, eſcaping with much difficulty into Antonia, where they had good hoſtages for their ſecurity; the wife and ſons of Ariſtobulus (as we have ſaid before) being there in cuſtody. Theſe brothers, before matters proceeded to farther extremities, came to this agreement; That Hyrcanus ſhould yield up the kingdom to Ariſtobulus, and content himſelf with ſuch honours and privileges as properly belong to the dignity of the king's brother. The reconciliation being interchangeably declared in the temple, and in the ſight of the people, with mutual embraces, the two brothers changed houſes; Ariſtobulus went to the palace, and Hyrcanus to the houſe of Ariſtobulus.

The two brothers came to a battle, and Ariſtobulus carries it.

They compound and agree.

CHAP. V.

Hyrcanus, by the advice of Antipater, makes a friend of Aretas the king of Arabia, againſt Ariſtobulus. Aretas enters Judea with fifty thouſand men; forces Ariſtobulus into Jeruſalem, and beſieges him there. Scaurus takes a bribe, and raiſes the ſiege. The two brothers implore Pompey's aſſiſtance one againſt another. The vanity of Ariſtobulus, and Pompey's contempt of him. Ariſtobulus takes ſanctuary in Alexandrion. The two brothers plead their cauſe before Pompey. Ariſtobulus makes his way for Jeruſalem; humbles himſelf, and Pompey makes him a priſoner. Jeruſalem beſieg'd, and the temple taken by aſſault. Twelve thouſand Jews ſlain. Pompey's piety and moderation. Ariſtobulus and his family carry'd away priſoners: But Ariſtobulus makes his eſcape upon the way.

See Ant. b. 14. c. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

THIS unexpected advancement of Ariſtobulus to the crown, was a terrible mortification to all his enemies, but eſpecially to Antipater, upon the ſcore of an old grudge betwixt them. Now this Antipater was by extraction an Idumean; and, for his birth and eſtate, one of the firſt rank of the country. Hyrcanus being now depos'd, and driven out of his dominions, Antipater adviſ'd him by all means to apply himſelf to Aretas, the king of Arabia, for aſſiſtance towards the recovery of his kingdom; employing his own intereſt alſo with Aretas, towards the gaining of his point, and reflecting all the while upon Ariſtobulus, as a very ill man; and at the ſame time elevating Hyrcanus up to the ſkies. He made uſe alſo of arguments drawn from the honour of the undertaking, and the generoſity of the office; minding him that it was a thing worthy of himſelf, and well becoming the character of a great prince, for one crowned head to vindicate another: And more eſpecially in the caſe of an injurious oppreſſion and diſtreſs. When they were both thus inſtructed and prepar'd (Hyrcanus to be gone, and Aretas to receive him) Antipater convey'd Hyrcanus out of the city by night, and poſting away with him, brought him ſafe to Petra, the royal palace of Arabia; and there, with fair words and preſents, he deliver'd him up to the care and goodneſs of Aretas, who promis'd him he would uſe his utmoſt efforts toward the reſtoring him to his crown. Aretas, upon this, enter'd Judea with an army of fifty thouſand men, horſe and foot; but Ariſtobulus, not being in a condition to oppoſe him, was broken all to pieces at the firſt charge, and forc'd to take ſanctuary in Jeruſalem; where he was beſieg'd by Aretas, and had certainly been taken, if Scaurus, the Roman general, had not at this juncture deliver'd him. Pompey the Great, who was then in war with Tigranes, ſent Scaurus with an army out of Armenia into Syria: But coming to Damaſcus, he found the place taken by Metellus and Lollius, and their troops drawn off. Scaurus, coming by this time to underſtand how matters went in Judea, could not do better, he thought, than to bend his courſe that way.

Antipater adviſes Hyrcanus to ſeek to Aretas for ſuccour.

They ſteal out of Jeruſalem by night, and poſt away to Petra.

Aretas enters Judea with fifty thouſand men. Ariſtobulus beaten, and beſieg'd in Jeruſalem.

HE was no ſooner upon the borders, but he was there met upon the way by embaſſadors from the two brothers, to the ſame purpoſe. Their inſtructions were to implore the aſſiſtance of the Romans for each of the two, one againſt the other. But Ariſtobulus's three * hundred talents (for that was the ſum) weigh'd down the juſtice of Hyrcanus's pretenſions; as appear'd by Scaurus's ſending away embaſſadors to the Arabians and Hyrcanus, in the

The two brothers implore Pompey's aſſiſtance, one againſt the other. Scaurus the Roman general brib'd.

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* Three hundred Jewiſh talents (as has been before obſerved) weighed thirty four thouſand two hundred eighteen pounds nine ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to one hundred and two thouſand ſix hundred fifty ſix pounds five ſhillings of our money.

Scaurus commands Hyrcanus and the Arabians to quit the ſiege.

Ariſtobulus falls upon the Arabians rear.

name of Pompey the Great and the ſenate of Rome, charging them immediately to quit the ſiege, and be gone at their uttermoſt peril. Aretas preſently withdraws in a fright, out of Judea to Philadelphia, and Scaurus returns to Damaſcus. Now Ariſtobulus did not think it enough to eſcape being taken, but got all the force together he was able to make, and cloſely purſued the enemy. He came up with them at laſt at a place call'd Papyron; where he fought and cut off betwixt ſix and ſeven thouſand of their men, in which number was Cephalon the brother of Antipater.

HYRCANUS and Antipater, being now diſappointed of the ſuccour they expected from the Arabians, applied themſelves for relief to their very enemies; and upon Pompey's entring Syria, and coming to Damaſcus, they caſt themſelves upon his honour for protection, with an introduction of large preſents, and the ſame arguments over again that had been us'd to Aretas; deſiring Pompey upon the main, to conſider the violence of Ariſtobulus, and the right of Hyrcanus, as well in reſpect of his age, as of his manners. But Ariſtobulus depended ſo much upon his intereſt in Scaurus, that he dreſs'd himſelf in his royal robes, and, with the train and equipage of a king, went and made his compliment to Pompey. When he had waited a while; that is to ſay, ſo long as he thought conſiſtent with his honour, (for he look'd upon it as a thing below his dignity to ſubject himſelf to an attendance) he returned back again to Dioſpolis.

The vanity of Ariſtobulus, and Pompey's contempt of him.

THIS behaviour of Ariſtobulus gave Pompey great offence, which was but what Hyrcanus and his companions wiſh'd for. He draws out preſently his Roman troops, and ſome Syrian auxiliaries, and marches after him. When he was paſs'd Pella and Scythopolis, coming to Corede, upon the borders of Judea, in the Mediterranean, he was inform'd that Ariſtobulus had taken ſanctuary in Alexandrion, (a ſtately caſtle upon a very high mountain) thither he ſent meſſengers, commanding Ariſtobulus to come down to him. This was ſo imperious a meſſage, that he reſolved to run any hazard rather than comply with it; but, what with the murmuring of the people, and the advice of his friends, to conſider the ſtrength of the Romans, and the neceſſity of the caſe, he was prevail'd upon in the concluſion to go down to Pompey; which he did; and after many things ſaid there, in defence of his pretenſions to the crown, he went up again. After this, at the inſtance of Hyrcanus, he came down the ſecond time; and, when the two brothers had diſputed a while who had the juſteſt title, Ariſtobulus return'd as before, without any let or interruption from Pompey. He was ſo divided within himſelf, betwixt hope and fear, that one while he was in a mind to humble himſelf, and to do whatever Pompey would have him: but when he was gone half way ſometimes in that reſolution, he repented, and ſo return'd up to the caſtle again, for fear of doing any thing derogatory to his royal ſtate. Pompey had now a good mind to get poſſeſſion of the caſtles; but being told that Ariſtobulus had charg'd all the governors, to take no notice of any orders but under his own hand, he appointed Ariſtobulus to write to the ſeveral reſpective commanders, immediately upon the ſight of thoſe letters, to deliver them up. Ariſtobulus did as he was commanded; but went away immediately to Jeruſalem in wrath and indignation, meditating all the way he went a war with Pompey.

Ariſtobulus takes ſanctuary in Alexandrion.

The two brothers plead their cauſe before Pompey.

Ariſtobulus makes away for Jeruſalem.

Pompey follows him.

POMPEY gave him no time to provide himſelf, but haſten'd after him immediately; and he went on the more cheerfully for the news he met with about Jericho, of the death of Mithridates. This is the fruitfulleſt province of all Judea; there is a plenty of palm-trees in it, and much of the famous balſam that drops from that plant, upon cutting the bark with a ſharp ſtone. He ſtaid there that night, and diſpatch'd away the next morning for Jeruſalem. Ariſtobulus was ſo ſurpriz'd at this expedition, that he went and caſt himſelf at Pompey's feet, with ſupplications and tears, promiſes of money, and propoſals of giving up both the city and his perſon into Pompey's hands. This ſoften'd him a little for the preſent; but Ariſtobulus, it ſeems, could not make good what he had offer'd; for when Gabinius was ſent to receive the money, the friends and companions of Ariſtobulus, who kept the town for him in his name, would not ſo much as let him in.

Ariſtobulus humbles himſelf to Pompey.

Pompey makes Ariſtobulus a priſoner, and takes a view of the place.

THIS affronted Pompey to ſuch a degree, that he kept Ariſtobulus a priſoner, and ſo advanc'd to the city, to take a view of the fortifications and defences, and to conſider upon what quarter to attack it. The walls were ſtrong and impregnable, a hideous precipice at the foot of them, and the temple ſo invincibly ſecure, that if the city itſelf were taken, the work were but half done.

A violent ſedition in the town, betwixt the parties of the two brothers.

WHILE Pompey was upon this deliberation, and caſting within himſelf where to begin, and what to do, there broke out a violent ſedition in the town, betwixt the two parties of Ariſtobulus and Hyrcanus; the former were for puſhing it to a war, and reſcuing their king by arms, upon a point of honour and duty; the other, for taking Pompey into the town, without any oppoſition. This was the ſenſe of the majority, out of a dread they had for the Romans. The friends of Ariſtobulus, upon this, retir'd into the temple, and cut down the bridge of communication betwixt that and the city, in a final reſolution of maintaining it to the laſt. Others there were that took ſeveral Romans into the town, and put them into the palace royal; whereupon Pompey ſent Piſo (one of his general officers) with a ſtrong detachment to take poſſeſſion of it. When Pompey ſaw the obſtinacy of the Jews in the temple, and that there was now no longer any hope of an accommodation, he poſted his guards, and put all things in order for an attack; Hyrcanus and his people contributing the beſt they could, both in action and counſel, to his aſſiſtance.

Pompey prepares for an attack.

THEIR firſt buſineſs was to fill up that monſtrous ditch and valley upon the northſide of the wall; and this they attempted with what rubbiſh and materials the ſoldiers could get together, toward the bringing of it up to a level: a work of infinite difficulty, both in regard of the prodigious depth, and the advantage the Jews had of galling them from above: a work, in fine, inſuperable, if it had not been for a remark of Pompey's, upon the Jews ſuperſtitious obſervance of their ſeventh day, or ſabbath. This great man underſtanding

ing that the Jews made a conſcience of doing any manner of work upon that day, but what was of abſolute neceſſity, either for the ſupport of life, or the defence of it, in caſe of immediate danger; he commanded his ſoldiers only to ply their entrenchments upon that day, without doing any other act of hoſtility. When the ground was now levell'd, the bulwarks advanc'd with ſtrong and large turrets planted upon them and mann'd, the Romans, with certain Tyrian engines they had got, began the battery: the ſoldiers at the ſame time, out of the towers above, beating the defendants with ſtones from the walls, 'till in the end they were quite tir'd out with the labour.

The temple taken by aſſault.

POMPEY could not but admire the conſtancy and reſolution of the Jews, and more eſpecially in this particular; that in the middle of all extremities and dangers, they never diſcontinued the worſhip and ceremonies of their religion, but offer'd up their daily prayers and ſacrifices, as orderly, as if it had been in a profound peace: and in this temper of ſoul they continued to the very laſt, even when they came to be finally deſtroy'd, and to have their throats cut at the very altar. In ſhort, after a three months ſiege, and the loſs only of one tower, the temple was taken by aſſault. The firſt that enter'd the breach was Fauſtus Cornelius, the ſon of Sylla, and, after him, Furius and Fabius, two centurions with their companies; who beſet the temple, and put to the ſword all who offer'd to fly, or make reſiſtance. There were ſeveral prieſts at that time in the very exerciſe of their holy function, that, with the ſword's point at their breaſts, continued in their oblations and incenſe, without any regard to the ſafety of their lives, out of a veneration they had for the duties of their profeſſion. The Pompeian Jews preſs'd ſo hard upon their fellow tribes-men of the other party, that they forc'd ſome of them down precipices: others, in a rage of deſperation, ſet fire to what they could come at about the walls, and then caſt themſelves into the flames. There periſh'd in this outrage twelve thouſand Jews, not many Romans, but more wounded.

Twelve thouſand Jews ſlain.

The piety and moderation of Pompey.

Pompey declares Hyrcanus high-prieſt.

THIS was a diſmal deſolation and calamity in ſeveral reſpects; but nothing ſo ſenſibly afflicted the Jews, as to ſee the holy of holies expos'd to prophane eyes: a thing that never happen'd before. Pompey, with a train of his people, entring into this place, where only the high-prieſt was to be admitted, * ſaw within it the candleſticks, lamps and tables for incenſe, with other veſſels all of gold; a maſs of perfumes, and of ſacred treaſure to the value of † thouſand talents: but would not ſuffer any thing of all this to be touch'd that was conſecrated to the ſervice of God. On the next day after this deſtruction of the temple, he commanded the proper officers to take care for the purification of it, and to go on with the celebration of their holy worſhip as before. He did alſo declare Hyrcanus high-prieſt, as a conſideration for the good offices he had render'd him, both in the ſiege and otherwiſe, in drawing off great numbers of the faction from Ariſtobulus. By this way of proceeding, like a wiſe and good man, he ſecur'd himſelf the affections of the people. Among the priſoners, there was the father-in-law, and uncle of Ariſtobulus, both in one. Pompey ſtruck off the heads of all the principal authors of the revolt; but for Fauſtus, and other brave men who acted along with him, he conferr'd upon them ſignal marks of his eſteem, and glorious rewards. He impos'd a tribute upon Jeruſalem and Judea. He took away from the Jews the cities they had poſſeſſed themſelves of in Cele-Syria; and annexing them to the juriſdiction of the preſent Roman governor, he reduced the Jews to their own bounds. He rebuilt Gadara, which they had deſtroy'd, in favour of Demetrius one of his freemen, and a native of the place. As for the inland cities of Hippion, Scythopolis, Pella, Samaria and Mariſſa, Azotus, Jamnia and Arethuſa; and ſo for the coaſt-towns of Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and that which paſs'd formerly by the name of Straton's tower, and was afterwards call'd Ceſarea by Herod, who beautify'd it with illuſtrious buildings; he took them all from the Jews, to reſtore them to their native inhabitants, and ſo join'd them to the province of Syria. After the paſſing of theſe orders, and the ſettling Scaurus in the government of Judea and Cele-Syria, and of all the country of Egypt to the borders of Euphrates, with the command of two legions, Pompey haſten'd to Rome by the way of Cilicia, carrying Ariſtobulus priſoner with him and his family: that is to ſay, two daughters and two ſons, Alexander and Antigonus; the former of them made his eſcape in his paſſage, the other was carry'd to Rome, with his ſiſters.

Ariſtobulus and his family carry'd priſoners to Rome.

Alexander gives Pompey the ſlip.

CHAP. VI.

Aretas and Scaurus reconciled. Alexander arms againſt Hyrcanus. Scaurus compounds for a ſum of money. Alexander worſted by Antipater, withdraws to Alexandrion, and Gabinius purſues him. An indemnity offer'd and rejected. The bravery of Mark Anthony. Several cities taken from the Jews, and reſtor'd to the right owners. Macherus and Hyrcanion given up, and Alexandrion levell'd to the ground. Gabinius gives Hyrcanus the charge of the temple, and ſettles the government. Ariſtobulus defeated by the Romans, but cuts out his way to Macherus. The Romans take the caſtle, and ſend Ariſtobulus and his ſon Antigonus both bound to Rome. Alexander defeated by Gabinius. Craſſus ſucceeds Gabinius in the government of Syria; rifles the temple, and loſes both life and army. Cypris had four ſons by Antipater.

See Ant. b. 14. c. 9, 10, 11, 12. Scaurus makes war upon the king of Arabia.

SCAURUS advancing with an army into Arabia towards Petra, found the ways ſo craggy and difficult to paſs, that he had much ado to march. He laid waſte however all the country about Pella, where he had many difficulties to encounter; being put to a pinch alſo for want of proviſions, tho' Hyrcanus, by the means of Antipater, made a ſhift to furniſh him with neceſſaries. Scaurus, well knowing that there was a good underſtanding betwixt Antipater and Aretas, (the king of Arabia) dealt with Antipater to go to him in a way of friendſhip, and try if he could work him to compound the war for a ſum of money. Antipater undertook the commiſſion, and manag'd the matter ſo dexterouſly, that the Arabian was content to give three * hundred talents for his peace; and ſo Scaurus withdrew his army.

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* See Fortunatus Scacchus's Myrothecium II. c. 43. p. 418.

† Two thouſand Jewiſh talents weighed two hundred twenty eight thouſand one hundred twenty four pounds, and their value in ſilver amounted to ſix hundred eighty four thouſand four hundred fifteen pounds, and in gold to ten millions nine hundred and fifty thouſand pounds Engliſh money.

Scaurus compounds for a ſum of money.

Now Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, who had given Pompey the ſlip, was by this time at the head of a conſiderable body of men ravaging Judea, and preſſing upon Hyrcanus, to the degree of endangering Jeruſalem itſelf, upon a preſumption, that the walls which Pompey had beaten down, were not as yet repair'd. But Gabinius the ſucceſſor of Scaurus, and a perſon of eminent courage and conduct, being ſent into Syria, and marching againſt him, it concern'd Alexander to look about him, having ſo conſiderable an enemy to deal withal, and to put himſelf into the beſt poſture he could to receive him. He had now a marching body of ten thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, beſide ſeveral ſtrong holds and defenſible places, that he had fortify'd; as Alexandrion, Hyrcanion and Macherus, near the mountains of Arabia.

Gabinius, in the mean time, ſends Mark Anthony before him with a detachment of ſome choice troops of Antipater's, and a great number of Jews under Malichus and Pitholaus to join him: Gabinius himſelf following with the main body, and advancing toward Alexander; who, finding himſelf ſo much inferior in numbers, was forc'd to retire: But Gabinius preſſing upon him in his retreat, came up with him, and engag'd him not far from Jeruſalem, where he loſt ſix thouſand men: one half kill'd upon the ſpot, and the other half taken alive: himſelf eſcaping with the remainder to Alexandrion, cloſely purſued by the enemy. When Gabinius came up to the caſtle, he offer'd an act of indemnity to all deſerters that would come over to him, and join him before the battle: but their ſtomachs were too big to accept of it; ſo that he fell upon them, and cutting off a great many of them, ſhut up the reſt in the fort. Mark Anthony ſignaliz'd himſelf to a high degree in this action; and tho' he never fail'd of doing bravely at any time or place, he ſeemed in a manner yet even to outdo himſelf upon this occaſion. Gabinius now leaving a ſufficient ſtrength before the caſtle, took a view of all the towns and cities of the province, making it his buſineſs to ſettle the minds of the people in thoſe places that were intire and untouch'd, and to repair others that were laid in rubbiſh and ruin. He gave peremptory orders for there peopling of Scythopolis, Samaria, Anthedon, Apollonia, Jamnia, Raphia, Mariſſa, Dora, Gadara, Azotus, and ſeveral other places, where the citizens came thronging in with all poſſible joy to reſume their ancient habitations.

Alexander encounters Antipater; and loſes ſix thouſand men.
He withdraws to Alexandrion, and Gabinius purſues him.
An indemnity offer'd and rejected.
The bravery of Mark Anthony.

When every thing here was put into good order, Gabinius went back to the ſiege of Alexandrion, and puſh'd it forward with more vigour than before. Alexander was ſo affrighten'd at the deſperate ſtate of his affairs, that he ſent his embaſſadors with an abſolute reſignation of himſelf, to acknowledge the ill things he had done, and to beg pardon; with a tender, not only of Macherus and Hyrcanion, but of Alexandrion itſelf alſo at his devotion. This being done, and accepted, Gabinius levell'd Alexandrion with the ground, at the inſtance of Alexander's mother, for fear it ſhould prove the occaſion of another war: ſuch was the tenderneſs, in fine, ſhe had for her husband and children that were carry'd priſoners to Rome, that ſhe omitted nothing of application and addreſs that might ingratiate her with the general.

Macherus, Hyrcanion and Alexandrion delivered up; and the laſt levell'd with the ground.

Gabinius after this, carry'd Hyrcanus to Jeruſalem; committed the temple to his care and charge, appointed officers for the civil adminiſtration, and divided the whole province of Judea into five juriſdictions: the firſt Jeruſalem, the ſecond, † Gadara the third, Amathus the fourth, Jericho and the fifth Sepphoris, a city of Galilee; the people all this while overjoy'd to ſee themſelves deliver'd from a monarchy to an ariſtocracy.

Gabinus gives Hyrcanus the charge of the temple, and ſettles the government.

It was not long after this, that Ariſtobulus made his eſcape from Rome; which prov'd an occaſion of new troubles. He got together a great body of Jews, partly for the love of change, and partly for the ſake of an old kindneſs they had for him. His firſt attempt was the repairing of Alexandrion; but upon information that Siſenna, Anthony and Servilius were marching toward him with an army from Gabinius, he withdrew to Macherus; where he diſcharg'd himſelf of the burden of a looſe and an unprofitable multitude, and took only a body of eight thouſand men well arm'd along with him; reckoning a thouſand fugitive Jews that Pitholaus had brought out of Jeruſalem into the number.

The Romans follow'd them cloſe, and brought it to an encouragement. Ariſtobulus and his people did all that was poſſible for gallant men to do; but in the end, when they were tir'd out, and run down with numbers, the Romans had a clear victory of it; five thouſand being kill'd, two thouſand withdrew to a hill, and made a little ſtand, and the other thouſand, with Ariſtobulus himſelf, cut their way quite thro' the Roman army, and ſo gain'd Macherus. They got thither about evening, and found it all in ruins; but Ariſtobulus would not yet deſpair of gaining time enough by a truce, to repair the caſtle, and reinforce his army. The Romans in the mean while ply'd the attack, but at the end of two days, and after a very brave reſiſtance, they took the place, with Ariſtobulus, and his ſon Antigonus that fled from Rome with him; who were both bound and ſent to Gabinius, and ſo to Rome again. The ſenate made the father a priſoner, but ſent the ſon back to Judea, at the inſtance of Gabinius; who had promis'd as much to the wife of Ariſtobulus upon the delivery of the caſtles.

Ariſtobulus defeated by the Romans; and makes his way to Macherus.
The Romans take the caſtle.
Ariſtobulus and his ſon Antigonus ſent bound to Rome.

Gabinius was now preparing for a war upon the Parthians; but Ptolemy having quit-

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* Three hundred Syrian talents, (for ſuch we ſuppoſe to be here meant) weighed four thouſand two hundred ſeventy ſeven pounds four ounces two penny-weight twelve grains, and their value in ſilver amounted to twelve thouſand eight hundred thirty two pounds ſevenpence farthing, and in gold to two hundred and five thouſand three hundred twelve pounds ten ſhillings of our money.

† Doris Ruſinus.

ted the Euphrates, and being on his return from Egypt, gave him a diverſion. Hyrcanus and Antipater were his friends to all manner of purpoſes; for they ſupplied him with men, money, arms, corn, and, in fine, all proviſions and neceſſaries for a war; prevailing with the Jews alſo that guarded the ways to Peluſium, to let Gabinius paſs over at his return. This departure of Gabinius occaſioned great commotions in the other parts of Syria, and created ſuch a revolt among the Jews, that Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, having gotten a vaſt multitude of the people together, he took up a reſolution to put every Roman to death that he could lay his hand on in that quarter. Gabinius was not inſenſible of the danger; and the ſedition increaſing, he made uſe of his intereſt with Antipater to bring matters to a better underſtanding. But Alexander being a warlike prince, and having an army of thirty thouſand men to truſt to, nothing would ſerve him but the bringing of it to a battle, which was ſought near the mountain of Itabyr. There fell ten thouſand upon the place, and the reſt ſhifted every man for himſelf, and ſo diſpers'd. Gabinius, after this defeat, returned to Jeruſalem by the advice of Antipater, to ſettle the people there under the form of a republic. He march'd from hence after the Nabatheans, ſecretly diſcharging two Parthian deſerters that came over to him, Mithridates and Orſanes, pretending that they had made their eſcapes.

Alexander defeated by Gabinius.

Craſſus ſucceeds Gabinius, rifles the temple, and loſes both life and army.

CRASSUS ſucceeded Gabinius in the government of Syria, and rifled the temple, not only of the two * thouſand talents which Pompey refrain'd from meddling with; but of all the gold that was there beſides, toward the charge of the Parthian war. Upon this he paſs'd the Euphrates, where he himſelf and his army were both loſt; but of this in another place.

AFTER Craſſus came Caſſius into Syria, who put a ſtop to the Parthians when they were juſt ready to break into the country. He was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of his government, but he march'd into Judea; took Tarichea, and carried off near three thouſand Jews into bondage. Pitholaus, one of the number, Caſſius put to death, at the inſtigation of Antipater, for tampering the faction of Ariſtobulus into a ſedition. † Cypris, the wife of Antipater, was a noble Arabian, by whom he had four ſons, Phaſael, king Herod, Joſeph, and Pheroras; and one daughter, whoſe name was Salome. He was a perſon belov'd for his generoſity and conduct, by all men of honour and quality; but the moſt particular friend he had in the world, was the king of the Arabians, to whom he recommended the care of his children, when he undertook the war againſt Ariſtobulus. But Caſſius having made a truce with Alexander, returned to his poſt at Euphrates, to take poſſeſſion of the paſs, and hinder the inroad of the Parthians; of which more hereafter.

Cypris had four ſons by Antipater; Phaſael, Herod, Joſeph, and Pheroras.

CHAP. VII.

Ariſtobulus ſet at liberty by Ceſar, and poiſon'd afterwards by the Pompeians, and his body ſent to Judea. Alexander beheaded at Antioch. Philippion marries Alexandra. Antipater aſſiſts Mithaidates, and takes Peluſium. Memphis deliver'd up to Mithridates. Antipater upon a pinch, reſcues Mithridates, and routs the Egyptians. Hyrcanus confirm'd in the pontificate.

See Ant. b. xiv. c. 13, 14, 15.

IT ſo happen'd a while after, upon Pompey's and the ſenate's quitting Rome, and croſſing the Ionian ſea in a fright, that Ceſar being left abſolute maſter of the place, and all that was in it, he order'd Ariſtobulus immediately to be ſet at liberty, and diſpatch'd him out of hand into Syria with two companies; taking for granted that the country would quickly be his own, if he did but ſhew himſelf upon the borders. But that conjecture was too good to be true; for the hopes of Ceſar, and the confidence of Ariſtobulus, were both diſappointed, the latter being taken off by poiſon by ſome of Pompey's people. The body was embalm'd, and lay for ſome time unburied, till Anthony tranſported it to Judea, to be there depoſited in the royal ſepulchres. Neither did Alexander, the ſon, eſcape any better than his father; for Scipio cut off his head at Antioch, according to Pompey's direction, who had paſs'd ſentence himſelf againſt him upon the bench, for ſeditious practices againſt the Romans. But Ptolemy, the ſon of Minneus, and the prince of Chalcis, upon mount Libanus, ſent his ſon Philippion to Aſkalon, to the widow of Ariſtobulus, and order'd the bringing home of his ſon Antigonus and his daughters to their father. Philippion fell in love with the younger, whoſe name was Alexandra, and married her, which his father put him to death for afterwards, and took her to wife himſelf. This alliance created in him a greater tenderneſs for his brother Antigonus, and for his ſiſters.

Ariſtobulus ſet at liberty by Ceſar,

But poiſon'd afterwards by the Pompeians, and his body tranſmitted to Judea.

Alexander beheaded at Antioch.

Philippion marries Alexandra.

ANTIPATER, after the death of Pompey, made his court to Ceſar; and Mithridates, a Pergamenian, finding a ſtop put to his expedition into Egypt, by prohibiting a paſſage to his ſhips at Peluſium, he ſtay'd with his army at Askalon, and did not only prevail with the Arabians for aſſiſtance, though a ſtranger, but rais'd a body of about three thouſand Jews, well-arm'd, upon his own account. He brought alſo ſeveral of the leading men of Syria into the party; as ‡ Ptolemy of Libanus, Jamblichus, and another Ptolemy, men of ſuch reputation, that their intereſt and example drew the whole country after them. Mithridates finding himſelf now in condition, by the help of Antipater, to enter upon action, advances to Peluſium; and the inhabitants oppoſing his paſſage, he lays ſiege to the city. Antipater at this ſiege diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in a very ſignal manner; for at the firſt onſet, preſſing

Antipater aſſiſts Mithridates, and takes Peluſium.

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* We have adjuſted the value of theſe talents to our money, in Chap. v. p. 543; which ſee.

† Cypron in the Antiquities.

‡ Or rather Tholomeus of Libanus, Jambichus, and Ptolemeus.

from his quarter, he himſelf was the firſt man who broke down the walls, mounted the breach, and enter'd the town with his people after him.

Thus was Peluſium taken, but the Egyptian Jews (of the province of Onias) would not ſuffer them to go any further; and yet Antipater prevail'd with them, not only to be quiet without making any reſiſtance, but over and above to furniſh neceſſaries for the ſoldiers. This example wrought ſo far upon the people of Memphis, that of their own accord, they deliver'd themſelves up to Mithridates. Upon the arrival of Mithridates at Delta, they gave battle to a body of other Egyptians, at a place called the camp of the Jews, where Mithridates, with the whole right wing, was in extream danger of being totally cut off; but Antipater, having already broken the enemy's other wing, where he was engag'd, fetch'd a compaſs along the bank of the river, and came up ſo ſeaſonably to the reſcue of Mithridates, that he fell upon his purſuers, deſtroy'd ſeveral of them, and follow'd the chace up to the enemy's camp, where he made himſelf maſter of the pillage; and all this with the loſs only of fourſcore men on his ſide. There were near eight hundred of Mithridates's men ſlain upon the purſuit, but he himſelf preſerv'd at laſt beyond all expectation. Mithridates, after this, did him all imaginable right to Ceſar, in the report he made of ſo ſignal a ſervice; and the emperor was ſo frank and generous in his profeſſions and acknowledgments to this great man, that he became more and more zealous and ambitious of any occaſion to lay down his life for ſo illuſtrious a maſter. He needed no other proofs, in fine, of his faith and courage, than the wounds he bore upon his body as the marks of his virtue. So ſoon as the war was over in Egypt, Ceſar return'd into Syria, and made Antipater a free citizen of Rome, conferring alſo other honours upon him, enough to render him envied, and, in token of a ſingular reſpect and eſteem, confirming Hyrcanus in the pontificate for his ſake.

Memphis deliver'd up to Mithridates.

Antipater reſcues Mithridates, and routs the Egyptians.

Hyrcanus confirm'd in the pontificate.

CHAP. VIII.

Antigonus charges the death of Ariſtobulus upon the Pompeians. Hyrcanus and Antipater wrongfully accuſed. Ceſar makes Hyrcanus high-prieſt, Antipater governor of Judea, and orders the rebuilding of the walls that Pompey had thrown down. Antipater rebuilds them, and commands obedience to Hyrcanus. He prefers Phaſael and Herod. Hezekias the captain of the robbers taken. Hyrcanus incenſed by evil counſel. Herod ſummon'd to attend the council; His manner of appearing. Herod declared general of the troops in Syria and Samaria upon the march to depoſe Hyrcanus, but his father and brother divert him. Sextus Ceſar baſely murder'd by Cecilius Baſſus, and Marcus order'd to ſucceed in the government.

See Ant. b. xiv. c. 15, 16, 17.

AT this very time, Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, addreſs'd himſelf to Ceſar; and ſo order'd the matter, that he did Antipater a far greater ſervice than he intended him. His buſineſs was to complain of the death of his father, to tell Ceſar the ſtory of his being poiſon'd by Pompey's inſtruments, (as it was generally preſum'd) and to charge Scipio with cruelty to his brother, &c. But, inſtead of keeping within this compaſs, he laſh'd out into extravagant invectives againſt Hyrcanus and Antipater, for driving himſelf and his brethren moſt injuriouſly out of their native country, and for oppreſſing the public, only to gratify their own private paſſions. As for the aids they ſent Ceſar into Egypt, there was more of fear in it than good-will, in hope to attone, in ſome meaſure, for the ſervices they had formerly render'd to Pompey. Antipater, upon theſe reproaches, only uncover'd ſome parts of his body, and expos'd his wounds as teſtimonies of his loyalty to Ceſar, and ſo left it to his body to do the office of his tongue. “But, (ſays he) I cannot ſufficiently admire the confidence of Antigonus, the ſon of an enemy to the Romans, and a fugitive, and, at laſt, as ſeditious an incendiary as ever his father was. Now for this man to exhibit accuſations to Ceſar, againſt the moſt faithful and dutiful of his ſubjects, and to inſiſt upon pretenſions of merit, when he ought rather to be thankful that he is ſuffer'd to live; what an unaccountable confidence is this! Neither does he deſire any thing becauſe he wants it, but with a deſign rather to employ it to the ruin of his benefactor.”

Antigonus charges the Pompeians with the death of Ariſtobulus.

Hyrcanus and Antipater wrongfully accuſed.

Antipater ſhews his ſcars in his juſtification.

He reproaches Antigonus.

Cesar, immediately upon this, created Hyrcanus high-prieſt, as a man perfectly well qualified for the function. He gave Antipater, at the ſame time alſo, the choice of any commiſſion he would deſire, who remitted himſelf dutifully to his maſter's good pleaſure; whereupon he was pleaſed to pronounce him governor of Judea; and he obtained likewiſe this further grace, that he might repair the walls of his country, which Pompey had thrown down. Theſe decrees he order'd to be engraven in braſs, and the tables to be hung up in the capitol, as a memorial of Antipater's ſervices, and of Ceſar's juſtice.

Ceſar makes Hyrcanus high-prieſt, Antipater governor of Judea, and gives him leave to rebuild the walls Pompey had thrown down.

Theſe decrees depoſited in the capitol.

When Antipater had brought Ceſar to the borders of Syria, he returned to Judea, where the firſt thing he did was to rebuild the walls that Pompey had broken down; and then to inſpect the province, and, either by menaces, or perſuaſions, to prevent diſorder, and keep the country quiet; giving the people to underſtand, that if they behav'd themſelves as they ought to do toward Hyrcanus, they ſhould live happily and eaſily in peace and plenty; but if they ſhould ever think of fiſhing in troubled waters, and of advancing their own fortunes upon the ruin of the public, they ſhould find Antipater, inſtead of a gentle governor, a ſevere maſter, Hyrcanus an unmerciful tyrant, inſtead of a gracious prince, and Ceſar and the Romans, inſtead of friends, the worſt of enemies, who would be ſure to puniſh any injuries and inſults, that ſhould be offer'd againſt the authority of that prince, whom they had conſtituted.

Antipater rebuilds the walls, and commands obedience to Hyrcanus.

This deference to Hyrcanus did not yet hinder but that Antipater ſettled the ſtate of the province himſelf, to ſupply the defects and incapacities of Hyrcanus for the offices of a political adminiſtration. He gave Phaſael, his eldeſt ſon and the captain of the guards, the government of Jeruſalem, and all that province; that of Galilee, to Herod, his ſecond ſon, though

He prefers Phaſael and Herod.

Herod takes Ezekias, the captain of the robbers.

though very young, with the ſame powers; who being naturally bold and active, was not long without an honourable occaſion of ſhewing the greatneſs of his mind. Syria was terribly infeſted, and over-run with troops of robbers, till he took Ezekias, the head of them, and put to death the captain himſelf, and ſeveral of his followers. This exploit was ſo acceptable a ſervice to the Syrians, that all the towns and villages were full of panegyrics and acclamations, to the honour of Herod, as the reſtorer of them to their liberties and poſſeſſions. The glory of this atchievement made Herod known to Sextus Ceſar, the kinſman of Ceſar the Great, who was then governor of Syria. The fame of this action inſpir'd Phaſael with an honeſt and a generous emulation to out-do his brother, and to gain more and more upon the hearts of the people of Jeruſalem, where he exerciſed his power with ſuch a tenderneſs of moderation and juſtice, that no perſon had reaſon to complain. The wiſdom and conduct of this adminiſtration gave the people as great a reverence for Antipater, as if he had been their abſolute ſovereign; and he behav'd himſelf all this while with a great exactneſs of faith and kindneſs toward Hyrcanus.

Hyrcanus bears a ſecret grudge to the two brothers.

Hyrcanus irritated by evil counſel.

But to ſhew now that it is a thing utterly impoſſible to ſecure great men and glorious actions from the ſtroke of envy, we find it evidently in this inſtance of Hyrcanus. He had borne a kind of a ſecret grudge for ſome time already, toward theſe illuſtrious young men (and to Herod eſpecially) for the honour they had acquir'd in the world, all mouths being full of the hiſtory of their virtues and adventures. Now this envious diſpoſition was further wrought upon by a parcel of invidious paraſites, and court-earwigs, to whom the exemplary integrity of Antipater's ſons was an eye-ſore. "What! (ſaid they) is the authority of the government to be divided betwixt Antipater and his ſons, and Hyrcanus to ſtand like a property, with only the empty name of it? How long will you go on at this rate, of ſetting up kings againſt yourſelf? It is now come to that paſs, that they do not ſo much as pretend to act any longer as deputies or ſubjects; but, in one word, barefac'd as ſovereigns; witneſs Herod's putting ſo many men to death, in a flat contradiction to the Jewiſh law, and without any mandate or direction of yours. Is Herod a private man, or a king? If the former, why is he not call'd to an account for this, and to anſwer both to the king himſelf, and to the law, which does not allow of any man's being put to death without a formal condemnation?"

Herod ſummon'd to attend the council. His manner of appearing.

Herod declared general in Syria and Samaria.

Hyrcanus was mov'd at this by little and little, till at laſt he broke out into a fit of wrath and indignation, commanding Herod to be ſummon'd to make his appearance. Herod thought himſelf ſo ſafe in his own innocency, that with the advice of his father, he ſecured his gariſons in galilee, and without any more ado went forthwith to the king, taking only ſuch a guard along with him, out of a reſpect to Hyrcanus, as might be competent for the ſecuring of his perſon, without an affront to the prince. Sextus Ceſar had ſo great a kindneſs for the young man, that for fear of miſchief when they had him among them, he ſent to Hyrcanus to acquit him of the charge, who ſeemed willing enough to do it, out of an inclination he had to oblige him. But Herod was yet a little doubtful how far he might depend upon fair words, and ſo repair'd to Sextus at Damaſcus, with a reſolution not to appear any more in caſe of a ſecond ſummons. Hyrcanus was ply'd over and over to the ſame purpoſe, as before, and by the ſame ſort of people. They told him that Herod was gone away in a rage, and with a deſign of ſome deſperate attempt. Hyrcanus was eaſily impos'd upon, and which way to turn himſelf he knew not; for he found his enemy too hard for him. But when Sextus came afterwards to declare Herod general of all his troops in Syria and Samaria, it ſtruck ſuch a terror into Hyrcanus, betwixt the conſideration of his own ſtrength, and the affections of the people, that he fancied him marching at the head of an army againſt him already.

Herod upon the march to depoſe Hyrcanus.

His father and brother divert him.

Nor was he at all miſtaken; for Herod in a tranſport of indignation to ſee himſelf treated as a criminal, gathered an army together, and march'd toward Jeruſalem, with a full determination to depoſe Hyrcanus from the government, which he had certainly done, if his father and his brother had not put a ſtop to the violence of his paſſion; "Deſiring him to confine his revenge to menaces and hard words, rather than offer any indignity to the king, under whoſe countenance he had advanced himſelf to this dignity. If it troubled him, they ſaid, that he was arraign'd, it might paſs for ſome ſort of attonement that he was acquitted; and then it was but ſetting the conſervation of his life againſt the hazard of it. If he valued himſelf upon his arms, let him at the ſame time bethink himſelf of the iniquity of his cauſe, and that no ſubject can ever hope for a bleſſing from heaven, who draws his ſword againſt his prince; and not only his prince neither, but his familiar friend, benefactor, and patron; and a prince who never dealt unkindly by him, but when he was provok'd and ſeduc'd by calumny and evil counſel." Upon this expoſtulation, Herod let the conteſt fall, and contented himſelf with giving the whole nation this inſtance of his intereſt and power.

Sextus Ceſar baſely murder'd by Cecilius Baſſus.

At this time the Romans fell into a civil war near Apamia. Cecilius Baſſus caus'd Sextus Ceſar to be baſely murder'd, and then took his command to himſelf. This he did as a ſervice to Pompey. The officers of Julius Ceſar, in revenge for the death of Sextus, fell with all the power they had upon Baſſus; and Antipater, out of the honour he had for both the Ceſars, the dead as well as the living, Sextus and Julius, ſent his ſons to join them with ſuccours. But the war being protracted, * Marcus was order'd out of Italy to ſucceed Sextus in the government.

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* Caſaubon reads Murcus, Exercit. 1. An. DCCVI.

CHAP. IX.

The murder of Julius Ceſar in the capitol, and the horrible factions and confuſions that follow'd it. Caſſius, a great oppreſſor; and Herod inſinuates himſelf into his friendſhip. The baſe ingratitude of Malichus, who ingratiates himſelf with Phaſael and Herod. Ceſar and Anthony in war with Brutus and Caſſius. Herod made governor of Syria. Antipater poiſon'd in his drink by the contrivance of Malichus, who was afterwards cut to pieces by Herod's officers.

See Ant. b. 14. c. 17, 18, 19, 20.

Julius Ceſar murder'd in the capitol.

Marcus lays horrible taxes

Herod makes a friend of Caſſius.

Caſſius in a rage at Malichus, but pacify'd by Antipater.

THERE fell out at the ſame time among the Romans, a more violent war than the former. Ceſar being now murder'd by the treachery of Caſſius and Brutus, after he had govern'd three years and ſeven months, his death was follow'd with a horrible confuſion of factions in the empire. The great men were all divided into parties, every man acting as his humour and intereſt led him, without any regard to the publick. Caſſius took his way into Syria to get poſſeſſion of the troops that were then before Apamia; where he made [†] Marcus and Baſſus, with ſome malecontented cohorts, friends, raiſing the ſiege of Apamia at the ſame time. He laid the cities under the moſt unreaſonable and exceſſive contributions; a tax of ſeven [**] hundred talents upon the Jews, which Antipater provided for in time by an equal diſtribution of the charge, and appointing his ſons and his friends to take a ſeaſonable care of the levy; reckoning Malichus, his profeſs'd enemy, into the number of his friends, upon that pinch. The firſt that wrought himſelf into the good graces of Caſſius was Herod; who preſented him with an hundred [††] talents for the quota of Galilee; and for that reaſon was eſteemed one of his beſt friends. But for the reſt that were not ſo ready with their proportions, Caſſius was ſo tranſported at the delay, that he raz'd Gophna, Ammaus, and two other cities of leſs note, to the ground: And when this was done, he took up a reſolution of killing Malichus for being ſo dilatory. But Antipater having firſt appeaſed Caſſius with an hundred talents, prevented the execution of his diſpleaſure upon other places.

The ingratitude of Malichus.

Malichus makes fair with Phaſael and Herod.

Ceſar and Anthony in war with Brutus and Caſſius.

Herod made governor of Syria.

Antipater poiſon'd in his drink.

But ſo ſoon as Caſſius was gone, all Malichus's obligations to Antipater were not only forgotten, but on the contrary, he enter'd into a practice upon the life of that man, whom he had ſo often over and over own'd for his ſaviour, who was to be remov'd out of the way as an obſtruction to his deſigns. Antipater kept an eye upon him, as a man both of power and cunning; and ſo paſs'd the Jordan to put himſelf in condition to ſtand upon his own guard, and take his revenge. Malichus finding himſelf ſuſpected, had no way to come off but by wheedling, and out-facing the ſons of Antipater into a better opinion of him. Phaſael being governor of Jeruſalem, and Herod captain of the guards, he deceiv'd them ſo artfully with excuſes, oaths, and proteſtations of his plain-dealing and integrity, that he engag'd the ſons themſelves in a mediation to the father for a reconciliation; and by the ſame inſtrument he made his peace alſo with Marcus the governor of Syria, who was otherwiſe reſolv'd to put him to death as a mutineer. Ceſar and Anthony being now in war with Brutus and Caſſius, Marcus and Caſſius having had ample proofs of the bravery of Herod, made him governor of the whole province of Syria, with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot for his guard; nay, Caſſius went ſo far as to promiſe him the kingdom of the Jews at the end of the war. But it ſo fell out, that the hope and bravery of the ſon occaſioned the death of the father; for Malichus was in ſuch a dread of him, that he could never think himſelf ſafe while the other was living; and ſo he corrupted Hyrcanus's butler to poiſon Antipater in his drink. This was the requital that great man receiv'd from this ungrateful wretch. He was indeed a perſon of wiſdom and courage; and one, in fine, to whom Hyrcanus ſtood indebted for the poſſeſſion of his kingdom. The people were ſo enrag'd at Malichus, upon a ſuſpicion of this execrable practice, that they were ready to tear him to pieces; but upon his renouncing and abjuring any knowledge of the matter, the multitude ſoften'd a little, and ſuſpended their rage; and Malichus in the mean time, by way of prevention, put himſelf into a condition and poſture of defence; for it could not be expected that this horrid murther ſhould ever go off thus. He knew Herod was abſolutely for taking his revenge at the head of an army; but his brother Phaſael diſſuaded him by all means from making any publick diſturbance about it, for fear of raiſing a tumult. The brothers, upon this, gave him the hearing with a ſemblance of allowing his defence, and a countenance, as if they thought him innocent, and then proceeded to the funeral rites and duties for their father; which were very ſplendid and magnificent.

Herod demands juſtice upon Malichus for the death of his father.

Samaria being at this time torn with factions, Herod went down to quiet them; but ſo as to return upon all ſolemn days, to keep his feſtival ſtill at Jeruſalem, accompany'd with his guards backwards and forwards. Malichus did not like this face of things, and therefore put Hyrcanus upon telling Herod plainly, "That it was a profanation of the "ſacredneſs of the holy religion and profeſſion, "to intermix ſtrangers with natives." Hyrcanus did as he was directed; but Herod in contempt both of the cauſe itſelf, and of the authority, enter'd by night into the city. Malichus went preſently to him all in tears, lamenting and condoling the death of Antipater; and Herod, tho' ready to burſt with rage and indignation, to outward appearance carried it as if he believed his grief real, and every word he ſaid to be true. But yet at the ſame time he wrote to Caſſius for juſtice upon Malichus, for the death of his father, which was eaſily obtain'd upon ſeveral accounts, Malichus being a perſon that was odious to Caſſius already; ſo that Caſſins did not only leave Herod to his courſe at law againſt Malichus, but ſent alſo private orders to his tribunes to be aſſiſting to Herod, if there ſhould be occaſion.

[†] Al. Murcus.

[**] Seven hundred talents weighed ſeventy nine thouſand eight huudred and forty three pounds and nine ounces; and their value in ſilver amounted to two hundred thirty nine thouſand five hundred and thirty one pounds and five ſhillings; and in gold to three millions eight hundred thirty two thouſand and five hundred pounds of our money.

[††] An hundred talents weighed eleven thouſand four hundred and ſix pounds and three ounces; and their value in ſilver amounted to thirty four thouſand two hundred eighteen pounds and fifteen ſhillings; and in gold to five hundred forty ſeven thouſand and five hundred pounds Engliſh money.

Laodicea was juſt now taken, and men of quality came thronging in from all parts to Herod, with their gratulations and preſents. He look'd upon this as the faireſt opportunity in the world for the execution of his purpoſe; but Malichus, ſuſpecting a deſign againſt himſelf, contriv'd to give him the ſlip, by getting away his ſon from Tyre, who was then a hoſtage there; and ſo ſteal away with him into Judea. But then, well conſidering the deſperate ſtate of his affairs, he was afraid that would not ſecure him neither; and ſo he ſet his wits to work upon a nobler exploit; which was to ſtir up the whole nation of the Jews againſt the Romans, while Caſſius was employ'd in a war againſt Anthony; in which caſe he flatter'd himſelf that it would be no hard matter to depoſe Hyrcanus, and take poſſeſſion of the government. But the Fates had otherwiſe determin'd, it ſeems; for Herod, having a jealouſy of ſome great miſchief projecting, invited both Malichus and Hyrcanus to ſupper with him; ſending a ſervant out under pretence of having every thing put in order for the entertainment; but in truth, with ſecret inſtructions to the tribunes to attend, and act according to the agreement betwixt Caſſius and Herod before-mentioned. They march'd out with their arms toward the ſea-ſide of the city; where they met Malichus upon the way, ſurrounded him, and cut him to pieces. The ſurprize put Hyrcanus into ſo dangerous a ſwoon, that he could hardly be brought to life again; but ſo ſoon as ever he was come to himſelf, he call'd out to Herod to know who it was that had kill'd Malichus? One of the tribunes made anſwer, That it was Caſſius's order. Why then, ſays Hyrcanus, Caſſius has ſav'd me and my country at once, in the deſtruction of ſo dangerous a traitor to both. Whether this was ſpoken from his heart or out of fear, no body knows; but this was Herod's revenge, and this the end of Malichus.

Malichus cut to pieces by Herod's officers.

CHAP. X.

Felix makes war upon Phaſael and Herod. Herod falls ſick at Damaſcus. Felix routed by Phaſael. The ingratitude of Hyrcanus. Marion, the king of the Tyrians, driven out of Galilee. Marion and Antigonus march againſt Herod. Antigonus routed. Several embaſſies with complaints to Anthony againſt Phaſael and Herod. The plaintiffs diſcharg'd without a hearing. Repeated complaints againſt the brothers. Meſſala and Hyrcanus plead for them. Anthony makes them both tetrarchs of Judea, and treats the inſolent deputies very ſeverely.

See Ant. b. 14. c. 20, 21, 22, 23.

Felix makes war upon Phaſael and Herod.

WHEN Caſſius had quitted Syria, there happen'd new troubles in Jeruſalem, upon the occaſion of Felix's making war againſt Phaſael and Herod, to revenge the death of Malichus upon the brothers. It ſo fell out that Herod being then at Damaſcus with Fabius the governor, he was taken ſo ill that it put him out of condition to march to the relief of his brother. But as it happen'd, Phaſael had no need of help; for he routed Felix with his own troops, and did his buſineſs without it: but exclaiming bitterly againſt Hyrcanus for his ingratitude in ſiding with Felix, and in putting ſeveral caſtles into the hands of the brother of Malichus: as there were many of them, and Maſſada among the reſt, one of the ſtrongeſt holds in the country. But this avail'd them little againſt the power of Herod; who was no ſooner got abroad again, but he retook all he had loſt, and brought Hyrcanus to his knees, even in Maſſada itſelf: diſmiſſing him however upon his humiliation. He drove Marion, the king of the Tyrians, out of Galilee, and recover'd from him three caſtles that he had gotten; not only ſparing the lives of the Tyrians that he took, but gratifying divers of them over and above with donatives and bounties: by which means the people became Herod's friends, and Marion's enemies both at once. This Marion was a fit inſtrument for Caſſius, who had ſet ſo many tyrants over Syria already; and marching againſt Herod, he took Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, along with him; and Fabius alſo, who was in effect no more than Antigonus's mercenary; and all this becauſe they were enemies to Herod; Ptolemy, the father-in-law of Antigonus, ſupplying them with all neceſſaries.

Herod falls ſick at Damaſcus.
Felix routed by Phaſael.
The ingratitude of Hyrcanus.

Hyrcanus brought to his knees.
Marion driven out of Galilee.

Marion and Antigonus march againſt Herod.

Herod made ready for the engagement, and it came to a battle upon the borders of Judea; Antigonus was routed, Herod carry'd the day, and return'd to Jeruſalem, where he was receiv'd with all tenderneſſes of honour and reſpect, even by thoſe that had deſpis'd him before: but this was out of a particular regard to the relation he had to Hyrcanus; for this Herod was formerly marry'd to a woman of his own country; ſhe was nobly born, and her name Doris. By this woman he had Antipater, but he was afterward married to Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, and of Alexandra the daughter of Hyrcanus. This was the relation he had to the king. But upon Ceſar's coming into Italy, and Anthony into Aſia, after the death of Caſſius at the battle of Philippi, embaſſadors were diſpatched from ſeveral places to Anthony in Bithynia, and the heads of the Jews appear'd alſo, with heavy complaints againſt Phaſael and Herod for uſurping arbitrary power to themſelves, and allowing Hyrcanus only the bare name of ſovereignty. Herod being within diſtance of over-hearing the accuſation, manag'd ſo well with Anthony, by the mediation of a ſum of money, that the complainants were all diſcharg'd without a hearing.

Antigonus routed.

Doris the wife of Herod, and the mother of Antipater.

Embaſſadors ſent with complaints to Anthony.

Complaints againſt Phaſael and Herod.

The plaintiffs diſcharg'd without a hearing.

Anthony being after this at Daphnis in the ſuburbs of Antioch, (about the beginning of his intrigue with Cleopatra) there came to him a hundred of the principal men of the Jews all in a body; ſelect men for quality and ability: and their buſineſs was the ſame complaint over again againſt the two brothers. They had made choice of the beſt ſpeakers they had, for the advantage of the plea; and Meſſala ſtood up for the brothers, Hyrcanus, for kindred-ſake, putting in to ſecond him. Upon the hearing of both parties, Anthony asked Hyrcanus, whom he look'd upon as the fitteſt man for a character in the government. Hyrcanus reply'd, that for his own

Repeated complaints againſt the brothers.
Meſſala and Hyrcanus plead for them.

part, he knew not any other comparable to the two brothers. Anthony was overjoy'd at this declaration, having been ſo highly oblig'd to Antipater of old, for a generous reception and entertainment upon his coming into Judea with Gabinius. So he pronounced them both tetrarchs of Judea, and committed the whole adminiſtration to their conduct.

Anthony makes them tetrarchs of Judea. The deputies ſeditious and inſolent. Anthony treats them ſeverely.

The deputies diſcover'd ſuch diſpleaſure and diſguſt at this proceeding, that Anthony committed fifteen of the hundred to priſon; and they eſcap'd narrowly with their lives too. The reſt he treated coarſly, and ſo let them go. This did but inflame the mutineers at Jeruſalem to a higher degree, ſo that inſtead of a hundred, they ſent now a thouſand deputies to Anthony at Tyre; who was at that time making ready to fall upon Jeruſalem. They were ſo clamorous, that the magiſtrates of Tyre were order'd to diſperſe them; and in caſe of reſiſtance, to put all to death that they took: Anthony giving them further in charge to maintain the authority of the tetrarchs which he had ſet up. Herod and Hyrcanus, being inform'd of this diſorder, went out to the deputies as they were walking before the port, and adviſ'd them civilly to have a care how they engag'd themſelves and their country, by ſuch intemperances, in one common ruin. But the better they were us'd, the worſe they were: inſomuch, that Anthony was fain to bring them to reaſon by armed troops, whereby a great many of them were kill'd and wounded. Hyrcanus was pleas'd however to take care of the wounded, and to provide for the burying of the dead. But all this wrought nothing at all upon thoſe that eſcap'd; for they ſtill went on embroiling the city, and irritating Anthony, till they provok'd him to put all his priſoners to death.

CHAP. XI.

Lyſanias treats with Barzapharnes to depoſe Hyrcanus, and ſet up Antigonus. The Carmelite Jews join Antigonus; rout and purſue the enemy to Jeruſalem. Hyrcanus and Phaſael force them into the temple. A peace propoſed by Antigonus, and Pacorus for the umpire. Herod jealous of him. Barzapharnes falſe and perfidious. The whole ſtory of the contrivance. Phaſael caution'd to look to himſelf. He charges Barzapharnes to his face. Phaſael and Hyrcanus ſeiz'd by the Parthians. Pacorus's plot upon Herod. Herod ſteals away, and withdraws to Maſſada. Herod gets a great victory. He leſſens his train, and advances to Petra. The Parthians at Jeruſalem ravage town and country. Mariſſa laid waſte; Antigonus declar'd king. Phaſael and Hyrcanus deliver'd up to him in chains. Antigonus bites off Hyrcanus's ears. Phaſael daſhes out his own brains. Herod order'd by Malichus to depart Arabia. Herod nobly treated by Cleopatra. He paſſes to Brunduſium, and ſo to Rome. The generoſity of Auguſtus and Anthony to Herod. Herod declar'd king of the Jews in the ſenate.

See Ant. b. 14. c. 23, 24, 25, 26.

Lyſanias the ſucceſſor of Ptolemy, the ſon of Menneus. He contracts with Barzapharnes to depoſe Hyrcanus, and ſet up Antigonus. Ptolemais and Sidon receive Pacorus, and Tyre denies him entrance.

ABOUT two years after this, when Barzapharnes, a noble Parthian, held the government of Syria, with Pacorus the king's ſon; Lyſanias the ſucceſſor of Ptolemy, the ſon of Minneus, ſtruck up an agreement, and confirm'd it with articles, to deliver up to them a thouſand * talents, and five hundred women, upon the dethroning of Hyrcanus, and ſettling Antigonus in his place. They fell to work upon the project immediately; Pacorus took the way of the ſea-coaſt, and Barzapharnes was to march over the Midland: Ptolemais and Sidon open'd their gates to Pacorus, but the Tyrians abſolutely refus'd him entrance. He ſent before him a party of horſe into Judea, under the command of Pacorus the king's butler (an officer of his own name) with inſtructions to hearken after the enemy's counſels and motions; and to aſſiſt Antigonus upon occaſion.

The Carmelite Jews join Antigonus; rout the enemy, and purſue them to Jeruſalem.

Hyrcanus and Phaſael force the enemy into the temple.

The Jews of mount Carmel offer'd their ſervice to Antigonus of their own accord, who order'd them forthwith to advance, and poſſeſs themſelves of that quarter of the country they call Drymos. They brought it to a battle, and got the better of it; and when the enemy was routed and diſpers'd, their numbers encreaſing, they march'd directly to Jeruſalem; where Hyrcanus and Phaſael made a very brave reſiſtance, and after a ſharp diſpute in the market-place, forc'd them to retire into the temple. Herod, upon this, clapt a guard of ſixty men into the adjoining houſes; but the people ſet fire to them out of a mortal hatred they had for the two brothers. Theſe practices tranſported Herod to ſuch a degree of indignation, that he fell upon the enemy, cutting off great numbers of them; and there paſs'd not a day without bloodſhed and ſlaughter. The feaſt of Pentecoſt being now at hand, and the city crouding full from one end of it to the other, up to the very temple itſelf, of people that came up to the ſolemnity from all quarters, and moſt of them with their arms, Phaſael took charge of the walls, and Herod, with a ſmall party, of the palace. The latter made ſo unexpected a ſally into the ſuburbs, that he kill'd ſeveral, and routed the whole multitude: ſome fled into the city, others into the temple, and ſome again ſhelter'd themſelves behind the rampart.

Antigonus propoſes a peace, and Pacorus for the umpire. Phaſael entertains the motion, and takes Pacorus into the city. The treachery of Pacorus.

When things were brought to this paſs, Antigonus propos'd a treaty of peace, and offer'd Pacorus (the king's officer before mention'd) for an umpire. Phaſael entertain'd the motion, and took the Parthian with five hundred horſe, into the city: his pretence was only the compoſing of a ſedition, but the plain truth of his intention was the aſſiſting of Antigonus. This inſinuating perfidious wretch prevail'd afterwards with Phaſael to ſend an embaſſy to Barzapharnes upon the ſame ſubject. This was intirely againſt the approbation and

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* A thouſand Syrian talents weighed fourteen thouſand two hundred fifty ſeven pounds nine ounces fifteen penny-weights, and their value in ſilver amounted to forty two thouſand ſeven hundred ſeventy three pounds eight ſhillings and nine-pence, and in gold to ſix hundred eighty four thouſand three hundred ſeventy five pounds Engliſh money; but if Jewiſh ones be here meant, the reader may ſee their value computed, Antiq. xiv. c. 24. p. 364.

Herod jealous of him.

opinion of Herod, who adviſ'd him to kill him, and caution'd him by all means to have a care how he truſted him; for he was falſe, and it was but natural for a Barbarian ſo to be. He was a traitor, he ſaid, and deſerv'd to be treated as one. Pocorus, for the better colour of the buſineſs, went out with Hyrcanus, and ſo with the reſt of the company follow'd Phaſael, leaving with Herod ſome of thoſe cavaliers that the Barbarians call'd freemen.

Barzapharnes falſe and perfidious.

The whole ſtory of the treachery.

When they came to Galilee, they found the people divided, and in arms; but the governors of places however came out to meet them. Barzapharnes had the wit to cover the falſeneſs of his heart with external civilities, ſuch as ſoft words and preſents; but ſo ſoon as they were parted, he had an ambuſh in readineſs to ſurprize them on their return. They were conducted to a place near the ſea, call'd Ecdipon; and there they had the whole ſtory of the treachery, a thouſand talents promis'd, and five hundred women to be deliver'd up to the Parthians, and ſeveral of their own part of the number; that the Parthians were always falſe, and they were told farther, that this horrid perfidy had not been put off ſo long, but that they waited for Herod's coming up to Jeruſalem, for fear the plot ſhould take air, and be diſappointed. And to ſhew now that this was more than talk, the ambuſh was juſt now at hand to ſeize them.

Ophelius preſſes Phaſael to look to himſelf.

Phaſael charges Barzapharnes to his face.

Phaſael and Hyrcanus ſeized by the Parthians.

Ophelius was the man to whom Saramalla (a Syrian, and the richeſt man of the country) had communicated the minutes of the whole deſign. This Ophelius uſed a thouſand importunities to perſuade Phaſael to ſhift for himſelf; but Phaſael's reſolution was, whatever he ſuffer'd, not to abandon Hyrcanus; ſo that he choſe rather to lay it home to Barzapharnes, and to tell him to his teeth what a mercenary perfidious wretch he was. "If "money be your buſineſs (ſays he) I can give "you more for my life than Antigonus has "promis'd you for the kingdom." This put the Parthian upon a violent denial of the whole matter, with execrable oaths and imprecations; and ſo he went his way to Pacorus. No ſooner was he gone, but Phaſael and Hyrcanus were taken into cuſtody by the Parthians that ſtay'd behind, according to their order, and had only the liberty left them of exclaiming againſt ſo horrid a perjury and treaſon.

Pacorus attmpts to decoy Herod.

The Parthian, all this while, had his leſſon given him, to try if he could decoy Herod out of the town, and take him. This he attempted, but Herod was ſo well acquainted with the treacherous practices of thoſe Barbarians, that he would not ſo much as ſtir out of the walls. He made no doubt but Phaſael had written him the whole ſtory at length of the treachery, and that the Parthians had intercepted thoſe letters; but all that Pacorus could do, would not draw him out of his hold, though he was preſs'd with a pretence plauſible enough; which was, that he ſhould meet his letters upon the way; for he'd find no ſuch thing in them as impriſonment or treachery, nor any thing more than the common buſineſs of familiar letters. Herod kept himſelf ſtill upon his guard; for he had been told by others, that his brother Phaſael was under durance; beſide, that Mariamne, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and one of the wiſeſt of women, begg'd of him, upon any terms, not to ſtir abroad, nor expoſe himſelf to the manifeſt deſigns of thoſe Barbarians.

Herod ſlips out of the town by night.

He withdraws to Maſſada. The Jews preſs him harder than the Parthians. Herodion erected in memory of this action.

Herod was too wiſe and wary to be impos'd upon bare-fac'd; ſo that Pacorus was put to his ſhifts to contrive how he might trick him out of his life ſome other way. While this was in agitation, Herod ſtole away by night, with ſome of his neareſt relations (and when his enemies leaſt thought on it) toward Idumea. The Parthians had no ſooner notice of his departure, but they got up and follow'd him. He ſent his mother, brother, Mariamne (to whom he was contracted) and Mariamne's younger brother before him; while he and his retinue retarded the purſuit of the Barbarians, and got the better of them in ſeveral encounters, retiring at laſt to the caſtle of Maſſada. The Jews were harder upon him in his flight than the Parthians, (though ever ſo troubleſome) and fell upon him about * ſixty furlongs from Jeruſalem, where they puſh'd it to a down-right battle. Herod got the victory with a ſlaughter of men, and for the eternal honour of the action, he erected a moſt magnificent palace upon the place, with a ſtrong caſtle in it, which he call'd Herodion, after his own name.

Herod leſſens his train.

And advances to Petra.

A great many people came in to him in his retreat; and at † Threſſa in Idumea, his brother Joſeph adviſed him by all means to leſſen his train, which he took to be upward of nine thouſand men, a number too large for the caſtle of Maſſada to hold. Herod took his counſel, and diſcharg'd all the unprofitable mouths with a viaticum to Idumea, diſpoſing of his kindred, and the moſt neceſſary perſons for his ſervice into the caſtle, with a body of eight hundred men over and above for the guard of the women, and proviſions ſufficient to hold out a ſiege, if there ſhould be occaſion. This he did, and ſo went forward to Petra, a city of Arabia.

The Parthians at Jeruſalem ravage town and country.

Mariſſa laid waſte, and Antigonus declar'd king. Phaſael and Hyrcanus deliver'd up to him in chains. Antigonus bites off Hyrcanus's ears.

The hearts of the Parthians at Jeruſalem were altogether ſet upon booty; breaking into the houſes of thoſe that were gone, and rifling the royal palace itſelf, but without ſo much as touching Hyrcanus's treaſure, which was not above three ** hundred talents. But they poſſeſs'd themſelves of other riches, though not ſo much as they expected: For Herod had the providence, for fear of the lewd Barbarians, to take out what was moſt precious, and to tranſport it long before to Idumea, his companions alſo taking the ſame courſe. But after the Parthians had made themſelves maſters of the ſpoil of the town, they were not content with that ravage, but infeſted the countries alſo with a bloody and an implacable war. They laid waſte the city of Mariſſa, and not only conſtituted Antigonus king, but deliver'd up Phaſael and Hyrcanus in chains into his hands. He tore off the ears of Hyrcanus with his teeth, to render him by that maim incapable of the pontificate in caſe times ſhould turn; for the holy office is not to be adminiſter'd by any perſon maim'd or blemiſh'd.

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* Sixty furlongs amounted to ſeven Engliſh miles and an half, and ninety Geometrical paces.

† Al. Reſſa. See Antiq. b. 14. c. 25.

** Three hundred Jewiſh talents (as has been obſerved before) weighed thirty four thouſand two hundred and eighteen pounds and nine ounces; and their value in ſilver amounted to one hundred two thouſand ſix hundred fifty ſix pounds and five ſhillings, and in gold to one million ſix hundred forty two thouſand and five hundred pounds Engliſh money.

But the cruelty of Antigonus was fruſtrated by the courage of Phaſael, who without either the help of a ſword, or his hands at liberty, daſh'd out his brains againſt a ſtone, ſhewing himſelf the true brother of Herod, and Hyrcanus a degenerate. He dy'd like a man of honour, and his end was ſuitable to the glory of his life. There goes yet another report of him, that he repented after that violence upon himſelf, but that a phyſician was ſent him from Antigonus, who poiſon'd the wound, and ſo diſpatch'd him: But whether the one or the other, we ſhall not contend. There paſſes another ſtory, that, before he dy'd, he was told by a woman that Herod had made his eſcape. “ Well! (ſays “ he) I ſhall now die in peace; for I ſhall “ leave a friend behind me that will revenge “ my wrongs.”

Phaſael daſhes out his own brains.

This was the end of Phaſael, and it was now a great mortification to the Parthians, that Antigonus could not make good his promiſe of the five hundred women to them: but the buſineſs was made up at Jeruſalem, and Hyrcanus ſent bound into Parthia. Herod knew nothing as yet of the death of his brother; but was ſo ſenſible of the covetous humour of the Barbarians, that he concluded there was no redeeming of him but by a ſum of money; and on that account he reſolv'd upon a journey into Arabia, in hope of ſupplying himſelf from the king upon that occaſion, either as a bounty upon the ſcore of an old friendſhip betwixt the Arabian and Antipater, or as a loan upon the pawn of his nephew the ſon of Phaſael, a youth of ſeven years of age, whom he had at that time with him for his ſecurity. The ſum he propoſed to give, was three * hundred talents, the Tyrians joining with him in the requeſt.

Antigonus could not keep touch with the Parthians.

* See the note in the foregoing page.

But his generous intentions were moſt unhappily prevented by this fatality in the death of Phaſael; ſo that Herod could do him no good, over and above that he durſt not truſt himſelf among the Arabians. For Malichus, their king, ordered him to depart immediately out of his territories; pretending that the Parthians had demanded, by their embaſſadors, that Herod might be driven out of Arabia; but the true reaſon was his ingratitude to Antipater, and the narrowneſs of his ſoul, that he would not ſhew any reſpect to the ſons (being then in diſtreſs) for the obligations he had to the father. He had, in fine, impudent adviſers about him, without either faith or honour; and theſe were the perſons that were moſt in credit with him.

Herod order'd by Malichus to depart Arabia.

When Herod came to find the Arabians to be his enemies, and for thoſe very reaſons that he thought would have made them his friends, he diſpatch'd the meſſengers back again, with ſuch aa anſwer as he was prompted to by the paſſion of a troubled mind, and ſo march'd toward Egypt. He came in the evening to a certain temple, where he had left ſeveral of his company in his paſſage. He got next day to Rinocolura; and that was the place where he receiv'd the firſt news of his brother's death. This ſurprize undoubtedly tranſported him; but ſo ſoon as ever the firſt heat of his paſſion was over, and that he had done juſtice to the ſoftneſſes of humanity and natural affection, he proceeded on his journey. The Arabian repented himſelf by this, of what he had done, and with all ſpeed ſent after the perſon he had ſo barbarouſly abus'd, to invite him back again, but was now too late; for he was gotten to Peluſium, where the officers made a difficulty of letting him paſs, till upon application to the magiſtrates he was left at liberty to go whether he pleas'd, out of the veneration they had for the fame and worth of the man. He took his paſſage for Alexandria, where he was receiv'd by Cleopatra, upon his entrance into the city, with all pompous formalities of honour and reſpect, in hope that he might be prevail'd with to accept of the command of an army, which ſhe was then providing for ſome great deſign. But Herod's heart was ſo ſet upon his voyage for Rome, that neither the queen's entreaties, the extreme cold of the ſeaſon, nor the dangers of the ſeas, could divert him from it. Upon his putting to ſea, he took his courſe by the way of Pamphylia, where there happen'd ſo violent a tempeſt that they were forced to caſt the greateſt part of their goods over-board to ſave the veſſel: But with great difficulty at laſt he got ſafe to Rhodes, at that time terribly harraſs'd by reaſon of a war with Caſſius. He was there receiv'd by two of his friends, Ptolemy and Saphinias; and, notwithſtanding his preſent want of money, he made a ſhift to provide himſelf a ſtout veſſel, that carry'd him and his friends to Brunduſium, and ſo to Rome. The perſon there to whom he made his firſt application, was Anthony upon the ſcore of an antient kindneſs and acquaintance betwixt him and Antipater: and to him he recounted the adventures and misfortunes both of himſelf and his family, with the ſtory of his friends and relations that were at preſent ſhut up and beſieg'd in the caſtle of Maſſada, and how he had made a winter voyage of it, to pay his duty to him, and to implore his aid.

Herod nobly receiv'd by Cleopatra at Alexandria.

Herod paſſes to Brunduſium, and ſo to Rome.

Anthony was ſo affectionately mov'd with a generous compaſſion for Herod's diſtreſs, and an honourable deference to the memory of Antipater, together with a virtuous ſenſe of what was due to the character of ſo excellent a perſon, that he reſolved in the very inſtant to make Herod now king of the Jews, as he had declar'd him tetrarch before; and this not only out of a reſpect to Herod, but the averſion he bare to Antigonus had likewiſe ſome part in the reſolution, looking upon him as a man of a turbulent and ſeditious temper, and an enemy to the Romans. And now after all theſe gentle diſpoſitions of Anthony in Herod's favour, Auguſtus was yet rather the forwarder friend of the two; for he was never well and eaſy but when he was talking of Antipater's ſervices in Egypt, and what Antipater and Ceſar had ſuffer'd together there; the honour and hoſpitality of the converſation, beſide the worthineſs of Herod's mind and courage.

The generoſity of Auguſtus and Anthony to Herod.

Upon this, there was a ſenate call'd, where Meſſala, and after him, Atratinus (Herod himſelf preſent) enlarg'd upon the merits of Antipater, and his fidelity to the people of Rome; expoſing Antigonus at the ſame time for a publick enemy; not only for falling off ſo ſoon, but for receiving a crown from the hands of the Parthians, in contempt of the Romans. The ſenate was ſo poſſeſs'd with theſe ha-

harangues

Herod declar'd king of the Jews in the ſenate.

rangues, that they gave their voices unanimouſly for Herod to be king of the Jews, eſpecially Anthony declaring himſelf that it would be for the advantage of the war with the Parthians to have it ſo. Upon the riſing of the ſenate, Anthony and Ceſar went out with Herod betwixt them the conſuls, and other magiſtrates going before, to give order for the killing of ſacrifices, and the depoſiting of this decree of the ſenate in the capitol. Herod, on the firſt day of his reign, ſupp'd with Anthony.

CHAP. XII.

Antigonus beſieges Maſſada; and Joſeph, Herod's brother, defends it. Ventidius and Silo join with Herod againſt Antigonus. Herod takes Joppa, and relieves Maſſada and ſo advances to Jeruſalem, and begirts the city. The beſiegers are repuls'd. The craft and corruption of Silo. A deſperate mutiny, but quieted by Herod, who poſſeſſes himſelf of Sepphoris, takes Jericho, and rifles it. The hiſtory of his war with the robbers. He goes back to Samaria, and Ptolemy commands in his place. Macheras commits a barbarous maſſacre upon the Jews. Anthony beſieges Samoſata, and Antiochus delivers up the place.

See Ant. b. 14. c. 24, 25. 26, 27.

Maſſada beſieg'd by Antigonus, and in extreme want of water

A providential fall of rain.

ANTIGONUS was at this time before Maſſada, where, tho' they had plenty of every thing elſe, they wanted water to extremity, inſomuch that Joſeph, the brother of Herod, underſtanding that Malichus the king of Arabia had repented of the injuries he had multiply'd upon Herod, enter'd into a reſolution to ſteal out of the caſtle by night, with two hundred of his familiar friends, and to betake himſelf to the Arabians for ſuccour. And he had certainly put his deſign in execution, and left the caſtle, if, upon the preciſe point of time, when he was juſt about to make the ſally, there had not fallen ſo plentiful a ſhower of rain, that their pits, ciſterns, and other veſſels, were all repleniſh'd with it; ſo that there was now no need of ſtirring. After this relief, the gariſon made frequent ſallies; and betwixt ſurprizes and open force, did conſiderable execution upon the enemy; not but that they had the fortune to be ſometimes worſted themſelves.

Ventidius ſeizes Antigonus's treaſure.

WHILE this paſt, Ventidius, one of the Roman generals, being ſent to drive the Parthians out of Syria, enter'd Judea, under colour of a deſign to relieve Maſſada, but in effect to make a ſeizure of Antigonus's treaſure. Now when he had advanced almoſt as far as Jeruſalem, and enrich'd himſelf with plunder, he went off again with the greateſt part of the army, but left Silo with a ſmall body behind him, for the better countenance of the cheat; for if he had quite clear'd the country, it would have been ſaid that he came only to ſatisfy his own private avaritious ends. Antigonus, however, made fair with Silo, having ſome hope yet that he might again engage the Parthians to his intereſt; and ſo long as there was hope, he thought the people would be quiet.

Ventidius and Silo join Herod againſt Antigonus.

Silo deſerts.

HEROD, being now tranſported out of Italy to Ptolemais, having raiſed a conſiderable army, both of his own nation and ſtrangers, poſted away through Galilee toward Antigonus, with the aſſiſtance of Ventidius and Silo, who were prevail'd upon by the ſolicitation of Dellius, at the inſtance of Anthony, to help Herod into the poſſeſſion of his kingdom. But Ventidius was taken up with compoſing the broils that the Parthians had rais'd in the cities, and Silo was already corrupted by Antigonus in Judea. But Herod wanted no men, for they came in to him every day all the way he march'd; and the Galileans, all but a very few, went along with him entire. The firſt, and the moſt neceſſary thing he had in his thought, was the raiſing of the ſiege of Maſſada, to ſet his friends and his kindred at liberty: But Joppa was a block in his way, and the firſt obſtacle to be remov'd; for there was no meddling with Jeruſalem with that enemy at their backs. Silo took this occaſion to withdraw; and the Jews of Antigonus's party purſuing him, Herod, with a handful of men, fought and defeated them, and brought off Silo ſafe, after a faint and a weak reſiſtance.

Herod takes Joppa, and poſts away to relieve Maſſada.

Antigonus lays ambuſhes for Herod. Maſſada reliev'd, and Herod advances to Jeruſalem.

JOPPA being now taken, Herod haſten'd away to ſet Maſſada free, the country very frankly joining with him; ſome for his father's ſake, ſome for his own, others in gratitude for the obligations they had to both; but the greater part of them for the hope of honour and reward. He was by this time maſter of a conſiderable army; but Antigonus did what he could, however, to obſtruct his paſſage, by planting ambuſhes in his way, tho' with little or no damage to the adverſe party. Herod, in fine, found no great difficulty in raiſing the ſiege, and in withdrawing his friends and his goods out of the caſtle. He advanced from thence to Jeruſalem, where divers of Silo's men and of the inhabitants came over to him, out of an awe they had for his power.

Herod begirts the city, and offers an univerſal amneſty.

The beſiegers repuls'd.

HE pitch'd his camp upon the weſt-ſide of the town, whence the enemy gall'd him with ſhowers of darts and arrows, and the defendants made ſeveral ſtrong ſallies upon his vanguard. The firſt thing Herod did, was the publiſhing of a proclamation quite round the walls of the city by a herald in form, ſetting forth that he had no other deſign in this expedition than the common good of the people, and the ſafety of the city, with the offer of an univerſal act of oblivion to all his enemies, of what degree ſoever, without exception. Antigonus's party, on the other hand, did all they could, with noiſe and clamour, to keep the people either from hearing the conditions of the declaration, or from being mov'd with the reaſon of it: and ſo he commanded his men to fall on; whereupon the beſiegers were beaten off with ſhot from the towers, and forc'd to a retreat.

The craft and corruption of Silo.

He ſtirs up the people to a revolt.

THE corruption of Silo was now as clear as the ſun, by the clamours of the ſoldiers, that he had tamper'd and ſuborn'd to put all into a flame. "They were undone, (they cry'd) "for want of neceſſaries: They had neither "meat nor money; and as Antigonus had order'd it, the skirts of the city were all eaten "up, and they were ruin'd for want of convenient winter-quarters." At this rate were the people animated to a revolt, and Silo would have gone off for company. This was ſo dangerous a practice, that Herod was glad to apply himſelf not only to Silo's officers, but to the common ſoldiery alſo, to prevent a worſe miſchief.

Herod compoſes the mutiny.

“Fellow ſoldiers (ſays he) you know very well, that I have the commiſſion of Cæſar, Anthony, and the ſenate, for what I do: Do but ſtay by me one day longer, and all your wants ſhall be ſupply'd.” Upon this aſſurance, he went away himſelf to give orders for proviſion, and forthwith ſent them ſo prodigious a quantity, that Silo's mouth was ſtopt, and no room left for any further complaint: And to ſecure them likewiſe for the future, he wrote to Samaria (which was then under his protection) to ſend him all manner of proviſions to Jericho: as corn, wine, oil, cattle, &c. When Antigonus heard this, he preſently diſpatch'd his troops abroad, and laid ambuſhes to intercept the convoys. They follow'd their orders, and there was now a great army gotten together near Jericho, and parties up and down the mountains to obſtruct any relief.

Herod advances to Jericho.

Jericho taken rifled, and gariſon'd.

Herod removes his friends from Maſſada to Samaria, and poſſeſſes himſelf of Sepphoris.

He bends his force againſt the free-booters.

An encounter betwixt Herod and the robbers.

Herod was not idle all this while, but with ten companies, five of which were Roman, and five Jewiſh, amongſt whom were three hundred mercenaries, and a ſmall body of horſe, advanced to Jericho, where he found the city abandon'd, not a ſoul left in it, and only five hundred of the inhabitants, with their wives and families, fled to the mountains. Theſe he took, and ſo diſmiſs'd them. The town had a world of rich pillage in it; which the Romans rifled and carry'd away: And Herod, leaving a gariſon in the place, went his way back again. The Roman troops had their winter-quarters aſſign'd them in the cities that came over to Herod; as Idumea, Galilee, and Samaria. Antigonus alſo, upon Silo's account, whom he had brib'd, had part of his army quater'd in Lydda, to ſtand fair with Anthony. The Romans were now eaſy and quiet, and in a full enjoyment of peace and plenty. But Herod could not yet be at reſt; for he ſent his brother Joſeph, with four hundred horſe and two thouſand foot, to fortify Idumea, for fear Antigonus ſhould enter upon any new practice; while he went himſelf, with his mother and the reſt of his kindred, to Samaria, whom he had reſcu'd at Maſſada. After the ſecuring of his friends, he advanc'd into Galilee, to reduce certain gariſons that Antigonus was poſſeſs'd of in that province. He came up to Sepphoris in a deep ſnow, and took the place without any difficulty, for the gariſon quitted it before it was inveſted. When he had ſtaid there a while, and refreſh'd his men after a winter's fatigue, (as there was great plenty of proviſions) he turn'd his arms againſt the free-booters, who ſhelter'd themſelves in caves, and by ſallies and incurſions made a worſe ravage in the country than a regular war. He ſent away three companies of foot, and a wing of horſe before him, to Arbela, and follow'd them himſelf forty days after with the reſt of his army. Theſe robbers were not at all daunted with this incurſion; but, on the contrary, advanc'd againſt them in a body, in the confidence they had of the conduct and courage of their leader. When the armies came afterward to an engagement, the thieves right wing put Herod's left wing to an abſolute rout; but Herod wheeling immediately upon them with his right, did not only put a ſtop to the flight of his own men, but brought them on again with ſuch a fury, that the robbers were not able to ſtand before him. He had the chace of them as far as the Jordan; a great many of them were cut off in the purſuit, and the reſt got over the river. Galilee was now deliver'd from this peſt, ſaving only ſome ſtragglers that kept ſtill in their faſtneſſes, which was the occaſion of Herod's ſtaying a little lon- in the country.

Herod, after this exploit, as the firſt fruits of his ſoldiers ſervices, gave the common ſoldiers a hundred * and fifty drachma's a man, and to their officers ſo much more in proportion, and then diſmiſs'd them into their winter-quarters. He gave it in charge to his youngeſt brother Pheroras to take care for proviſions, and likewiſe to run up a wall about the caſtle of Alexandrion, which was all done accordingly.

Herod attacks the thieves in their holes. A deſcription of their caves and hiding-places.

Anthony was now at Athens, and Ventidius ſent to Silo and Herod, to join him in the war againſt the Parthians; but writing to them in the firſt place, to ſettle the affairs of Judea. Herod was well enough content to ſend Silo to Ventidius, while he himſelf advanc'd againſt the thieves again to ferret them out of their dens. Now theſe dens or caverns were in the craggs of the rocks, hardly acceſſable on any ſide, but by narrow turns and windings, and a direct precipice from top to bottom. The place was ſo ſteep and difficult, that it coſt the king ſome time before he could reſolve what to do; but he bethought himſelf at laſt of an experiment, bold and deſperate enough. There were ſtrong cheſts, with ſoldiers in them, let down with ropes from the top of the mountain to the mouth of the entrance into the cave. Theſe ſoldiers deſtroy'd the theives in their holes, ſome with their arms, and others that reſiſted, with fire. When Herod had a mind to ſave any of them, a cryer ſummon'd them to come to him: But upon the main, there was not one man that render'd himſelf upon his own accord; and for thoſe that were forced to it, a great many of them prefer'd death to captivity.

The wonderful reſolution of an old man.

There was one very remarkable paſſage: an old man, the father of ſeven ſons, the mother and the children lay begging of him only for leave to get out, and render themſelves to the enemy. This old man commanded them to come out one after another, and ſtill as any of them appear'd, he put them to death. This ſpectacle ſtruck Herod to the heart, who ſaw it from a place of proſpect near at hand, and beſought the poor man, with ſigns, and words at length, to ſpare his children: But no words or actions of tenderneſs had the leaſt power to work upon him. The man went forward in his reſolution, kill'd the children firſt, and then the mother, caſting their dead bodies down the rock, and laſt of all himſelf; reproaching Herod for a man of an abject, mean ſpirit.

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* According to Calmet's tables, a drachma weighed two pennyweights ſix grains and three fourths; and its value in ſilver amounted to ſix pence three farthings and three eighths; one hundred and fifty ſilver drachma's therefore muſt amount to four pounds five ſhillings and ſix pence half penny; but this being the loweſt valuation put upon it, and other authors valuing it at ſeven pence three farthings of our money, one hundred and fifty muſt amount to four pounds ſixteen ſhillings and ten pence halfpenny. This calculation is made from the beſt authors; and tho' it does not exactly agree with our note at the bottom of pag. 369. the variation is ſo ſmall, we hope our candid reader will pardon it.

The country clear'd of the thieves. Herod goes back to Samaria, and Ptolemy commands in his abſence. Ptolemy ſurpriz'd, and ſlain. Herod returns, and diſperſes the thieves. Ventidius aſſiſts Herod againſt Antigonus.

When Herod hunted the thieves out of their dens, he left only ſuch a force behind him, as he thought ſufficient to keep the peace. Ptolemy had the command of it; and ſo he return'd to Samaria; marching againſt Antigonus with three thouſand foot arm'd with bucklers, and ſix hundred horſe. The troublers of Galilee made advantage of Herod's abſence, and fell upon Ptolemy by ſurprize, and kill'd him: they laid the country waſte alſo, and then fled to bogs and defiles for their retreat. Herod had no ſooner notice of this diſorder, but he was in with them immediately, and cut off great numbers of their people; ſet all the caſtles at liberty that they had as good as block'd up, and fin'd the cities a hundred * talents for the riot.

The Parthians being now beaten, and Pacorus kill'd, Ventidius, by the order of Anthony, diſpatch'd Macheras to Herod with a thouſand horſe, and two legions, againſt Antigonus; who ſent Macheras a complaining letter of the indignities Herod had put upon him, with the offer of a conſiderable ſum of money to enter into his intereſt: but Macheras ſtood off; partly for their ſakes to whom he was recommended, and partly becauſe Herod was the franker bidder of the two. But Macheras made fair however with Antigonus, and put on the countenance of a friendly diſpoſition to diſcourſe the matter with him: but his buſineſs, in truth, was only to ſound him, and learn the ſtate of his affairs, which was a method abſolutely againſt the opinion and advice of Herod. Now Antigonus, ſuſpecting his intention, did not only refuſe him entrance upon his approach to the city; but kept him off from the walls with darts and arrows, as an actual enemy. Macheras was ſo aſham'd of himſelf upon this diſappointment, that he returned to Herod at † Ammaus; and in a rage put all the Jews to death that he could meet with, whether friends or foes, and the Herodians as well as the reſt: neither did the favourers of Antigonus eſcape any better than their neighbours.

Macheras goes to Herod to Ammaus, and puts all the Jews there to death without diſtinction.

Herod meditates a revenge.

Herod was ſo tranſported at this bloody outrage, that he was once thinking to take open revenge upon Macheras, as an open enemy: but upon ſecond thoughts he check'd himſelf, and choſe rather to carry the cauſe immediately to Anthony. Macheras was ſo conſcious to himſelf of what he had done, that ſo ſoon as ever Herod was gone, he poſted, in that inſtant, after him, and, overtaking him upon the way, after a thouſand ſubmiſſions, proteſtations, and other humble importunities, with much ado he made his peace. But this did not divert Herod yet from going to Anthony: ſo he went forward; and hearing upon the way, that Anthony was at that time with a great army before Samoſata, (a ſtrong place upon the Euphrates) he made the more haſte to be up with him time enough to give ſome ſignal proofs of his faith and courage, and at the ſame time to ingratiate himſelf with Anthony. The arrival of Herod put a quick end to the ſiege: he deſtroy'd a multitude of the Barbarians, and a great part of the booty fell to his ſhare. Anthony, who had always entertain'd a mighty value for Herod, had a greater eſteem for him upon this occaſion yet than ever; which contributed exceedingly to his honour, and to the hopes he had of eſtabliſhing himſelf in the kingdom. Antiochus, in fine, was forc'd to deliver up Samoſata.

Macheras makes his peace with Herod. Anthony beſieges Samoſata.

Antiochus delivers up the place.

CHAP. XIII.

Joſeph commands in Herod's abſence. Joſeph, Herod's brother, kill'd in a ſkirmiſh. Antigonus inſults upon the body, and cuts off his head. Strange changes upon his ſucceſſes. Soſius made general of Syria. A fore-boding dream of Herod's. Three wonderful deliverances. Jeruſalem beſieg'd, and taken by aſſault; and Herod compounds for the pillage. Pappus's head cut off in revenge of Joſeph. A mean character of Antigonus. He is ſent in chains to Anthony, and loſes his head. Cleopatra covetous and ill-natur'd.

See Ant. b. 14. c. 27, 28. b. 15. c. 1. 5. Joſeph commands in Herod's abſence.

While theſe things paſs'd, Herod's affairs met with bad ſucceſs in Judea; which he left in his abſence, under the abſolute command of his brother Joſeph; upon this expreſs condition, not to attempt any thing againſt Antigonus before his return: his reaſon was, that he had a ſtrong jealouſy of Macheras, upon an old account, and durſt not lay any ſtreſs upon his honeſty. But Joſeph, when his brother was at a diſtance, forgot that article, and march'd towards Jericho with five companies that Macheras had provided him, to carry off the corn that was then ripe upon the ground. The enemy fell upon him from the mountain, and, betwixt the advantages of the place, and the occaſion, gave him an utter defeat; cutting all the Romans to pieces, and the general himſelf, who left behind him the character of a great and valiant man; theſe being only new-rais'd troops, levy'd in Syria, and no veterans among them, to ſupply the want of ſkill and experience in their fellows.

Joſeph Herod's brother, kill'd in a ſkirmiſh.

But ſuch at laſt was the brutality of Antigonus, that the victory would not ſerve his turn, without unmanly inſolencies upon the dead; inſulting over the body of Joſeph himſelf, with affronts and blows, and then ſtriking off his head; tho' his brother Pheroras, to prevent that laſt indignity, offer'd fifty talents ranſom for his body. ‡ Things were ſo alter'd in Galilee upon the ſucceſs of Antigonus, that they took the Herodians of the firſt quality, and plung'd them into the lake. There was a great change in Idumea too; where Macheras repair'd the walls of the caſtle of Gath. Herod knew nothing of theſe matters all this while; for, upon the taking of Samoſata, Anthony made Soſius governor of Syria, with a charge to aſſiſt Herod againſt Antigonus, and ſo he departed into Egypt. Soſius, upon this, ſent away two companies into Judea to join

Antigonus ſtrikes off his head. Strange changes upon his ſucceſſes.

Soſius made general of Syria.

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* An hundred Jewiſh talents weighed eleven thouſand four hundred ſix pounds three ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to thirty four thouſand two hundred eighteen pounds fifteen ſhillings, and in gold to five hundred forty ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds Engliſh money.

† Al. Emmaus.

‡ Fifty Jewiſh talents weighed five thouſand ſeven hundred three pounds one ounce ten penny weights, and their value in ſilver amounted to ſeventeen thouſand one hundred nine pounds ſeven ſhillings ſixpence, and in gold to two hundred ſeventy three thouſand ſeven hundred fifty pounds Engliſh money.

join Herod, and he himſelf follow'd ſoon after with the reſt of the army.

A fore-boding dream of Herod's.

While Herod was at Daphne, (the ſuburbs of Antioch) he had a manifeſt preſage of the death of his brother, in a dream. He leapt out of his bed upon't, and the meſſengers that brought the news, came into his chamber at that very inſtant. The ſurprize ſtruck him at firſt; but when his ſorrow had vented itſelf a little, he diſpatch'd away with all poſſible ſpeed, to find out the enemy. Coming to Libanus, he took eight hundred inhabitants of the place, and one Roman cohort to his aſſiſtance. With this body he enter'd Galilee before day, charg'd the enemy, and beat them back into the caſtle whence they came. He ſat down before it, and aſſaulted it day after day; but before he could make himſelf maſter of it, the winter came on ſo faſt, that he was fain to draw off his army into the next village. Anthony, ſome few days after this, ſent him an enforcement of another company; which put the garriſon into ſuch an apprehenſion, that they ſecretly abandon'd the caſtle by night.

Herod's next remove was in all haſte to Jericho, to take his revenge for the death of his brother; where he was preſerv'd by a providence ſo wonderful, that it fell little ſhort of a miracle; but God in his goodneſs had him under his particular care. Herod had had at ſupper with him, that night, ſeveral perſons of the firſt quality, and ſo ſoon as the entertainment was over, the houſe clear'd, and the company gone, the roof of the eating-room fell flat down to the ground. He took this remarkable eſcape for ſo auſpicious a preſage, with a reſpect to the war he was engag'd in, that he decamped next morning early. The enemy, in a body of about ſix thouſand, came down the mountains, and had a ſkirmiſh with his van-guard; but they did not much preſs to any action with the Romans, only they aſſaulted them with darts and ſtones at a diſtance, and Herod himſelf, as he paſs'd by, receiv'd a wound in his ſide.

A ſtrange eſcape of Herod's upon the fall of a dining room.

Antigonus, valuing himſelf upon being thought Herod's ſuperior, both for number and courage, ſent Pappus, a familiar friend of his, with a body of men into Samaria, to try an encounter with Macheras. Herod, in the mean time, took five towns, and ravaged the enemy's country, deſtroy'd two thouſand of the inhabitants, lay'd their houſes in aſhes, and ſo return'd to the army not far from a village call'd Cana. There came to him every day great numbers of Jews: ſome from Jericho, ſome from other places; ſome out of ſpite to Antigonus, and ſome again in reſpect to Herod: nay, ſome there were ſo ſenſeleſs, that they lov'd change purely for change ſake. Now the thing that Herod's heart was moſt ſet upon, was to puſh it to a battle; and Pappus, with his men on the other hand, was as ready to try the event: ſo that his troops, without any dread, either of force or numbers, march'd fiercely up to the combat. When they came to charge, Pappus's men, upon the main, made a tolerable reſiſtance; but wherever Herod came, he was ſo tranſported with the ſpirit of revenge for his brother's death, that his enemies fled before him. It was his method, wherever he ſaw them in a body, to break them into a diſorder, and by that means he put them all to flight.

A terrible ſlaughter and confuſion.

There was a terrible ſlaughter: ſome beaten back into the place whence they came, and ſome running one way ſome another; Herod ſtill preſſing and purſuing them, till at laſt he fell furiouſly in with them into the town. The houſes were preſently crouded with fugitives, and the very roofs cover'd with them. But thoſe were eaſily deſtroy'd; and then, upon beating down the buildings, ſeveral periſh'd under the ruins, and others by the ſword; and they that eſcap'd the one, were deſtroy'd by the other. The ſtreets, in fine, were ſo block'd up with piles of carcaſſes, that the conquerors found ſome difficulty to march over the dead bodies. The ſpectacle was ſo frightful, that the people were not able to ſtand the very ſight of it. In the fluſh of this ſucceſs, Herod had certainly march'd directly to Jeruſalem, if the extream rigour of the ſeaſon had not made the ways impaſſable. This was the only thing that hinder'd the perfecting of his victory, and the irreparable ruin of Antigonus; who was now diſpoſing of himſelf to quit the city.

A providential deliverance.

Herod, in the evening, having diſcharg'd his friends to refreſh themſelves after the fatigue of the day, went to bathe himſelf, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, being hot and ſweaty, with only one ſervant to attend him. As he was in his way to the bath, one of Antigonus's ſoldiers met him with a ſword drawn; and after him another, and another, and ſtill more. Now theſe were men that fled thither with their arms, out of the battle, for ſanctuary. Upon the ſight of the king, they fell into ſuch a dread and trembling, that they minded nothing but the ſaving of themſelves, and ſo paſs'd by him. It ſo happen'd, that no body being at hand to ſeize them, they all got off; and, as providence would have it, Herod eſcap'd untouch'd. On the day following, he order'd the head of Pappus (Antigonus's general) to be ſtruck off, and ſent it to his brother Pheroras, in revenge for the blood of Joſeph; for it was Pappus that kill'd him.

Pappus's head ſtruck off in revenge for Joſeph.

Herod lays ſiege to Jeruſalem.

When the winter was well over, Herod advanc'd to Jeruſalem, drew his men to the walls, and, for the advantage of the attack, encamp'd before the temple; being the quarter from whence Ptolemy took it formerly. This was the third year after Herod's being declared king at Rome. He aſſign'd all his troops their offices and ſtations, and every man his poſt in the ſuburbs; he order'd the caſting up of three ramparts, and the building of turrets over them: and, when he had given theſe commiſſions in charge, to his friends and officers that he could beſt confide in, he went himſelf to Samaria, to conſummate a mariage with Mariamne, (the daughter of Ariſtobulus the ſon of Alexander) to whom he had been contracted ſome time before: ſo that the ſiege and the match went on together, in contempt of his enemies; as who ſhould ſay, I have time enough for both.

Upon his marriage, he came back to Jeruſalem, with ſeveral additional troops, beſides a ſtrong body of horſe and foot, under Soſius the Roman general, who was ſent to join him: the greater part of them took their march by the way of the midland, and he himſelf by Phenicia. The whole army, upon the muſter, amounted to eleven legions, and ſix thouſand horſe; beſides a ſtrong enforcement of Syrian auxiliaries. They order'd the aſſault upon the north ſide. Herod founded his right upon the decree of the ſenate that made him king; and Soſius pleaded the commiſſion of Anthony, for the aſſiſtance of Herod with the troops under his command.

The Jews within the city were now in a very great confuſion and diſtreſs; the meaner ſort of them gathering together about the temple, and paſſing their judgments upon the times, in a kind of an enthuſiaſtical way of fore-boding calamities to come. The bolder part of this rabble paſſed up and down, and pillaged whatever they could come at; eſpecially near the town, where they left no neceſſaries, neither for horſe, nor man. The ſoldiery, all this while, omitted nothing for the defence of the place. They kept the beſiegers off from their walls, and ſtill oppoſed one inſtrument and one ſtratagem to another: but their greateſt excellency lay in mining, and breaking in upon the enemy before they were aware. The king, on the other hand, took care to provide againſt the excurſions of the robbers, and for a ſupply of proviſions, by convoys and tranſportations from abroad, to anſwer the neceſſities of the people. The Jews muſt be allow'd to have been bold and daring in battle, even to the higheſt degree: but yet, when it came to military ſkill and addreſs, they were conſtantly outdone by the Romans; ſtill maintaining the diſpute, however, tho' they were in a manner ſure to die for't. And in caſe of any ſurprizing attempt of the enemy from their trenches, by ſally, or attack, they found ſome way or other in an inſtant, to make all good: and, in one word, they ſpar'd for neither art nor labour, in the reſolution they had taken to defend it to the laſt. But, after a five months defence againſt ſo vaſt an army, a ſelect party of Herod's men were ſo hardy at laſt as to mount the wall, with ſome of Soſius's centurions to ſecond them; and ſo they brake into the city. The firſt thing they did, after their entrance, was to poſt themſelves round the temple, and as near it as they could get; while the army diſpers'd itſelf, and carry'd death and deſolation along with it, in the moſt hideous forms, wherever it mov'd. The Romans were outrageous, in revenge for the hardſhips they had endur'd in the ſiege, and the cruelty of the Herodian Jews was an inplacable ſpite, for fear any of their adverſaries ſhould eſcape. The narrow paſſages, and the houſes, were all fill'd, and peſter'd with heaps of dead bodies. They ſpar'd neither age nor ſex, and the temple itſelf was no longer a ſanctuary. Nay, tho' the king himſelf commanded them every where upon their allegiance to hold their hands, they nevertheleſs executed their revenge with a moſt mercileſs and inhuman fury.

Jeruſalem taken by aſſault.

Antigonus a mean pitiful wretch.

Antigonus, in this hurry and confuſion, was ſo mean and heartleſs, that, without any regard to his quality, or to his paſt or preſent fortune, he came down from Baris, and caſt himſelf at the feet of Soſius; who, without any ſort of pity for his calamity, received him with this taunt, that his name ſhould be no longer Antigonus, but Antigona. But tho' he behav'd himſelf like a woman, he was not us'd like one; for he was laid in chains, and kept a priſoner. Herod's enemies were now at his mercy, but his friends were yet ſo troubleſome, that he had much ado to keep his auxiliaries and ſtrangers quiet; for the multitude preſs'd ſo violently into the temple, out of a rude curioſity to ſee the holy furniture and conſecrated veſſels, that Herod had enough to do, by fair means and foul, as menaces, entreaties, nay, and ſometimes with blows, to keep them in order: accounting upon it, that his victory would be worſe than a defeat, if he ſhould ſuffer thoſe ſacred privacies to be expos'd to common eyes, which the law had kept in reſerve.

Herod compounds for the booty.

Antigonus loſes his head

He proceeded then to the regulation of the ſoldiery, in the matter of pillage; telling Soſius, that, at that rate of leaving neither men nor money, the Romans would render him a king of a deſart, rather than of a city and people; and that, to gain the whole world, he would not be a governor upon thoſe terms. Soſius made this reply, that he thought the ſoldiers, after what they had done and ſuffer'd, might be allowed ſome ſort of right to the advantage of the booty. You ſpeak reaſon, ſays Herod; take my word and honour for it, that I will ſee juſtice done to every man of them out of my own fortune. By this way of proceeding, Herod preſerv'd the remainder of his country, and afterward made good his promiſe to the army: for there was not a common ſoldier that had not his donative, and the officers were all rewarded in proportion, even to Soſius himſelf; and to ſuch a degree, that every perſon was abundantly ſatisfy'd. Soſius, after this, dedicated a golden crown to God; and, leaving Jeruſalem, carry'd Antigonus away bound to Anthony, flattering himſelf all the way with the hope of life, to the very minute of his execution, when his head was cut off for not deſerving to live.

The multitude of the city were divided, and Herod diſtinguiſh'd party from party accordingly; treating his friends with great honour and kindneſs, to make the ſurer of them; but the Antigonians he put to death. When he fell ſhort of mony, he divided what he had that was precious, betwixt Anthony and thoſe about him whom he had the moſt value for; but all this was not enough to ſecure him yet; for Anthony was at this time beſotted with the love of Cleopatra, and ſo abandon'd to his paſſion, that he could deny her nothing. Now Cleopatra had already fallen ſo bloodily upon her own relations, that when ſhe had not left one near kinſman living, ſhe turn'd the point of her rage againſt ſtrangers; by calumniating men of honour and quality to Anthony, and prevailing with him to have them put to death, as the ready way to make her miſtreſs of their eſtates. Her avarice tranſported her ſo far, after this, againſt the Jews and Arabians, that ſhe enter'd into a ſecret practice againſt the lives of their kings themſelves, Herod and Malichus. Anthony held her in hand upon it, with fair words, and ſeeming compliances: but for taking away the lives of two good men, and two ſuch princes, it was ſo execrable a propoſition, he could not but have a horrour for it. He went ſo far, however, as to break friendſhip with them, and to put her in poſſeſſion of a conſiderable part of their territories: as for inſtance, the lands in Jericho, ſo famous for palm-trees and balſam, and all the cities upon the river Eleutherus, except Tyre and Sidon. When he had gratify'd her with this preſent, ſhe accompany'd him as far as the Euphrates in his expedition againſt the Parthians, and ſo took her away into Judea by Apamia and Damaſcus.

HEROD had already parted with large ſums toward the mollifying of Cleopatra; but her ill-nature was ſo implacable, and ſo inſatiable was her avarice, that all this would not do, without extorting an annuity of two * hundred talents out of the revenue of Judea; and ſo, with great obſequiouſneſs and reſpect, he conducted her to Peluſium. It was not long before Anthony came back from the Parthian war, with † Artabazes the ſon of Tigranes his priſoner, whom he made a preſent of to Cleopatra, with the whole booty.

CHAP. XIV.

The craſt and treachery of Cleopatra. Herod would have aſſiſted Anthony againſt Auguſtus, and ſhe hinder'd him. Herod gains one battle, and loſes another. A prodigious earthquake in Judea. The Jews in a conſternation, and ſeveral of their embaſſadors put to death upon it. A generous ſpeech of Herod's to encourage his ſoldiers. The army takes heart upon Herod's exhortation. Herod forces the Arabians to a battle, and gives them a total overthrow. The Arabians ſurrender themſelves at diſcretion, and petition Herod to take them into his protection.

Ant. b. 15. c. 6, 7, 8.

UPON the breaking out of the war at Actium, Herod was now at liberty, and propoſed to himſelf to accompany Anthony in that expedition; for he had gotten ** Hyrcania into his hands, from the ſiſter of Antigonus; and all things were now compos'd and eaſy at home. But Cleopatra, for fear of Herod's being companion in the dangers with Anthony, craftily diverted him from his deſign. This princeſs, having a mortal hatred for both the kings, perſuaded Anthony to commit the Parthian war to Herod; "for, (ſays ſhe to her-" ſelf) if he get the better of it, I ſhall be " queen of Arabia; and if he be worſted, of " of Judea:" propounding only the daſhing of the one againſt the other. This advice happen'd well enough for Herod, who, having gotten together a mighty body of horſe, ſent them againſt the Syrians near Dioſpolis, where he fell upon them; the Syrians made a gallant reſiſtance, for a while, but in the end were beaten out of the field. Upon this defeat, the Arabians drew out a prodigious army, and poſted themſelves at *† Canatha in Cele-Syria, there to expect the coming up of the Jews. Herod was now advancing toward them, but, upon ſight of their numbers and diſpoſition, he found it convenient to keep himſelf upon a more than ordinary guard, and therefore order'd the running of a wall about the camp. But the people were ſo puff'd up with one victory that Herod's precaution would not be comply'd with, they thought, to make them wait for another: ſo that without any more ceremony they fell on, and routed the Arabians at the very firſt puſh; but upon the purſuit, Herod fell into an ambuſcade of a body of Canathenes, that were ſent in by Athenion to the relief of the Arabians, and very narrowly eſcap'd. Now this Athenion was an officer of Cleopatra's, and ever a mortal enemy to Herod. Upon the encouragement of this relief, the Arabians took heart, rally'd, and came on again; ſcatter'd the Herodians, and, following them cloſe through craggs and woods, they kill'd great numbers of them in the chace. They that eſcap'd the battle, fled to a neighbouring village call'd Ormiza, where they were coop'd up and ſurrounded; and the Arabians made themſelves maſters of their camp, and the men that were in it. Immediately after this miſfortune, Herod came up with ſuccours; but the miſchief being firſt done, there was no remedy. This diſaſter was all along of the contumacy and diſobedience of his officers: for if they had not been ſo haſty and hot-headed, Athenion could never have had an opportunity to put his plot in execution. But Herod reveng'd himſelf afterwards on the Arabians over and over, by ſurprizes and incurſions into their country, and aton'd by ſeveral little victories for one great defeat.

The craft and treachery of Cleopatra. Herod would have aſſiſted Anthony againſt Auguſtus, and ſhe hinder'd him. Herod defeats the Syrians, and is routed himſelf afterwards by the Arabians.

Herod takes his revenge.

WHILE Herod was in the courſe of his ſucceſſes, there beſel him a moſt judicial calamity. This was in the ſeventh year of his reign, and in the beginning of the ſpring, when the war at Actium was at the hotteſt. There happen'd at this time ſo dreadſul an earthquake, that it ſwallow'd up cattle innumerable, together with thirty thouſand people; but the army that lay in the field ſuffer'd nothing. It was, in truth, a diſmal accident; but report (as it is uſual) making it much greater than in effect it was, the Arabians took it for granted that Judea was totally ſunk and loſt, and flatter'd themſelves with an opinion that they might without difficulty go and make themſelves maſters of the whole province. In this confidence they put certain Jewiſh embaſſadors that were then with them to death, and, without any more ado, advanc'd into the country to take poſſeſſion of it. This formidable inroad of the Arabians ſtruck the Jews with ſuch a terror, (eſpecially conſidering the heart-broken condition they were in at that time, with one calamity upon the neck of another) that Herod was fain to try if he could reaſon a diſtracted, ſpiritleſs people, into their reſolutions and wits again.

A prodigious earthquake in Judea.

Several Jewiſh embaſſadors put to death upon it.

The Jews in a conſternation.

"You are here, in my opinion, (ſays He-" rod) under a moſt unreaſonable apprehen-" ſion. I will allow you (ſays he) to indulge " your ſorrows under the hand of an offended " God; but to ſubject yourſelves to the ſame " deſpondencies and paſſions, for fear of the " power of men, is a meanneſs of ſoul " below the ordinary pitch of your courage. " Nay, ſo far am I from any dread of " an enemy, after this earthquake, that it " looks to me rather as if providence " had order'd the enſnaring of your ad-" verſaries by this temptation, into a ven-" geance for the injuries they have done you: " neither do they lay ſo much ſtreſs upon the " force of their own arms or valour, as upon " the opinion they have of our abjection and " miſery. But thoſe are falſe hopes, when " men ſupport themſelves upon the infirmities " of other people, rather than upon their own

A generous ſpeech of Herod's to encourage his ſoldiers.

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* Two hundred Jewiſh talents weighed twenty two thouſand eight hundred and twelve pounds and ſix ounces; and their value in ſilver amounted to ſixty eight thouſand four hundred and thirty ſeven pounds and ten ſhillings, and in gold to one million ninety five thouſand pounds Engliſh money.

† Al. Artabaſdes. ** Al. Hyrcanion. *† Cana, Antiq. b. 15. c. 6.

“virtue: nor is there any certainty, either in proſperous, or adverſe fortune, but they are both unſteddy, and take their turns; and, for a confirmation of this doctrine, you need go no farther than to the late battle, where we were maſters one hour, and at mercy next. This is the very caſe of our enemies at preſent, or I am much deceiv'd: they think they take, and they are taken. People that are over-confident are unwary; but a conſiderable fear makes men provident; ſo that the very ground of your apprehenſion is the foundation of my aſſurance. You would needs be charging the enemy contrary to order, and forwarder than you ſhould have been, and Athenion (you ſee) made advantage of your error. But you yourſelves are now upon the reſerve; your deliberations are ſober, and not fantaſtical, which is a diſpoſition that I look upon as an omen of a certain victory. This is the right temper of a brave man, before he comes into action: but let him keep his fire and heat to himſelf, till he has occaſion for it in the field. And ſo let it be your buſineſs now, to convince your wicked enemies by force of arms, that the Jews will ſooner part with their lives than their reputation, and ſtand firm at laſt under all judgments and misfortunes, and never own the Arabians for their maſters, who have ſo often been their ſlaves.

“But why this fear at laſt for things inanimate? how comes an earth-quake to be a portent, or a preſage of things to come? is there any thing more natural than the agitations and diſorders of the elements? they do not foretel calamities, but they actually bring and create them. 'Tis poſſible that there may be ſome fore-running ſigns of plagues, famine, and earth-quakes to come; but, when they are once come, the greater they are the ſooner will they be over. Or put the caſe we ſhould be conquer'd now, pray which is worſe, the war, or the earth-quake? but here's a deſtination of theſe people to ruin even by their own hands, without the help of enemies, who could be ſo impious and inhuman, as, contrary to the laws of nature and nations, to dip their hands in the blood of our embaſſadors, and dedicate the ſacrifice to God for the ſucceſs of the war. Can they ever think to eſcape the all-ſeeing eye, and the almighty power of a vindictive God, whenever we ſhall but rouze in us the courage and zeal of our foreſathers, and call theſe perfidious violators of leagues and publick faith to a ſevere and juſt account? Wherefore ſtand up, my brave fellow-ſoldiers, not for your wives, children, or country; but to revenge the murder of your embaſſadors, whoſe very blood will conſecrate the cauſe, and thoſe heroes, dead as they are, will do you more good in the head of your army, than the living commanders of it. Do you but follow where I'll lead you, and I'll aſk no more. Only one word of caution; be not over hot and raſh, and when it comes to the puſh, they will not dare to look you in the face.”

The army take heart upon Herod's exhortation. Herod ſacrifices.

This exhortation put the ſoldiers in ſuch heart, that Herod clos'd with the good humour, and ſacrifice'd; and ſo, without any delay, paſs'd his army over the river Jordan. He pitch'd his camp at Philadelphia, not far from the enemy, with a caſtle between them, which look'd as if that caſtle were to be the ſubject of the diſpute. Herod, at that diſtance, provok'd the enemy to a battle, deſiring nothing more than to bring it to a ſpeedy tryal. The enemy had already ſent ſoldiers before, to take poſſeſſion of this caſtle, but the Herodians without much difficulty beat them back, and gain'd the hill. Herod drew out every day in order of battle, to dare the Arabians to a combat; but when he ſaw they would not anſwer the challenge, (for they were all in a conſternation, and Elthemus their General above the reſt) Herod attack'd them in their trenches, and ſo forc'd them to a battle; but in ſuch a diſorder they were, horſe and foot marching out together, that it was all hurry and confuſion. They did indeed exceed the Jews in number, but fell much ſhort of them in valour, though one would have thought their very deſparation ſhould have made them bolder. The ſlaughter was not great ſo long as they ſtood their ground; but when they turn'd their backs once, betwixt thoſe that fell in the purſuit, and thoſe that were trampled to death by their own people, there were five thouſand deſtroy'd; and the reſt were driven into their camp, where Herod preſently hemm'd them in, and beſieg'd them; and this was not all neither, for the extremity they were in for want of water, was a miſery equal to all the reſt. In this ſtreight they ſent embaſſadors to Herod, with an offer of fifty * talents for a compoſition, but he treated them with contempt, and would not ſo much as give them the hearing. They came out after this in troops, in the torment of a raging, burning thirſt, and deliver'd themſelves up to the Jews at diſcretion; ſo that in five days the Jews had four thouſand of them in bonds. Upon the ſixth day, the remainder of them, in a tranſport of deſpair, provok'd the Jews to a battle, where about ſeven thouſand more were kill'd upon the place. This blow finiſh'd Herod's revenge upon the Arabians; for it humbled them to that degree, that they choſe him afterwards for their protector.

He forces the Arabians to a battle.

And gives them a total overthrow.

The Arabians ſurrender at diſcretion.

And petition Herod to take them into his protection.

CHAP. XV.

Herod's generous addreſs to Auguſtus at Rhodes, upon the defeat of Anthony at Actium. Ceſar's goodneſs and humanity to Herod in return. Herod's magnificent entertainment of Ceſar in Syria. Herod confirm'd in his government, with large additions. Herod's character, and the greatneſs of his mind.

Ant. b. 15. c. 9, 10, 11, 12. Anthony defeated at Actium.

HEROD's affairs went well enough at preſent; but the news of Anthony's defeat at Actium (for whom he had the greateſt friendſhip in the world) gave him great anxiety; tho' his fear was, in ſome reſpect, more than needed; for Ceſar could never think Anthony abſolutely ſuppreſs'd, ſo long as Herod was living. Upon this turn of fortune, Herod bethought himſelf how he might obviate all difficulties, and ſo went to Rhodes where Ceſar was at that time. He preſented himſelf without any enſigns of royalty about him, and in the habit of a private man; but with a mien of majeſty behaving himſelf with great candour, and frankneſs, and this was his declaration.

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* Fifty Jewiſh talents (as has been before obſerved) weighed five thouſand ſeven hundred and three pounds one ounce ten pennyweight, and their value in ſilver amounted to ſeventeen thouſand one hundred and nine pounds ſeven ſhillings and ſix pence, and in gold to two hundred ſeventy three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty pounds Engliſh money.

A generous addreſs of Herod's to Auguſtus at Rhodes.

“ I muſt confeſs, mighty Ceſar, (ſays he) that as Anthony made me a king, I was not wanting to employ the kingly powers he gave me to the ſervice of my benefactor, from whom I receiv'd them; and, if I may ſpeak freely, you yourſelf, Sir, would have found the effects of that juſtice, if I had not been diverted by the Arabian war: but this did not hinder me yet from ſending him what ſupplies I could, both of troops and proviſions; neither hath this laſt fatal blow at Actium, ſtagger'd me one jot in my gratitude and juſtice to my patron. I could not furniſh him, 'tis true, with men and arms, nor attend him in perſon; but I gave him good counſel, that would have been of more worth to him, if he had follow'd it: which was to rid his hands of Cleopatra; for ſo long as ſhe liv'd, he could never be ſafe; and that being done, I promis'd him moneys, ſtrong holds, troops, nay, and myſelf too for a party to the war againſt you: but betwixt the love of Cleopatra that hinder'd him on the one ſide, and the ſecret appointments of providence that gave you victory on the other, it came all to nothing. Now ſo it is, great prince, that Anthony's fate and mine are wrapt up in one. We both fell on the ſame day, and with his fortune I have now laid down my crown. I have no pretence, Sir, to your clemency and favour, but under the character of an honeſt man, and a true friend.

“ Well! Herod, (ſays Ceſar) be ſafe and happy, and a king ſtill; and depend upon it that your crown ſhall ſit ſurer on your head than ever. So good a friend cannot but make a good governor. Pray be as faithful to the fortunate as you have been to the contrary; and I cannot but promiſe myſelf great things from the dignity of ſo great a mind. As to Anthony's hearkening to Cleopatra rather than to you, his folly has made us all gainers; for we had never had Herod elſe. I muſt not forget the enforcements you ſent to * Ventidius againſt Anthony's gladiators, and that you were before-hand with me in that obligation. Wherefore content yourſelf at preſent with the confirmation of the kingdom to you, and I ſhall take ſuch further care for the future, that you may never be ſenſible of the want of Anthony.

Ceſar's goodneſs and humanity to Herod in return.

Herod begs Alexander's pardon, but Ceſar refuſes it.

Ceſar, after this ſpeech, with great humanity adjur'd Herod not to doubt of his friendſhip; and ſo placing the crown upon his head, confirm'd his title to it by an act of ſtate, with glorious expreſſions in it much to his honour. When Herod had prepar'd his way by fair words and large preſents, he made interceſſion to Ceſar on the behalf of one Alexander, a friend of Anthony's, to get his pardon; but Ceſar was too much exaſperated againſt Alexander to grant his requeſt; telling him, that the affronts he ſuffer'd for were wholly unpardonable.

Herod's magnificence entertainment of Ceſar in Syria.

As Ceſar was afterward paſſing thro' Syria into Egypt, Herod receiv'd him upon the way with a moſt incredible magnificence; and while Ceſar was taking a review of his troops, he cauſed Herod to ride about Ptolemais along with him, where he treated Auguſtus, and all his friends and army, with all imaginable ſplendor, order, and plenty. He took care alſo for the ſupply of water, for all that journeyed to and from Peluſium, and other dry places, with all ſorts of utenſils and neceſſaries even for common uſe. This illuſtrious expence gave occaſion to Ceſar and his train, to ſay, that the kingdom of Judea was too little for the mind of ſo great a prince.

Herod confirmed in his government, with large additions.

Cleopatra and Anthony being both dead when Ceſar came into Egypt, Ceſar did not only confer new honours upon Herod, but annexed to his kingdom that part of the borders which Cleopatra had taken from him, with Gadara, Hippon, Samaria, and the maritime cities Gaza Anthedon, Joppa, and the tower of Straton: he gave him alſo four hundred Gauls, which had been formerly of the guards to Cleopatra. Now Ceſar proportion'd all his bounties to the merit and virtue of the receiver. After the firſt † Actias, he gave him alſo the province of Trachon, annexing it to his command; and ſo likewiſe Batanea and Auranitis, upon this account.

It was a common and a conſtant practice of Zenodorus, who liv'd in a houſe he had hir'd of Lyſanias, to ſend thieves out of Trachon to Damaſcus. The inhabitants apply'd themſelves to Varus (at that time governor of Syria) for relief, begging him to acquaint Ceſar with the miſery of their condition. Varus did it accordingly, and Ceſar's anſwer was, that he ſhould utterly ſuppreſs all robbers, and robberies. Varus ſent parties abroad into all ſuſpected places, and ſo clear'd the land of

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* Or Q. Didius. See the Jewiſh antiquities, b. 15. c. 7.

† i. e. In the beginning of the ſecond year after the battle at Actium. This Æra, or reckoning of time, took its riſe from the naval victory, there obtain'd over Marc Anthony, and Cleopatra queen of Egypt, by Ceſar Auguſtus; who, upon this, (ſaith Dion) becoming himſelf monarch of the world, gave command that the empire ſhould begin to compute their acts from this day's atchievement; which, according to Dion, was the ſecond of September. It was in the year of the world 3919, and 4683 of the Julian period; as otherwiſe, and alſo by an eclipſe noted in the Faſti Siculi, 'tis manifeſt: yet, by the decree of the ſenate, this Æra was fixed in the deſtruction of Alexandria, which was taken Auguſt the 29th of the year following; 'twas the 16th Julian year, and the 294th from the death of Alexander.

Till this time the Egyptian account, meaſured by Nabonaſſar's year, conſiſting of three hundred ſixty five days, without any intercalation of the odd hours, had been in uſe; in the place whereof the Julian form ſucceeded. And becauſe the Egyptians called every day in the year by the name of ſome God, which were therefore called ἡμέραι Θεῶν, and every year of their luſtrum's or quadriennals in like manner, which were therefore called ἔτη Θεῶν, Anni Deorum, theſe years were henceforth called in honour of Auguſtus, Anni Auguſtorum Deorum, or Anni Auguſtorum, as 'tis recorded by Cenſorinus, who only mentioneth them by this name.

This Æra Actiaca, or (as Joſephus calls it) Actias, continued in uſe till the time of Diocletian, who having gained himſelf an opinion of wiſdom and fortune among his people, thought himſelf worthy from whom the computation ſhould now begin; which was accordingly done, and this Æra hereupon abrogated, after it had continued upwards of three hundred years.

that peſt. Varus having taken away part of Zenodorus's eſtate, upon this order, Ceſar beſtow'd it upon Herod, to ſecure it from being any longer a receptacle for this ſort of vermin; making him governor of all Syria, over and above.

Herod made governour of all Syria.

AUGUSTUS coming into that province again about ten years after, caution'd the governors in all matters of importance to conſult Herod; and Zenodorus being then dead, he gave Herod likewiſe all the land betwixt Trachon and Galilee. But the thing at laſt that Herod valu'd himſelf upon, above all the reſt, was this; that Herod was belov'd by Ceſar, above all men living, next to Agrippa, and by Agrippa, next to Ceſar. From theſe circumſtances he was advanc'd to the higheſt ſtate of human felicity, and his mind grew more and more illuſtrious with his fortune; for he employ'd the greateſt part of his acquiſitions in works and offices of piety and religion.

The character of Herod.

CHAP. VII.

Several famous works of Herod's, both at home and abroad. The temple repair'd. The caſtle of Antonia alluding to Anthony. Ceſarion and Agrippion, to Ceſar and Agrippa. Herod's glorious dedications. Sebaſte in Samaria. Ceſar's royal bounties to Herod. Antipatris to the honour of Antipater. Cypros in memory of Cypris, and Herodion of Herod. Straton's tower repair'd, and a ſtately palace erected. A wonderful port betwixt Dora and Joppa, and an exact deſcription of it. Herod's bounties to ſtrangers, as well as to his own people, and in common for the good of mankind.

Ant. b. 15. c. 11, 12, 13, 14. b. 16. c. 9. Herod's works. The temple rebuilt and repair'd. The palace of Antonia.

IN the fifteenth year of Herod's reign, he apply'd himſelf to the repairing and rebuilding of the temple, which he did in a very magnificent manner, and at a vaſt charge; witneſs the ſtately galleries round about it, that were all raiſed up intirely from the very foundation, and the caſtle on the north ſide adjoining to it, which, for majeſty and beauty, was not inferior to the royal palace itſelf; and which he call'd Antonia, in honour of Anthony. He made the encloſure about the temple twice as large as it was before. He raiſed alſo upon an eminence that overlook'd the city, two rich and ſpacious ſtructures, no temple upon the face of the earth was to be compar'd with them; and theſe he call'd Ceſarion and Agrippion, in honour of his two noble friends, Ceſar and Agrippa.

Ceſarion and Agrippion.

NEITHER did Herod reſtrain the zeal and paſſion he had for the eternizing of theſe great mens names and memories, to palaces and particular fabricks, but he dedicated whole cities alſo to the immortalizing of their fame to poſterity; as Sebaſte in Samaria, for example; a city of twenty * furlongs in compaſs, with a fair wall about it, a colony of ſix thouſand inhabitants planted in it, and an endowment of excellent lands belonging to it, with peculiar franchiſes and immunities, in proportion to the people. Among other eminent buildings, he did likewiſe erect a majeſtick temple, with an Area about it of three † furlongs and a half; and this temple he dedicated to Auguſtus.

Sebaſte in Samaria.

CESAR, after this, gave Herod an additional donative of lands; and Herod, in acknowledgment, built another temple alſo of white poliſh'd marble, near the head of the river Jordan, at a place called ** Panium; and this was alſo dedicated to Ceſar. Not far from hence ſtands a mountain of a prodigious height, that looks down among the craggs and rocks into a deep valley; and at the bottom, a dark hideous cavern, that's worn and hollow'd to ſuch a depth, by the conſtant fall of waters upon it from above, that there's no ſounding of it. From the foot of this cavern, there comes bubbling forth an iſſue of ſeveral ſprings; and this by tradition paſſes for the ſource of the river Jordan. But we ſhall ſpeak farther to the matter of fact hereafter.

Ceſar's bounty to Herod.

IT was much after the ſame manner alſo at Jericho, where Herod cauſed to be erected, betwixt the caſtle of Cypros and the old palaces, ſome other buildings more commodious; and theſe he call'd by the names of the ſame perſons. Herod, in fine, did not leave one conſiderable place in the whole kingdom, without ſome monumental memorial to the fame of Ceſar. When he had adorn'd his borders with temples, he did the like in the provinces, diſtinguiſhing ſeveral of them by the name of Ceſarea.

As Herod was in his progreſs along the coaſt, he took notice of one maritime city among the reſt, with all the decays upon it of time and antiquity; 'twas known by the name of Straton's tower, and a place, for the quality and ſituation of it, worthy of Herod's royal care and bounty. This caſtle he did not only repair with beautiful white ſtone, but erected alſo a princely palace there, and never gave a clearer proof of the natural dignity of his mind than upon this inſtance. It lies betwixt Dora and Joppa, where the coaſt is ſo unfit for an harbour for ſhips, and the paſſage ſo dangerous, that whoever takes his courſe that way toward Egypt from Phenicia, runs a great riſk of a miſcarriage; eſpecially with the leaſt breath of a ſouth-weſt-wind, which ſets ſo hard upon the rocks, that it breaks back again in eddies, and makes a troubled ſea for a good while after. But the king's liberality and reſolution, in ſpite of charge and of nature itſelf, ſurmounted all oppoſition, and he built a port there, larger than the Pyreneum itſelf, with ſtations for the faireſt ſhips to ride ſafe in, againſt wind and weather. It was ſo fortify'd, in fine, againſt the impetuous violences of the ſea, and the ornaments of it ſo agreeable to the eye, that nothing could be added, either to the ſtrength, or to the beauty of the contrivance. Upon Herod's taking his meaſures for the dimenſions of the port, he order'd mighty ſtones to be caſt into the ſea, at twenty fathom water; the greater part of them fifty foot in length, nine foot deep, and ten over, and ſome bigger than theſe. When they had fill'd up the ſpace to the ſurface of the water, they carry'd on a wall of two hundred foot; the one half to break the force of the ſea, in the nature of a mole, from whence

Straton's tower repair'd. And a ſtately palace erected.

A famous port, and a deſcription of it.

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* Twenty furlongs amounted to two Engliſh miles and an half, and eighteen Geometrical paces.

† Three furlongs and an half were near half a mile.

** Al. Paneas. See Harduin's Nummi illuſtrati, p. 112.

they took the name of Procymea; and the other, for the ſupport of the turrets that were planted upon it, which were great and graceful; and he gave the faireſt of them the name of Druſion, in a compliment to Druſus, Ceſar's kinſman. There were alſo a great number of vaults for ſtores; and before, and about theſe vaults, a paving of large ſtones, that ſerv'd paſſengers both for a landing-place and for a walk. It fronted toward the north, which upon that quarter is the gentleſt wind that blows. On each ſide of the entrance, there ſtood three Coloſſes mounted upon pillars: thoſe on the left hand, at the going in, were ſupported by a ſtrong tower of one entire ſtone; and thoſe on the right were borne up by two large ſtones, column-wiſe, and joined together, over-topping the other. The buildings next the port were all of white ſtone, and the ſtreets that led from the city to the key uniform and anſwering one another. Upon a hill, over againſt the port-gate, ſtood [*] Ceſar's temple, a piece incomparable, both for majeſty and beauty; and in that temple Ceſar's ſtatue, a work not inferiour, either for curioſity or bulk, to that of the Olympian Jupiter, and made after that model; [†] as alſo another of Rome, that did not fall ſhort of Juno's at Argos. Herod's deſign in the building of this ſtately town and port, was the advantage of the province, and the ſecurity of travellers that way; but Ceſar all this while was to be reputed the founder of it, and it was called Ceſarea after his name.

A theatre and amphitheatre.

Agrippion erected to the honour of Agrippa.

THERE were alſo ſeveral famous works and bounties of Herod not to be forgotten; as a famous market-place, a theatre, an amphitheatre, and the inſtitution of the Ludi Quinquennales to be celebrated every fifth year, which he dedicated to the honour of Auguſtus. He was the firſt alſo, who, in the hundred ninety and ſecond Olympiad, propounded honourable rewards, not only to him who ſhould carry the prize in the firſt place, but to the ſecond and the third alſo, in their courſe, one after another. He repair'd Anthedon, that had been ruin'd by the war, and call'd it Agrippion; and, out of a generous exceſs of tenderneſs for his friend, he inſcrib'd Agrippa's name upon the gate of the temple that he had built there.

Antipatris in the memory of Antipater.

Cypros from Cypris.

HE was alſo as dutiful a ſon, as he was a generous friend and patriot; for he erected a city to the honour of his father, in the moſt pleaſant and fruitful part of his dominions, and moſt deliciouſly wooded and water'd, which he called Antipatris. There was a caſtle alſo over Jericho, which, by ſituation, was both ſtrong and delightful. This place he wall'd in, and, in honour to his mother, gave it the name of Cypros. Neither did he forget his brother Phaſael, upon ſeveral occaſions; as in a tower he built at Jeruſalem, which he call'd after his name; (I ſhall ſay ſomewhat of the compaſs, and the glory of it elſewhere) and ſo likewiſe another city in the country, to the north of Jericho, which he call'd alſo by the ſame name.

And Herodion from Herod.

WHEN he had done honour to his friends and relations, he did not abſolutely forget himſelf; for he built and fortified a caſtle upon a mountain of Arabia, which he call'd by his own name, Herodion. And he gave the ſame name alſo to a hill that he caſt up, in the form of a woman's breaſt, at about ſixty [**] furlongs from Jeruſalem; which was ſet out with great care and expence: and this mount was encompaſs'd, at the top, with round turrets, the circuit of it fill'd with royal palaces, as rich and ſparkling, both within and without, as art, care, and coſt could make them. He ſupply'd it with water from a very great diſtance, and at a mighty charge. The ſtairs were all of pure white marble, and two hundred ſteps up to the top. This eminence was all the work of art and labour, and of a wonderful height. Now at the foot of it he built a princely palace, and provided for inns alſo, and houſes of entertainment, where he might diſpoſe of his friends and their luggage; inſomuch that, conſidering the proviſion that was made for all manner of conveniencies, it ſeem'd to be a city rather than a caſtle; yet, in the main, it was all no more than the king's houſe.

Herod provides for the common good of mankind.

BUT after theſe glorious ſtructures, Herod could not yet be ſatisfy'd, unleſs he made ſtrangers alſo partakers of his generoſity and good will to mankind; for at Tripolis, Damaſcus, and Ptolemais, he caus'd publick baths to be ſet up; ſtrong walls at Biblis, galleries, council-chambers, publick magazines, market-places, and temples, at Berytas and Tyre; theatres at Sidon and Damaſcus, an aqueduct at Laodicea, upon the coaſt, water-works and baths at Aſkalon, with cloiſters and piazza's, every way admirable both for the work and ſize. In ſome caſes he gave woods and harbours, and upon other cities he beſtow'd lands, as if he had made them ſharers in his kingdom. In ſome places again, (as at Coos) he gave an everlaſting revenue toward the maintaining of baths; and the donative was to perpetuity, that they might never forget the benefit. He gave corn to all that wanted it, and furniſh'd the Rhodians ſeveral times with moneys for the fitting out of a navy, when they had occaſion for it. He repair'd the temple of Apollo (call'd Pythium) out of the very aſhes, at his own coſt, and made it better than it was at firſt. What ſhall I ſay of his liberality to the Lycians and the Samians? his largeſſes all over Ionia, to every one that aſk'd him? Are not the Athenians, the Lacedemonians, the Nicopolitans, and thoſe of Pergamus in Lycia; are they not all ſenſible witneſſes of Herod's bounty? in what a condition was Antioch, the capital of Syria, that ſtood in ſuch a bog for twenty [*†] furlongs together, that there was hardly any coming near it, till Herod caus'd the paſſage to be pav'd all along with white marble, and ſet up contrivances upon the way for a ſhelter againſt foul weather.

BUT it will be ſaid perhaps that theſe were all private caſes, and only concern'd ſome few particulars that were the better for them. What ſhall we ſay then to his obligations upon the Elians, wherein not only Greece, but the whole body of mankind are engag'd;

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[*] The temple of Rome and Auguſtus.

[†] 'Tis thus agreeable to the original: the Latin interpreter has mangl'd the ſenſe, as Alb. Rubenius has ſhewn in his diſſertation De Gemma Auguſtea. See Parthius's animadverſions upon Statius, Vol. 1. p. 9, 10.

[**] Sixty furlongs (as has been before obſerved) were equivalent to ſeven Engliſh miles and an half, and ninety Geometrical paces.

[*†] Twenty furlongs amounted to two Engliſh miles and an half, and thirty Geometrical paces.

at leaſt ſo many of them as have heard the ſame of the olympick games! for when he found, upon his coming to Rome, that theſe games were all that now remain'd of ancient Greece, and that the ſolemnity itſelf was now dwindling away for want of money to maintain it, he did not only take the charge upon himſelf, for that year, of being * Agonotheta, but ſettled an annual allowance toward the upholding of it for ever. It would be an endleſs work to run thro' the debts and tributes, that he remitted; and particularly thoſe of Phaſaelites and Balaneotes; beſide ſeveral towns in Cilicia, where he diſcharg'd their penſions. He did great things, in fine, and would have done greater; but the apprehenſion he had of drawing envy upon himſelf, as if he had ſome farther deſign in his head, kept him in awe: for why ſhould he do more, they cry'd, for other princes ſubjects, than their own maſter would do for them?

This prince had a ſtrength of body anſwerable to the greatneſs of his mind. He was a great maſter of the chace, and gain'd his point in it; for no man was better on horſeback than himſelf. He kill'd forty beaſts once in one day. That country breeds a great many boars; but more deer and wild aſſes. He was a ſoldier and a ſword-man not to be reſiſted. He was terrible in his very exerciſes; the ſureſt marks-man living, either with dart, or arrow: and, beſide the excellencies of his body and mind, he was one of fortune's darling favourites; for the fate of the war went very ſeldom againſt him: or, when it did, it was either by treachery ſomewhere or other, or by the raſhneſs of his ſoldiers; and not by his own fault.

A great ſoldier and an excellent ſword-man, and had a ſtrength of body anſwerable to the dignity of his mind.

CHAP. XVII.

The diſorders of Herod's family. He puts away his wife Doris, and takes Mariamne, &c. Herod jealous of his wife and ſiſter; and upon what ground. Joſeph and Mariamne put to death. Herod marries his two ſons. Herod takes Antipater home to him, &c. Herod charges Alexander to Ceſar. Alexander's defenſe. Herod and his ſon reconcil'd. Herod entertain'd by Archelaus. He calls an aſſembly, and diſcourſes the caſe. Antipater's character. Antipater's mother manages the plot. Salome picks up informations. Herod's advice to his ſons. Pheroras and Salome, their mortal enemies. A plot pretended upon Herod's life. Herod's cruelty and injuſtice. Antipater the occaſion of all. Alexander taken up, and his friends tortur'd. He feigns a plot, and pretends to confeſs it. Archelaus debates the caſe with Herod. Pheroras confeſſes and obtains his pardon. Herod an advocate for Alexander. Archelaus brings Alexander to his father, &c. An accuſation againſt Alexander and Ariſtobulus, &c. Herod in a rage, and the brothers in chains. A council meets at Berytus about it. The king opens the cauſe. A ſentence of death upon them. The bravery of Tyro, and the baſeneſs of Tryphon. The death of Alexander. The ſons ſtrangled at Sebaſte.

Ant. b. 15. c. 3, 4, 9, 11, b. 16. c. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 16, 17.

The felicity of Herod's reign was mightily diſorder'd by troubles in his family; and the perſon whom he lov'd above all earthly things was the cauſe of it: for being now poſſeſs'd of the kingdom, he turn'd off Doris his firſt wife, who was a Jeweſs, and took Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander the ſon of Ariſtobulus; which cauſed miſerable diviſions in his houſe, eſpecially after his return from Rome.

Herod turns off his wife Doris, and takes Mariamne; which proves his ruin.

He did, in the firſt place, baniſh out of the city Antipater, whom he had by Doris, for the ſake of the children he had by Mariamne; allowing him only the liberty of the town upon feſtivals. And then he put to death Hyrcanus, his wife's grandfather, (who was now come back from the Parthians) on ſuſpicion of a plot upon his life. For Barzapharnes having brought him away priſoner to the king of Parthia, after the taking of Syria, the Jews on the other ſide of the Euphrates, out of pure compaſſion, ſet him at liberty, and paid his ranſom: at which time, if he had follow'd their counſel, and not come to Herod, he might have liv'd ſafe and happy: But betwixt the ſnare of his grandaughter's match, and the paſſionate deſire he had to ſee his own country again, he was inveigled to his ruin. The thing all this while that wrought upon Herod, was not that he had any deſign upon the government, but that he had a rightful title to it.

Antipater, Herod's ſon by Doris, expell'd the city.

Hyrcanus, his wife's grandfather, put to death.

Mariamne had five children by Herod: two daughters, and three ſons; and the youngeſt of the three dy'd in the courſe of his ſtudies and exerciſes at Rome. The two elder were train'd up in a royal education, in regard both of the nobility of the mother, and that they were born while he was in poſſeſſion of the crown. But nothing mov'd Herod ſo powerfully in their favour, as the wonderful aſcendant that Mariamne had upon the ſpirit of her huſband; whoſe fondneſs ſo far encreas'd upon him, that it made him utterly inſenſible of all indignities and affronts; while Mariamne requited this paſſionate fondneſs of his with an equal degree of averſion. She did not want matter of pretence for a diſguſt: and then preſuming upon the extravagant love he had for her, ſhe did not ſtick to charge him point-blank with the murder of Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, and to load her reproaches with aggravations: the latter an innocent youth, ſhe ſaid, but ſeventeen years of age when he was created high-prieſt, and cut off ſo ſoon as he had receiv'd the order. The firſt time that he appear'd in his holy robes, upon a feſtival day, to officiate at the altar, it was ſo moving a ſpectacle, that the people wept with joy at the ſight of him. But the very ſame night was Ariſtobulus ſent away to Jericho, and there drown'd in a lake, by the Gauls, and by Herod's order.

Mariamne had five children by Herod.

She fell bitterly foul upon Herod.

Ariſtobulus drown'd in a lake at Jericho, by Herod's order.

Mariamne did not yet content herſelf with theſe outragious reproaches againſt Herod; but ſhe vilify'd alſo, in a much more opprobrious ſort, his ſiſter, and mother: which he heard without ſpeaking one word; for love had ty'd up his tongue. This incenſed the women to that degree, that they laid their heads together, how they might touch Herod more to the quick; and ſo they let fall ſome words of reflexion upon his wife's honour and virtue; and, among other things plauſible enough, they told him a ſtory of his wife's ſending her picture to Anthony; and

Herod's love made him put up all affronts.

The women make Herod jealous of his wife and ſiſter.

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* Whoſe office was to preſide over the games, and reward the victors. See Mercurialis de re Gymnaſtica, l. 1. c. 18.

what pains ſhe took to make herſelf known to him, out of the heat of an ungovernable appetite: for Anthony was the greateſt libertine and debauchee in nature, and a man that would ſtick at nothing for the gaining of his ends; tho' it ſhould be the very life of Herod himſelf. What betwixt the rage of an implacable jealouſy, the conſideration of Cleopatra's inſatiable avarice and cruelty, and the power ſhe had over Anthony, in the inſtance of Lyſanias, and * Malichus the king of Arabia, who were both put to death at her inſtigation; Herod was, as if he had been thunder-ſtruck; for he found himſelf in danger of loſing not only his wife, but his own life alſo.

* A. Malchus.

Herod goes to Anthony, and leaves the care of his wife to Joſeph the huſband of his ſiſter Salome, with a ſecret inſtruction. Joſeph lets fall a word of this to Mariamne, that coſt them both their lives.

In this perplexity of thought, Herod reſolv'd to go to Anthony, and ſo recommended the care of his wife during his abſence, to Joſeph, the huſband of his ſiſter Salome; whom he had ever found kind and faithful to him; but with this inſtruction over and above, that if Anthony kill'd him, he ſhould deſtroy Mariamne. Now Joſeph innocently gave a hint of this to the queen, with an intent to inform her how wonderful a kindneſs the king had for her, that he could not endure the thought of a ſeparation even in death itſelf. Herod, upon his return, in the courſe of his gaieties and love ſtories, fell to ſwearing and proteſting, that in his whole life he never had a paſſion for any other woman. No, ſays Mariamne, that I perceive, by the order you left with Joſeph to ſee me diſpatch'd. The diſcloſing of this privacy made Herod ſtark mad; for he could not think that Joſeph would ever have blabb'd ſuch a ſecret, but in the confidence of an amour. In this diſtraction he leap'd off from his bed, and took a walk in the court, where he met his ſiſter Salome, who would not loſe ſo fair an opportunity of calumniating Mariamne; and ſhe did it in ſuch a manner too, that it ſerv'd to confirm Herod in his ſuſpicion; ſo that he preſently gave order, in a furious fit of jealouſy, to have them both put to death. So ſoon as the word was out, he repented of it; but the execution was done firſt; his love and his madneſs governing him by turns. Nay, ſuch was the tranſport of his extravagance, that he would not believe her to be dead, when he knew ſhe was ſo; but like a mad-man he went on talking to her, as if ſhe had been yet alive. In a ſhort time the funeral ſolemnities put that point out of diſpute, and Herod's grief for his dead wife was not inferior to the love he had for his living one.

The ground of Herod's jealouſy. Joſeph and Mariamne put to death upon it.

The paſſionate violences of the mother were now exercis'd upon the ſons; and ſuch was the horrid barbarity of the proceeding, that they look'd no otherwiſe upon their father than as a common enemy. They had been of the ſame opinion a long time, even when they were at Rome together; but much more confirm'd in it ſince their coming back into Judea; for the ſtrength of their minds grew up with that of their bodies. They were now of age to think of marriage; and one of them marry'd the daughter of his aunt Salome, who was a mortal enemy of their mother; the other took the daughter of Archelaus the king of Cappadocia. In the liberty of this condition, they talk'd more at freedom than formerly, and that confidence betray'd them to the malice of informers; inſomuch that their enemies made no difficulty of telling the king bare-fac'd, that his ſons were in a conſpiracy againſt him, and that the ſon-in-law of Archelaus had a deſign to ſteal away privately to his father-in-law, and thence to Rome, with a complaint againſt Herod himſelf to Ceſar. When theſe jealouſies were infus'd into Herod's head, he ſends for Antipater home to him, whom he had by Doris, propoſing to make uſe of him, as a countermine againſt the brothers; and ſo begun with a remarkable preference of Antipater to the reſt.

The marriage of Herod's two ſons, one of them to the daugh[illegible] of Salome, the other to the daughter of Archelaus. This match enflames the jealouſy.

Herod takes Antipater home to him.

The brothers found this change ſo intolerable, for men of their blood to be ſubjected to the ſon of an obſcure private woman, that their ſtomachs were too big to brook the indignity, without declaring their reſentment of it, which they did very frankly upon all occaſions; but they ſunk in their father's affections by it daily, which turn'd to Antipater's advantage; for he play'd his game ſo artificially with his father, by the help of flatteries and calumnies, (which calumnies were manag'd, partly by himſelf, partly by his inſtruments and friends) that he brought it to this iſſue at laſt, that his brothers were not only put out of all hope of the ſucceſſion, but himſelf publickly and formally entitled to it by his father's teſtament. He was ſent, after this, to Ceſar, in a kind of a royal ſtate and character; for he had the robes and the train of a king, only he wanted the crown. He was ſo puffed up with the vanity of this pomp, that he got his mother introduc'd into Mariamne's bed-chamber, by the help of inſinuations and ſlanders; which was his way of practice againſt his brothers; inſomuch that he wrought his father by degrees in a deſign upon their lives.

And formally ſettles upon him the ſucceſſion.

The crafty menage of Antipater.

Herod charges Alexander to Ceſar, as a conſpirator againſt the life of his father. Alexander's defence.

For this reaſon, Herod took Alexander to Rome with him, and there charg'd him before Ceſar as a confederate toward the poiſoning of his father. When Alexander was admitted to his defence, and before a judge that was not to be impos'd upon by Antipater and Herod, he ſoften'd his father's miſtakes all that was poſſible, ſpake home and ſubſtantially to the points charg'd upon himſelf, acquitted his brother Ariſtobulus, who was involv'd in the ſame accuſation, and from thence proceeded to lay open the impoſtures, frauds, and contrivances of Antipater: and all this with ſo good a grace, that the innocency of his conſcience was yet farther illuſtrated by the force of his eloquence, being a ſharp and a ready ſpeaker: concluding, in fine, with this modeſt reſignation, that it is no crime for a father to puniſh his children if they be guilty. This farewel drew tears from the whole audience, and had alſo ſuch an effect upon Ceſar, that, all diſputes and accuſations apart, he made them all friends; provided that for the future, the ſons ſhould be obedient to their father, and the father at liberty to leave the kingdom to whom he pleas'd.

Herod and his ſons made friends.

Herod, at his return from Rome, could not but acquit his ſons of the crime charg'd upon them, yet the ſuſpicion ſtuck by him ſtill; for Antipater ply'd him ſo hard upon that topick, that he kept his jealouſies waking; tho' he did not dare to ſay or do any thing publickly, that might claſh with the ſenſe, or the authority of the reconciler. Herod took his paſſage by Cilicia, and ſo to Eleuſa, where he was receiv'd by Archelaus with great

Herod magnificently entertain'd by Archelaus.

great pomp and reſpect, who gave him a thouſand thanks upon his ſon-in-law's account, wiſhing him much joy of the accommodation. Archelaus in the mean time had not been wanting himſelf, by letters and other inſtances to his friends at Rome, to get voices, and make an intereſt for Alexander. He conducted Herod, in fine, as far as Zephyrium; where he made him a preſent of thirty * talents, and ſo departed.

Herod calls an aſſembly at Jeruſalem,

and makes a wonderful diſcourſe upon the whole ſtate of the caſe.

WHEN Herod came to Jeruſalem, he call'd an aſſembly; and in the preſence and hearing of his three ſons, gave the people an account of his journey and buſineſs, with often repeated thanks to GOD and to Ceſar for compoſing the breaches in his family, and ſettling his ſons in unity and peace: “A bleſſing (ſays he) which I ſhall ever value incomparably above the glories of a crown, and which I ſhall endeavour to preſerve and improve accordingly. It is to Ceſar that I ſtand indebted for my dignity and eſtate, and to Ceſar again, that I owe for the liberty and privilege of appointing my own ſucceſſor. It is to him alſo, that I am to pay my acknowledgments, with this declaration, that I deſign them all three both for the ſovereignty and ſucceſſion, if it may be agreeable to the will of God and your good liking. The eldeſt of them has the title of ſeniority, the other two may pretend to the dignity by their extraction, and the command at laſt is large enough for all three.

“As for thoſe that Ceſar hath united, and the father ſet up, you muſt be ſure to pay them all due reſpect; that is to ſay, it muſt be impartial, equal and juſt, with a regard to a precedency of birth-right; for the advancing of one man before his time, will not be near ſo great an obligation upon him that is prefer'd, as an heart-breaking to the other that is poſtpon'd. But now, for fear of evil counſel or example, (as there's no danger like that of ill inſtruments under a man's own roof) it ſhall be my care to place wiſe and ſober people about them; ſuch as I can depend upon, and ſuch as ſhall be anſwerable for their order and good agreement.

“Now I do further expect from theſe miniſters, as well as from the officers of my army, that for the preſent they ſhall own no other maſter than myſelf; for it is not the government, but the honorary part of it, that I have tranſmitted to my ſons; ſo that they ſhall have the pleaſure of a kind of regency in the adminiſtration, but the burden of it is to reſt upon my ſhoulders, and the laſt reſult of matters, in the judgment and determination of things, muſt be my province even whether I will or no. If you conſider my age, the courſe of my life, or the piety of my manners; I am not yet ſo far gone upon the firſt point, but, according to the courſe of nature, I may be allow'd to live a great many years yet; neither have I done any thing to ſhorten my life by intemperate pleaſures; and then for my duty to God, I have been ſo true to his holy worſhip, that I will not deſpair of the bleſſing of a longer time yet in this world, even in conſideration of that zeal and devotion. But if any of you ſhall take upon him to advance the ſons, while I am yet living, in contempt of the father, let him expect to be ſeverely puniſh'd for it: not but that I ſhould be glad to have my children treated with all due reſpect in the world; but young men are hot and pragmatical, and 'tis but throwing a temptation in their way to make them more meddling than becomes them. People ſhould do well to conſider, before they make theſe applications; for it is my part as men do well or ill, to ſee them rewarded or puniſh'd, and I will not be wanting to that article of my duty. The beſt way will be for ſons and father to be all of a mind; for it is their intereſt to have me govern, and it is mine for them to agree among themſelves.

“And now, my dear children, (ſays Herod) conſult in the firſt place, that natural affection which providence hath made common even to beaſts with men, and acquit yourſelves like dutiful children to your father. Bleſs Ceſar in the next place for the good office of his mediation; and pray take it kindly from me, in the third place, that I only deſire what I have a right to command; that is to ſay, let me entreat you to live amicably as brethren. I ſhall now take care to provide you ſuch a train and equipage, as may be ſuitable to your quality. Be ſure you live peaceably one with another, and I beſeech God to keep me ſteddy in the ſame mind.”

WHEN he had made an end of ſpeaking, he embrac'd his children, and diſcharg'd the meeting. Some malecontents went away muttering, and pretending that they could not hear one word he had ſaid; others were diſcanting upon this and that, and wiſhing, upon the whole, that they might find him as good as his word.

The brothers are ſtill jealous.

Antipater's character.

His cloſe and artificial way of menage by ſpies and informers.

THE brothers were ſtill divided among themſelves, and ſo jealous one of another, that they were glad to part for fear of worſe. Alexander and Ariſtobulus took it heinouſly that Antipater ſhould have the preference: Antipater on the other hand, was as much troubled that the other brothers ſhould be allow'd any ſhare at all in the government. Now Antipater being a falſe man, cloſe and malicious, and one that could keep his thoughts to himſelf, had a mortal hatred for the brothers, but made no ſhew of it: whereas the other two, being frank and open, made a point of honour of it to diſguiſe or diſſemble any thing. Their enemies in the mean time had inſtruments every where at work, to make advantage of words and diſcourſes; ſome, by provoking them to bold and dangerous liberties, others, to gain upon them by inſinuations, under the maſk of confidence and friendſhip; inſomuch that not a word came out of Alexander's mouth, but what was preſently carry'd to Antipater, and from him to Herod, with additions and aggravations. There was nothing ſo innocent but by interpretation it was made criminal; and whereſoever there was

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* Thirty Jewiſh talents weighed three thouſand four hundred and twenty one pounds ten ounces and ten pennyweights, and their value in ſilver amounted to ten thouſand two hundred and ſixty five pounds twelve ſhillings and ſix pence, and in gold to one hundred ſixty four thouſand two hundred and fifty pounds Engliſh money.

the leaſt ground for a calumny, the mole-hill was made a mountain.

ANTIPATER all this while was never without his agents about Alexander, to pump things out of him; and one poſſible circumſtance was enough to countenance a thouſand palpable impoſtures; and ſo one truth in a whole maſs of lies, was ſufficient to make all the ſtories invented and alledged againſt him current. It was remarkable again, that Antipater's tools as well as himſelf, were all upon the reſerve: whether this was a natural cloſeneſs, or that their mouths were ſtop'd with money it matters not; but ſo it was, that this man's whole life was but one myſtery of iniquity. Antipater, in ſhort, ſo order'd the matter, that Alexander's friends, ſervants, and acquaintance were all corrupted, either by flatteries or rewards, into the betraying of him in whatſoever he ſaid or did. But Antipater's maſter-piece, after all, was this, inſtead of declaring himſelf an open enemy, he had his confidents at hand to accuſe the brothers; and ſtill as any thing came in againſt Alexander, he ſeem'd to take his part at firſt, and yet, afterward, turn'd all againſt him, with ſuch ſly, glancing intimations, that they made Herod ſtark mad, in a full perſuaſion that the whole ſtory of Alexander's plot upon his life was true: neither did any thing give more credit to the calumny, than Antipater's artificial way of mincing the matter.

HEROD was mortally incens'd againſt the two brothers by theſe practices of Antipater; and juſt as much as they loſt in the good opinion of the king, Antipater got, and thoſe that were for the government fell in with him; ſome of their own accord, others for faſhion ſake; as Ptolemy, the moſt conſiderable of his friends, the king's brothers, and effectually the whole family; for Antipater was all in all, and nothing went ſo near Alexander's heart, as to conſider that this wickedneſs was altogether manag'd by the counſel and conduct of Antipater's mother, who was worſe than a ſtep-mother, in the hatred ſhe bare to the queen's children. Now tho' great court was made to Antipater, with an eye to the credit he had with Herod; the order of the king himſelf went yet a great deal farther, in forbidding all people effectually, upon their peril, to entertain any intercourſe with Alexander or his brother, or to make any ſort of application to either of them. This interdiction ſtruck a dread, not only into the king's houſhold, but to their friends abroad; for Herod had priviledges confer'd upon him by Auguſtus, that he never granted to any other: as the liberty of fetching deſerters out of other princes juriſdictions, where he himſelf had nothing to do. Neither of the brothers at this time knew any thing of their fault; for Herod had not as yet exhibited any publick charge againſt either of them, which made the danger ſo much the greater, for want of precaution how to defend themſelves. They collected the ſtate of their own caſe however, from the cooling of the king's kindneſs towards them, and their troubles conſequently increas'd.

Antipater's mother order'd the plot.

ANTIPATER did his buſineſs the ſame way too, with his brother Pheroras and Salome his aunt, and talk'd as freely to them againſt his brothers, as he could have done to his own wife. The feud was grown very high already, but it was mightily inflam'd by Glaphyra the wife of Alexander; who, upon all occaſions, would be vaunting of the nobility of her extraction, and ſetting up herſelf above all other ladies in the kingdom. She ſaid ſhe was deſcended from Themenus, on the father's ſide, and from Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, on the mother's; reflecting at the ſame time upon Herod's wife and ſiſter as upſtarts, and treating them, in fine, with all imaginable contempt. Herod did not marry for quality, ſhe ſaid, but for beauty. We have taken notice already that Herod had ſeveral wives, and that he was pleas'd with polygamy, being allow'd by the Jewiſh law; and they were all exaſperated againſt Alexander, for the pride and ſtomach of Glaphyra.

Meanneſs of birth among women is a crime.

ARISTOBULUS made Salome his enemy too, though his mother-in-law; and ſhe was ſo, in truth, before, being piqu'd ſufficiently at the outrageous haughtineſs of Glaphyra, who would be ſtill caſting her in the teeth with the meanneſs of her birth, and telling him, that his wife was only a private woman, but his brother Alexander had marry'd a queen. The daughter of Salome carry'd the ſtory preſently to her mother, with tears in her eyes, with another additional one of her contriving; namely, how Alexander and Ariſtobulus had threaten'd all Herod's wives, if ever they came to the crown, that they would make the mothers and the daughters ſpin for their living; and for the boys, they might ſerve well enough, they cry'd, for pariſh-clerks; which was only a jeſt upon them for their love of letters. This diſcourſe put Salome in ſuch a rage, that ſhe immediately went and acquainted the king therewith; and for the credit of the accuſation, it was the evidence of a mother againſt a ſon-in-law. And there was yet another report beſides, that ſtung Herod more than all the reſt. It was given out, that Alexander and Ariſtobulus would be often bemoaning the miſerable condition of their mother, with ſighs and groans, and curſing their father. It was ſuggeſted further, that, upon Herod's dividing Mariamne's wearing-cloaths among the reſt of wives, the brothers would be foreboding ſtill, that in ſhort, inſtead of royal robes, they would be obliged to wear mourning.

Salome does the office of a tale-bearer.

HEROD, upon theſe inſinuations, knowing his ſons to be bold and vigorous young men, was not without ſome apprehenſion of violence from them; but unwilling however to force things beyond recovery: ſo that being upon the very point of going to Rome, he order'd his ſons to be call'd; and betwixt the ſeverity of a king, and the tenderneſs of a father, he gave them good counſel, and advice to agree among themſelves, and to love one another; with the promiſe of an abſolute pardon for what they had done amiſs, upon condition of their repentance and amendment. The anſwer they return'd was a flat denial of what they were charg'd with, which they undertook to prove, not only falſe, but impoſſible, if they might be allow'd the hearing; giving their father to underſtand, that ſo long as his ears were open to tale-bearers, there would be no end of calumnies.

Herod's advice to his ſons.

WHEN the brothers had pacify'd Herod, and ſet their own hearts at reſt from any further apprehenſion of danger, they fell into new anxieties for the future. Pheroras and Salome, Pheroras and Salome deadly enemies of the brothers. Pheroras highly oblig'd to Herod.

lome, they knew very well, were their deadly enemies, and two perſons harſh enough, and very conſiderable: Pheroras eſpecially; for he did as good as ſhare with Herod in all the regalities of the government, ſaving only the crown itſelf. His own proper annual revenue amounted to an hundred * talents; beſides the profit of all the lands beyond Jordan, which he enjoy'd by the bounty of Herod; at whoſe requeſt, Ceſar was prevail'd with to make him a tetrarch. Herod honour'd him alſo with a royal match; beſtowing upon him his wife's ſiſter in marriage, and after her death, he offer'd him his eldeſt daughter with three hundred † talents for her portion. But Pheroras was ſo captivated with a paſſion for a perſon of ignoble birth, that he declin'd the propoſal. Herod took this in ſuch indignation, that he gave her to the ſon of his brother; who was afterwards ſlain by the Parthians. He was highly incens'd for the preſent; but, upon ſecond thoughts, he imputed the refuſal to the violence of his paſſion, and ſo pardon'd his folly.

A report that Pheroras had a deſign to poiſon his brother. Herod ſtartled at it. Divers ſeiz'd and put to the queſtion upon it.

There had been a rumour, it ſeems, of a long ſtanding, that Pheroras had a deſign, even in the life of Mariamne, to poiſon his brother. This was a time ſo favourable to ſpies and informers, that Herod, tho' one of the kindeſt of brothers, was yet ſtartled at the report; tho' he could not altogether believe it. There were a great many ſeized upon ſuſpicion, and ſeveral put to the queſtion; paſſing from one to another, till they came at laſt to the friends of Pheroras. They confeſs'd nothing of the poiſon; but Pheroras, they ſaid, had ſome thoughts of ſtealing privately away with his miſtreſs into Parthia; and that Coſtobarus, Salome's ſecond husband, was privy to the purpoſe and deſign. It was this Coſtobarus, to whom Herod had given her in marriage, after her former husband was put to death for adultery. And Salome did not come off without an accuſation neither; for her brother Pheroras laid it to her charge, that ſhe had been treating a match with Sylleus, governor of Arabia under king Obodas, the bittereſt enemy that Herod had in the world. Salome was found guilty of every article that her brother Pheroras charg'd upon her; but Herod however pardon'd them both.

Pheroras and Salome found guilty, but Herod pardons them both.

The ſtorm of the faction fell now wholly upon the head of Alexander: as for inſtance: there were three eunuchs in the houſe, that were all in the good graces of the king, and well known by the offices they had in the family; that is to ſay, a cup-bearer, a ſewer, and a valet de chambre: one of them to fill his maſter's wine, the ſecond to provide his ſupper, and the third to put him to bed, and ſupply the office of a bed-fellow. Now theſe were Alexander's creatures, as far as flatteries and rewards could make them. This being ſuggeſted to Herod, he cauſed them immediately to be put to the torture; when out came the whole buſineſs, the practice, the promiſe, and the inſtrument; together with Alexander's way of impoſing upon them. “There was no hope of Herod, (he ſaid) a wicked old man, that had his hair dy'd like a fop to make him look young: the reſpect you pay to him, (ſays he) belongs to me, that am to be his ſucceſſor to the kingdom, and he cannot hinder it. I ſhall have it in my power then, (ſays he) to revenge myſelf of my enemies, and to reward my friends, yourſelves in the firſt place.” The informers added this further, that the great miniſters and officers were all for Alexander in their hearts, and manag'd their matters in their private meetings and cabals.

Three court officers put to the torture, and confeſs Alexander's part of the ſtory.

Herod at his wits end upon it.

His outrageous cruelty and injuſtice.

This was ſuch a thunder-bolt to Herod, that he durſt not be too quick in publiſhing the very diſcovery; but his tale-bearers and agents were at work night and day, to ſpy up and down in all families and places what was ſaid and done; and it was certain death to be but ſo much as ſuſpected. There was nothing to be heard of in this part of Herod's hiſtory, but cruelty and injuſtice. Every diſguſt made way for a calumny, and that calumny was made a mortal crime; for Herod did but execute the malice that other people put in his head: no witneſs ſo infamous, no impoſture ſo groſs and ridiculous, but it found credit, and the puniſhment was ſo quick, that it ſcarce waited for the offence, but the accuſed and the accuſer went off together; for Herod reckoned all formalities of law to be but fooleries, where the life of a prince was in danger.

Nay, he was now diſtemper'd to ſuch a degree of outrage, that it was not enough for a man to be innocent, or to eſcape an accuſation, but his very friends far'd the worſt of all others: ſome he baniſh'd the kingdom, and where he could not exerciſe his power, he wreak'd his ſpite upon them in foul words. But Antipater was the ſource of all this miſchief, and, betwixt himſelf and his crew of friends, there was nothing omitted to enflame the accuſation. Nay, he had ſo frighted the king with a parcel of idle fooliſh ſtories, that he fancy'd Alexander ſtill before him with a ſword drawn to deſtroy him. In this dread he cauſed him immediately to be taken up, and bound, and ſo proceeded to the tormenting of his friends. Many of them dy'd mute, and ſacrific'd their lives to a good conſcience. Others that had not reſolution enough to endure the torment, patch'd up a lie, and brought the two brothers into a plot upon the life of the king: that plot to be put in execution one day as they were a hunting, and they themſelves in the mean time to fly to Rome. This was a very improbable ſtory; but the invention paſs'd upon this pinch, for want of a better; for Herod did not only believe it, but made uſe of it in his own juſtification for committing his ſon to priſon.

Antipater the ſource of all.

Alexander taken up, and his friends tortur'd. Some ſtand mute, others tell a lie, to ſave themſelves.

Herod being now under the judgment of ſo incurable and implacable a jealouſy, Alexander troubled his head no longer with the unprofitable way of argument and excuſe in his own defence; but bethinking himſelf of another expedient, he reſolv'd for the future to ſay as they ſaid, and by confeſſing himſelf

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* An hundred Jewiſh talents (as has been before obſerved) weighed eleven thouſand four hundred and ſix pounds and three ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to thirty four thouſand two hundred and eighteen pounds fifteen ſhillings, and in gold to five hundred forty ſeven thouſand and five hundred pounds Engliſh money.

† Three hundred talents weighed thirty four thouſand two hundred and eighteen pounds and nine ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to one hundred two thouſand ſix hundred and fifty ſix pounds and five ſhillings, and in gold to one million ſix hundred forty two thouſand and five hundred pounds of our money.

When denying would do no good, Alexander confeſſes guilty; and gives Herod four papers of the pretended ſtate of the caſe.

guilty, to involve his enemies in the ſame condemnation. So that he drew up four papers, owning himſelf a confederate againſt the life of his father, with the names of divers of the conſpirators; but Pheroras and Salome in the firſt place; charging Salome with the impudence of forcing herſelf into his bed one night, whether he would or no. Theſe papers being in Herod's hands, and a world of bloody reflections in them upon ſeveral of the nobility, it ſo fell out by providence, that Archelaus in this very nick of time came into Judea, under no ſmall concern for the ſafety of his ſon-in-law and daughter, and with a deſign to ſerve them all he could. And he did it effectually; for it was his conduct and addreſs, that, in ſome degree, brought Herod to his wits again.

Archelaus upon this point of time comes into Judea.

And debates the caſe of Alexander with Herod.

Upon their coming together, Archelaus broke out into an outrage of paſſionate exclamations, “Why where's this execrable ſon of mine? (ſays he) why does he not ſhew his parricidal treacherous head, that I may tear him to pieces with my own fingers, and provide a new huſband, and a better man, for my daughter? But alas! ſhe is tainted with the memory of the relation ſhe had to this wretch, and conſequently fit for no body, though as innocent as ſhe was born of his practices and counſels. But the greateſt miracle of all, as it appears to me here, is your patience, in ſparing the life of a conſpirator to the hazard of your own. Little did I think, when I made ſuch haſte out of Cappadocia, to have found Alexander yet alive; ſo that my buſineſs was rather to have had ſome diſcourſe with you about my daughter, whom I parted with to this wicked man, only out of a reſpect to your dignity. But as the caſe ſtands at preſent, ſomewhat may be ſaid upon both accounts. Now you are too much a father, and perhaps too much a man too, to puniſh a rebellious treacherous ſon as he deſerves; wherefore let us only change hands, and leave it to me to do right upon your ſon, as I ſhall recommend to your generoſity the care of my daughter.”

Archelaus gains Herod over to the intereſt of Alexander, and ſets him more againſt Pheroras.

This diſcourſe of Archelaus, as it put Herod in a better humour toward Alexander, ſo it ſet him yet more and more againſt Pheroras; for this was the chief argument of the four papers which Herod gave him to read; and ſo from beginning to end they peruſed them quite thorough from one article to another. Archelaus was now maſter of an opportunity to his own wiſh, and inſinuated himſelf by little and little into the merits of the cauſe, laying the blame upon the ringleaders, as they were marked out in the papers, and chiefly upon Pheroras. Archelaus, finding by this time that he had gain'd ſome credit with the king, made advantage of the occaſion, and ſo took another biaſs.

“In my opinion (ſays he) your ſon is in more danger of being undone by a faction, than you are in of being deſtroy'd by a ſon. Why Alexander muſt be a downright madman, to enter into any ſuch vile practices of his own head. He does in a manner divide the government already with his father; and a fair pretence he has likewiſe to the ſucceſſion: and what would he more, if it were not for the importunity of ſome violent ſpirits at hand to debauch and ſeduce him? Youth, alas! is raſh and ſlippery, and eaſily impos'd upon by ill company and corrupt counſels, for want of conſideration and experience. Now there are a ſort of inſtruments, that neither young nor old are able to reſiſt: ſuch a cabal of makebates and incendiaries, that, wherever they appear, men, families, and whole kingdoms, fall before them.”

Herod began now to be of Archelaus's opinion, and to think more favourably of Alexander, and worſe of Pheroras than he had done; this being the argument of the four papers. When Pheroras came to find Herod in a more tractable temper than uſual, and that Archelaus was the man that he moſt depended upon, he ſet a bold face upon it; and with a ſhameleſs impudence, to ſupply all other defects, he quitted Alexander, and betook himſelf to Archelaus; who told him plainly, how impoſſible a thing it was for him ever to come off from an accuſation ſo manifeſtly prov'd againſt him; for the ſun was not clearer than the evidence of his being in a conſpiracy againſt the life of his brother: beſide that the ruin of Alexander was alſo of his contrivance. “Now (ſays Archelaus) why cannot you give over this way of ſhuffling and outfacing things, and rather make a frank confeſſion of what your very ſoul knows you to be guilty of? your brother has a natural tenderneſs for you, and I am perſuaded he might be prevail'd upon for your pardon. If you like the propoſal, make the experiment, and you may be ſure of my help to do you the beſt offices I can.”

Archelaus gives Pheroras good advice.

Pheroras humbles himſelf, confeſſes, and beggs Herod's pardon.

Upon ſecond thoughts, Pheroras conceiv'd it moſt adviſable to follow the directions of Archelaus; and ſo, in a rueful mourning dreſs, and with a diſmal and ſad countenance, on purpoſe to move compaſſion, he went and caſt himſelf at Herod's feet, made his confeſſion, and begg'd forgiveneſs; acknowledging all the faults he was charg'd with, but at the ſame time caſting them all upon the tranſport of a fooliſh paſſion he had for a woman, that had diſtracted his reaſon, ſo that he knew not what he ſaid or did. So ſoon as Pheroras had given this evidence againſt himſelf, Archelaus's next work was to qualify matters with Herod, and to bring him into a more converſable humour. “Well! (ſays Archelaus) this is a very ill thing from ſo near a relation, and yet I myſelf have ſuffer'd a great deal more from a brother than this comes to: but in that caſe I thought it prudence to ſacrifice my revenge to a natural affection and duty. It is in kingdoms as it is in bodies; when an ill humour falls down into any one part, 'tis more adviſable to try remedies, than to cut it off.”

With theſe and the like arguments, Archelaus had now ſweeten'd Herod toward Pheroras, but he ſtill treated Alexander, in ſemblance at leaſt, with reproaches and menaces; and, in concluſion, “he would e'en take away his daughter, (he ſaid) without any more ado.” This ſeeming fierceneſs of Archelaus wrought ſo ſenſibly upon the ſpirit of Herod, that he became an advocate for his ſon upon it, and made it his ſuit to Archelaus not to make void the marriage. His anſwer was, “That, out of the reverence he had for the rights of alliance, he was content to leave his daughter

Herod becomes an advocate for Alexander.

“ abſolutely at Herod's diſpoſal, provided only that he ſhould not give her to Alexander.” (But this was all counterfeit and diſguiſe.) Herod was for the continuing of the young couple together. “ They had children, (he ſaid) and ſo great a kindneſs one for the other that it would be death to part them. If ſhe ſtays, (ſays Herod) we'll have an act of oblivion: if ſhe goes away, the caſe is deſperate; for there's nothing puts relations in better order than the comfort of a family converſation.” This deliberation was ſcarce over, but Archelaus went out: he came back again in a trice, and brought in Alexander along with him, whom he preſently reconciled to his father. Archelaus was much of opinion for Herod's going to Rome, with an account to Ceſar of all the late tranſactions; for, ſays he, I have written at large already upon this ſubject.

Archelaus brings Alexander to his father.

THIS was a crafty and a healing counſel of Archelaus's, to deliver his ſon from danger, and at the ſame time to celebrate the feſtival of the reconciliation, with all inſtances of humanity and reſpect. Archelaus was now upon his departure, and Herod made him a preſent of ſeventy * talents, a throne ſet with precious ſtones, with a train of eunuchs, and a concubine call'd Pannychis. All the king's great miniſters, friends and relations, were likewiſe treated by Herod's expreſs order with rich preſents, every man in his proportion; Herod himſelf and his nobility conducting Archelaus on his way as far as Antioch.

Herod's magnificent preſents to Archelaus at his departure.

THERE came a perſon into Judea not long after this, a man of policy, that out-did Archelaus himſelf, one that did not only overthrow the project of Alexander's reconciliation to his father; but ſo order'd the matter, that he brought Alexander himſelf to his end. His name was Eurycles; a native of Lacedemon; corrupted by the love of money into an affectation of power, and ſo laviſh in his expences that the revenue of a prince would not anſwer his profuſions. He made Herod ſeveral preſents of great value, that look'd like baits to draw on more; for Herod ſent him greater preſently in return. He ſet little value upon any bounty that was not the price of royal blood: ſo that he made his way to Herod's good graces; one while, by crafty enſnaring diſcourſes, and another while, by the groſſeſt of hyperbolical flatteries; till in the end he got ſo perfect a meaſure of the king's weak ſide and humour, that whatever he ſaid or did was all to Herod's liking. By this paraſitical way of complaiſance, he made himſelf a very conſiderable intereſt at court; beſide that being a Spartan, Herod and all his favourites had an honour for his country, as well as for his perſon.

Eurycles, a falſe lewd wretch, brings Alexander to his end.

He inſinuates himſelf into Herod's good graces.

WHEN Eurycles came to diſcover the weakneſſes of the family, with the factions and diviſions of the children, and to ſee how Herod ſtood affected to them in particular, he took up his lodging with Antipater; and pretending a wonderful kindneſs to Alexander, told him a long tale of his friend Archelaus, and what a greatneſs had ever been betwixt them; which was as good as a letter of recommendation to Alexander, who not only ſwallow'd it himſelf, but poſſeſs'd his brother Ariſtobulus alſo with the belief of the ſame ſtory. When Eurycles had ſounded all the people he had to do withal, he put on ſeveral ſhapes and forms, and went ſeveral ways to work as the caſe required: his buſineſs being upon the main, to get Antipater's money, and to betray Alexander. “ 'Tis an admirable thing to me (ſays Eurycles to Antipater) how you, who are the eldeſt ſon, and next heir to the crown, can ſuffer yourſelf to be impos'd upon by pretenders to your right!” And then to Alexander. “ How can you (ſays he) that are both the ſon and the husband of a great princeſs, endure to ſee the ſon of a private woman interpoſe betwixt you and the crown; eſpecially having ſuch a friend to ſecond you as Archelaus?” All this went down now with the young man, as proceeding from a good and faithful intention, upon the credit of his profeſſing a friendſhip for Archelaus. Alexander was ſo far from diſtruſting any thing, that he took Eurycles into a cloſer confidence, and open'd his very heart to him in the matter of Antipater. “ It is no wonder (ſays he) for Herod, that took away the life of the mother, to take away the kingdom from the ſon.” Eurycles at the hearing of this, bleſſed himſelf at the barbarity of the practice; and, with a countenance of pity, and condoling, he engag'd Ariſtobulus likewiſe in the diſcourſe, and conſequently hamper'd him in the ſame ſnare. When Eurycles had pump'd out matter enough againſt them both, he carries the ſtory to Antipater, with ſome additional circumſtances to it of his own making; as if the conſpiracy were juſt upon the point of execution, and the king's life every moment more and more in danger. Antipater made Eurycles a preſent of a vaſt ſum of money for this ſervice, and his good word to his father over and above. And ſo having laid a plot to effect the death of Alexander and Ariſtobulus, Eurycles offer'd himſelf for an evidence againſt the two brothers.

His main buſineſs is to get Antipater's money, and to betray Alexander.

Alexander makes Eurycles his confident.

EURYCLES went now to Herod, with this ſpeech in his mouth:

“ I AM here come in gratitude, (ſays he) to acknowledge all your favours, and to give you your very life in requital. It is now a long time that your death has been reſolv'd upon; inſomuch that Alexander had a drawn ſword in his hand once, with a full determination to have done the deed. And let me tell you, ſir, this horrid wickedneſs had been compleated, if I had not put a reſpite to the diſpatch by ſeeming to approve of the thing, and offering myſelf to join in the exploit. What! ſays Alexander, cannot Herod content himſelf with the uſurpation of a kingdom, the death of my mother, and the tearing of the government to pieces, without declaring that pitiful wretch Antipater his ſucceſſor, to the ſcandal of all crowned heads? but it belongs to me to do juſtice to the ghoſts of Hyrcanus and Mariamne; neither would it be congruous that the government ſhould deſcend from ſuch a father to ſuch a ſon without

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* Seventy Jewiſh talents weighed ſeven thouſand nine hundred eighty four pounds four ounces and ten pennyweights, and their value in ſilver amounted to twenty three thouſand nine hundred fifty three pounds two ſhillings and ſix pence, and in gold to three hundred eighty three thouſand two hundred and fifty pounds Engliſh money.

blood.

A falſe and ſcandalous ſtory of Alexander.

“ blood. There's not a day paſſes over my head without freſh arguments and provocations, to confirm me in my purpoſe; there's not a word paſſes my lips but it is made a ſnare to me. Drop but one ſyllable upon the ſubject of honourable families and extraction, and Herod caſts it in my teeth as an affront that ſtruck at him. No no, ſays he, Alexander is the only man of honour, I warrant you, and his father no better than a ſcoundrel. When I am a hunting with him, if I ſay nothing, why do not you talk, he cries; or if I talk, why do I not hold my tongue? Nay, I cannot ſo much as commend him, but he calls it picking of thanks. I can do nothing, in fine, to his liking; and it is only Antipater that has the good fortune to pleaſe him. So that (ſays Alexander) if this plot ſhould miſcarry, I had rather be in my grave than outlive the diſaſter: if it ſucceeds, I can eaſily get off to my father-in-law, and thence to Ceſar, who knows but little, alas! of this hiſtory, or of the temper of Herod. I ſhall not now ſtand trembling when I come to Rome, as formerly, under the awe of a ſevere father; who was then preſent: nor ſhall I much inſiſt upon private injuries done to myſelf, but rather turn my diſcourſe to publick grievances; as horrible corruptions and oppreſſions, and the ſquandering away of unmerciful impoſitions in luxury and pleaſure. I ſhall ſhew which way they went, into what hands; the miſerable ſlavery of the cities, and the true reaſons of it: and to conclude, I ſhall deliver ſuch a hiſtory of the death of my grandfather Hyrcanus, and my mother Mariamne; and make ſuch a diſcovery of the wickedneſs of that prince, that no man living, after theſe neceſſary truths, ſhall ever take me for a murderer of my father.”

A panegyrick of Eurycles to the honour of Antipater.

A charge againſt Alexander and Ariſtobulus.

Jucundus and Tyrannus put to the torture.

A forgery of Diophantus.

When Eurycles had finiſh'd this invective againſt Alexander, he turn'd the remainder of his diſcourſe into a panegyrick to the honour of Antipater; the only ſon, he ſaid, that truly lov'd his father, and put a ſeaſonable ſtop to the progreſs of the deſign. The king being ſtill labouring under his former jealouſies, broke out upon this hint into the impatience of a moſt intolerable rage; and it was now Antipater's time and maſterpiece, to inflame his extravagance, by trumping up new matter, and witneſſes againſt the brothers. The evidence was this: That Alexander and Ariſtobulus held a private correſpondence with Jucundus and Tyrannus, two horſe-officers, that for ſome miſdemeanour were diſcharg'd of their command. This information put Herod into ſuch a fury, that he order'd them immediately to the torture. But they knew nothing, they ſaid, of the matter in queſtion; only there was a certain letter, it ſeems, ſent from Alexander, as to the governour of Alexandrion; deſiring him to receive himſelf and Ariſtobulus into the caſtle, in caſe of their father's death; and to furniſh them both with arms and other neceſſaries, if ſuch a thing ſhould happen. Alexander charg'd this letter as a forgery of Diophantus; a bold man, and wonderfully dexterous at counterfeiting hands; and beſide all this, he was the king's ſecretary. And it is to be noted, that he was at laſt put to death for forgery. The governor of the caſtle was alſo tortur'd; and there was nothing gotten out of him neither. The ſons were effectually quitted: but for Eurycles, that peſt of mankind, and the projector of this whole miſchief, how was he celebrated by Herod, for his friend and preſerver, and complimented at laſt with a preſent of fifty * talents for his pains! This abandon'd wretch, before Archelaus could have any certainty of the impriſonment of the two brothers, made a journey to him by ſtealth, and had the face to tell Archelaus, from whom he received an ample reward for his pretended ſervices, that all was well betwixt Herod and Alexander, and that he himſelf had made them friends. From thence he went into Achaia with his treaſure; where he ſpent it as lewdly as he got it. In the end, he was arraign'd by Ceſar, for ſeditious practices, broils, and oppreſſions. He was in the concluſion baniſh'd; and this was the puniſhment he ſuffer'd for his villainous practices againſt Alexander and Ariſtobulus.

Herod's ears open only to calumnies.

It may do well enough in this place to oppoſe Evaratus of Coos, in the contrary extreme to Eurycles the Spartan. He was much a friend of Alexander's, and in Herod's court at the ſame time when Eurycles was there. The king put him to it very ſtrictly, what credit he gave to that report of the conſpiracy, and to the accuſations that were given out upon it. Evaratus declar'd upon his oath, that he never knew the young men guilty of any thing like it. But the miſerable priſoners were never the better for it; for Herod's ears were only open to the calumnies, and people were more or leſs in his favour, according to the degree of being more or leſs infamous; and there was no other way to pleaſe him but by ſaying, doing, and believing, as he did.

Salome an incendiary to the father againſt the ſons.

Herod in a rage lays the brothers in chains. And ſends Ceſar an account of the matter.

Salome in the mean time was a terrible incendiary to Herod againſt his ſons, for the ſecuring of herſelf. Ariſtobulus gave her a caution, both as a mother-in-law and as an aunt, to have a care of herſelf; intimating that ſhe was in as much danger from Herod now, as any body elſe, lying under a ſecond charge for the ſame crime ſhe was accuſed of before; that is to ſay, that ſhe had contracted a league with Sylleus the Arabian, with a deſign to marry him, though ſhe knew him to be the king's enemy; and that ſhe gave him a ſecret account, from time to time, of the king's counſels. Ariſtobulus gave her this warning, on purpoſe to involve her in the ſame common fate with his brother and himſelf; but it fell out unhappily, for this was the rock they ſplit upon, and the very tempeſt that ſunk them both. For Salome in that moment went to the king, and told him what Ariſtobulus had done, which tranſported him to that degree of an impetuous rage, that he caus'd the brothers to be immediately taken apart, and laid in chains.

Herod, in this heat, ſent Volumnius, a colonel of horſe, and Olympus, one of his particular friends, to Ceſar, with copies of the proceedings. Upon their arrival at Rome they

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* Fifty Jewiſh talents weighed five thouſand ſeven hundred and three pounds one ounce and ten pennyweights, and their value in ſilver amounted to ſeventeen thouſand one hundred and nine pounds ſeven ſhillings and ſix pence, and in gold to two hundred ſeventy three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty pounds Engliſh money.

deliver'd their letters, and Ceſar was in great trouble for the young men upon the reading of them; but he was tender however of exerting his civil power, to the prejudice of the natural power of a father over his children; ſo that he return'd Herod an anſwer to this effect. "That he was maſter of himſelf, and "of thoſe that belong'd to him." But Ceſar however thought it adviſable for Herod to call an aſſembly of his friends and relations, and the governors of the province, to enquire into the conſpiracy; and ſo proceed to execute vindictive juſtice, upon thoſe that ſhould be found guilty of malice prepenſe: but if upon examination of the caſe, there appeared no more than a thought of withdrawing, or flying, a leſs ſevere puniſhment than death, he thought, might ſerve the turn.

Herod calls a council to meet about it at Berytus, according to Ceſar's order.

The emperor had marked out Berytus for the place of meeting; and Herod, in conformity to Ceſar's direction, call'd a council there. The preſidents were of Ceſar's appointment in writing; Saturninus and Pedanius, embaſſadors, with Volumnius the governor of the province; the friends and relations of Herod, not omitting Salome and Pheroras: and after theſe, the principal men of Syria, king * Archelaus only excepted; for Herod had a jealouſy of him, being the father-in-law of Alexander. The council was againſt bringing the ſons into court, and prudentially enough too; for the very ſight of them would have endanger'd the moving of a troubleſome compaſſion; and then if they had been heard to ſpeak for themſelves, Alexander would with great eaſe have baffled all their objections: ſo that they were rather kept under cuſtody at a diſtance, in Platane, a village of Sidonia.

* See Antiq. b. 16. c. 16.

But the ſons not brought into court for fear of miſchief.

The king opens the cauſe with great partiality and paſſion.

When the king ſtood up to ſpeak, he behav'd himſelf paſſionately, and vented his diſpleaſure againſt his ſons, as if they had been preſent. When he was upon the ſubject of the conſpiracy, his voice was low and faint, and he did not care for bearing too hard upon that topick, becauſe his proofs were weak; but when he came to recite malicious expreſſions, indignities, injuries, and diſobediences committed againſt himſelf, his voice was heard all over the court; giving the aſſembly to underſtand that thoſe reproaches were worſe to him than death: and finally, when he ſaw that all paſs'd without contradiction, he only lamented the miſery of his condition in the gaining of ſo ruinous a victory; and upon this, order'd the court to proceed to a ſentence.

And meeting with no contradiction, he bids the court proceed to a ſentence.

Saturninus gave his opinion firſt, that they deſerv'd to be puniſh'd, but not with death: for it would not look well, having three ſons preſent in the aſſembly, to paſs a ſentence upon thoſe that were abſent. The two legates were of the ſame mind, and ſo were others that came after. The firſt man that gave ſentence of death was Volumnius, and others follow'd him as they were influenc'd by the paſſions and intereſt of Herod; but not a man of them out of any ill-will to the priſoners. Judea and Syria was all in dread and ſuſpence, what would be the iſſue of this tragical affair; though at the ſame time no body thought that Herod could ever be ſo cruel and unrelenting, as to murder his own children. But he had yet ſo little tenderneſs of nature, as to ſend his ſons to Tyre in chains, and thence by ſea to Ceſarea; deliberating in the mean time what death to put them to.

A ſentence of death paſt upon them.

The generous bravery of Tyro, a common ſoldier in favour of the brothers.

In the mean time, one Tyro, an old ſoldier of the king's, and a great lover of the young princes, came up: he had a ſon too that was much in favour with Alexander. This Tyro, in a horror of indignation for what Herod was a doing, went about like a madman, raving and crying out, that juſtice was trampled upon, truth is loſt, and that nothing but villany and iniquity prevail'd in the world; and that there was no ſuch thing as humanity and natural affection upon the face of the earth. At this rate he went on, raging and exclaiming like a man weary of his life. Nay, he had the courage at laſt to advance to the king himſelf. "Of all men living (ſays he to Herod) "you yourſelf are certainly the moſt miſerable; a man given over to the judgment of "believing the falſeſt and the worſt of people, "to the prejudice of the beſt friends you have. "As for inſtance: there is Salome and Pheroras, two perſons whom you yourſelf have "ſeveral times judg'd worthy of death; and "yet theſe are the people, upon whoſe teſtimony you are about to take away the lives "of your ſons. You never conſider what an "eaſe it will be to Antipater, when the right "heirs are removed, and you two left alone; "for their buſineſs is to have a king they may "govern as they pleaſe. But let him have a "care then of the ſoldiers too; for if they "come to take fire at this butchery, who "knows how far it may go? for there's not "a ſoul but pities the brothers, and men of "quality are highly diſpleas'd to ſee how "things are manag'd." Tyro, upon this occaſion, named ſeveral of the malecontents; which in the ſame minute were taken up by Herod's order, together with Tyro and his ſon.

Tryphon the king's barber ſets up for an evidence againſt them.

There was one Tryphon by at that time, a perſon ſomewhat diſorder'd in his ſenſes, and the king's barber: this man came forth to ſhew himſelf to the company, and ſo ſet up for a witneſs. "That ſame Tyro (ſays he to Herod) offer'd "me a conſiderable reward in the name of Alexander, if I would but undertake to cut "your throat in the ſhaving." Upon this information, Tyro and his ſon, and the barber, were preſently order'd to be put to the queſtion. Tyro and his ſon deny'd all, and the barber was wholly ſilent; whereupon Herod commanded Tyro's torments to be encreas'd, when his ſon out of pure tenderneſs and pity to his father, promis'd the king a diſcovery of the whole tranſaction if he might have his pardon. Upon this, he was taken off the torture, and then declar'd that his father was put upon it by Alexander to kill the king. This was taken by ſome only for a ſhift in the boy to get his father deliver'd from torture; there were others again that gave more credit to it.

Herod, after this, made a bitter ſpeech againſt ſome great officers of the army, together with Tyro; which ſo exaſperated the common people, that they fell upon theſe officers, Tyro and the barber, with ſtones and cudgels, and put them all to death. As for the ſons, that were now at Sebaſte, not far from Ceſarea, Herod cauſed them to be ſtrangled, and the dead bodies to be carried afterwards to Alexandrion, and laid there by Alexander, the mother's uncle. This was the end of Ariſtobulus and Alexander.

The ſons ſtrangled at Sebaſte.

CHAP. XVIII.

Antipater in a plot againſt his father. The children of Alexander and Ariſtobulus. Herod's plauſible pretence of piety and good-nature. He calls a council, and propounds convenient alliances, Antipater prevails with Herod to undo what he had done. The caſe of Salome and Sylleus. The inſolence of Antipater. A court caball of women. Salome informs the king of it. Foul practices charg'd upon her. Antipater forbidden the converſation of Pheroras or his wiſe. Herod ſends Antipater to Rome, and his laſt will along with him; declaring Antipater his next ſucceſſor, and his ſon Herod by Mariamne next after him. Sylleus takes another journey to Rome, to try his old cauſe with Antipater over again. Corruption and ſubornation prov'd againſt Sylleus, with a deſign upon the life of Herod.

Ant. b. 17. c. 1, 3, 4.

Antipater in a conſpiracy againſt the life of his fathers.

ANTIPATER by this time reckon'd himſelf ſure of the kingdom; but never was any man ſo univerſally hated by the people; for they well enough underſtood the whole ſcheme of this wickedneſs to be of his contrivance. But he was as uneaſy on the one hand, as he thought himſelf unſafe on the other, for fear the children of the ſlaughter'd brothers ſhould riſe up to revenge the death of their fathers. Alexander had by Glaphyra two ſons; Tigranes and Alexander: Ariſtobulus had likewiſe by Berenice, the daughter of Salome, Herod, Agrippa, and Ariſtobulus; and two daughters, Herodias and Mariamne. Glaphyra was now ſent away with her portion into Cappadocia, after the death of Alexander; and Berenice, the widow of Ariſtobulus, was married to the uncle of Antipater; who bethought himſelf of this match to make friends again with Salome, and put an end to all quarrels. Antipater ply'd Pheroras with compliments and preſents; making court at the ſame time to Ceſar's friends, and ſending vaſt ſums of money to Rome to engage them. Neither was he leſs bountiful to Saturninus and the reſt of his friends in Syria. But for all this he could not yet accompliſh his ends; for the more he gave, the leſs he was reſpected; and ſo far was this expence from any appearance of a generous bounty, that it was look'd upon to be only a profuſeneſs out of fear. So it was, in fine, that he was never the better for what he gave; and where he gave nothing, he made people ſo much the more his enemies. He was the larger in his liberalities, becauſe he ſaw, contrary to all people's expectation, that Herod took ſuch care of the orphans; which gave to underſtand, by the commiſeration he had for the children, the penitent ſenſe and regret he had for the death of his ſons their fathers.

Herod's tenderneſs for the children looks like a regret for the death of the fathers.

A council call'd.

HEROD, having now call'd his friends, and kindred together, ſent for the young princes, and ſo addreſs'd himſelf to the company with tears in his eyes upon this occaſion.

Herod's addreſs to the aſſembly.

“ You have here before you (ſays Herod)
“ the children of an unfortunate family:
“ Their fathers have been taken from me by a
“ ſad fate, and I find myſelf bound humanity
“ and good-nature to do the beſt I can for the
“ orphans, in diſcharging the part of a grand-
“ father more to my ſatisfaction than I did
“ that of a father. In purſuance of this pur-
“ poſe, I ſhall make it my care in the firſt
“ place to leave theſe children in good hands,
“ and under the charge of the beſt friends I ſhall
“ leave behind me when I am gone. To begin
“ with you, Pheroras (ſays he) I would have
“ you marry your daughter to Alexander's el-
“ deſt ſon, and to ſupply the place to him of
“ a father, and a neceſſary guardian. As for
“ your part, Antipater (ſays he) I would
“ have your ſon to take one of the daughters
“ of Ariſtobulus; under which relation you
“ will be as good as a parent to the orphan.
“ And ſo for my ſon ‖Herod, the grandchild
“ of Simon the high-prieſt, by the mother's
“ ſide, let him marry the other ſiſter. This is
“ my will and deſire, and no perſon who has
“ any regard or kindneſs for me will diſpute
“ it. Thus I would have it; and I beſeech
“ God to proſper theſe alliances to the comfort
“ of my kingdom and my family, and grant
“ in mercy that the children may be look'd
“ upon with a more favourable eye than their
“ fathers.”

His care for the ſettlement of the royal family in convenient matches.

WITH this benediction Herod concluded; and joining the hands of the princes, and weeping over them, he took a particular leave of the whole aſſembly one by one, and ſo diſmiſs'd the council.

Herod concludes with a benediction, and ſo diſmiſſes the court.

ANTIPATER, upon the hearing of this, ſtood like a ſtatue, inſomuch that every body took notice of the ſurpriſe; for he look'd upon all the reſpects his father paid the children, to be no other than a derogation from himſelf. This was a way, he thought, to put all things into confuſion again; at leaſt if Pheroras the tetrarch ſhould join intereſts with Archelaus, in favour of Alexander's ſons. Moreover he reflected within himſelf, the univerſal hatred he had drawn upon his own head; the compaſſion of the people for thoſe fatherleſs children; and, in fine, the concern the whole nation had in the matter, betwixt a tenderneſs for the living children, and a reverence for the memory of the dead; in which caſe, Antipater was look'd upon as neither better nor worſe than the murderer. Theſe things well conſider'd, Antipater had nothing elſe to do, but to make it his buſineſs to diſſolve the contracts: and how to gain that point, was now the queſtion; for Herod being fierce and ſuſpicious, was not to be dealt withal by craft and circumvention: So that he choſe rather to go in a barefac'd manner, and openly to deſire of him (but with all modeſty and deference) that he would only confirm to him the honour he had thought him worthy of, and beſtow'd upon him: for all the reſt was but the ſhadow of a kingdom without the ſubſtance; which would be certainly the caſe, if Alexander's ſon ſhould not only have Archelaus for his grandfather, but Pheroras alſo for his father-in-law. Antipater preſs'd Herod with violent importunities to change the diſpoſition of the marriages, a thing which, as he ſaid, might eaſily be done, the king having a numerous family.

Herod's ſpeech goes to the heart of Antipater.

Antipater finding no remedy but by diſſolving the contracts, preſs'd it earneſtly to Herod, and after ſome few difficulties carries the point.

HEROD had nine wives, and children by ſeven of them: Antipater by Doris; Herod by Mariamne, the daughter of the high-prieſt;

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‡ By the Evangeliſts call'd Philip.

Antipas and Archelaus by * Malthace a Samaritan; and a daughter, Olympias, whom † his brother Joseph marry'd: Herod and Philip by Cleopatra of Jeruſalem, and Phaſael by Pallas. He had alſo other daughters, Roxane and Salome; the one by Phedra, the other by Elpis; and two wives that had no children; the one was the daughter of his brother, the other his couſin German; and over and above theſe, he had by Mariamne the two ſiſters of Alexander and Ariſtobulus. "So "that here's choice enough, (ſays Antipater) "for the ordering of the matches ſome other "way."

The king perceived by this time what thoughts Antipater had of the children, and what purpoſes and intentions towards them; and was very much diſturbed at it, for fear he ſhould raiſe accuſations againſt them, as he had done againſt their fathers, whom he himſelf had murder'd before. Herod was ſo very angry with him for this expoſtulation, that he ſeverely rebuk'd him, and made him quit the room: but afterwards, with flattery and cajoling, he was wrought upon to make ſome alteration in his project: ſo that he gave to Antipater himſelf the daughter of Ariſtobulus, and to Ariſtobulus's ſon the daughter of Pheroras in marriage. This is ſufficient to ſhew what an aſcendant the wheedles of Antipater had over the ſpirit of Herod: which was more than in a like caſe cou'd be obtain'd by Salome, tho' his own ſiſter, and ſeconded alſo with the intereſt of the empreſs ‡ Julia in a her favour.

The caſe of Salome and Sylleus.

Salome had a mind to marry Sylleus the Arabian, and engaged Julia in the requeſt: which Herod did not only oppoſe in the thing itſelf, and all interceſſions for it, but bound himſelf with an oath to treat her as the greateſt enemy he had in the world, if ſhe did not give over the thoughts of it. After this, he forc'd her againſt her will upon a match with Alexas, a friend of his, and ſo to marry one of her daughters to the ſon of Alexas, and the other to the uncle of Antipater by the mother's ſide. He gave alſo one of the daughters of Mariamne to Antipater, the ſon of his ſiſter, and the other to Phaſael, the ſon of his brother.

The inſolence of Antipater.

When matters were thus alter'd, and every thing ſettled to the humour and convenience of Antipater, and conſequently to the manifeſt excluſion of the orphans, his malignity was now bolſter'd up with ſo audacious a confidence, that it made him wholly inſupportable. He found that all people hated him, and that he could not be ſafe unleſs he made them fear him too: beſide that Pheroras treated him as a prince eſtabliſhed in his ſoveriegnty.

A court cabal of women.

There broke out at the ſame time new broils at court, upon a faction among the women; for the wife, the mother, and the ſiſter of Pheroras, together with the mother of Antipater, behaved themſelves inſolently and contemptuouſly, even toward the king's daughters: which Antipater was well enough pleas'd withal, for he hated them mortally. And for the reſt of the women, they ſtood all in awe of the cabal; ſave only Salome, who gave the king plainly to underſtand the truth of the matter, and that their ſecret meetings and conſultations were not for his ſervice.

Salome gives the king notice of the faction.

The king highly offended at it. After this they met no more in publick.

When the women came to underſtand that the king had notice of theſe conventicles, and took great offence at them, they gave over that open way of caballing, and on the contrary, to prevent ſuſpicion, wou'd be quarrelling, and thwarting one another in the king's hearing, as if they were rather enemies than conſpirators. Antipater, under the cloak of this diſguiſe, made direct ſport with Pheroras, and betwixt jeſt and earneſt banter'd and abuſed him: but then they ſtill kept up their nightly clubs and aſſemblies, and the more they were obſerv'd, the more they ſtuck together. But nothing of all this eſcap'd Salome, who made continual diſcoveries of it to the king. This put Herod into a rage, eſpecially againſt the wife of Pheroras: againſt whom Salome laid the heavieſt charge.

But the night-clubs went on ſtill. Salome a ſpy upon them, but preſſed hardeſt upon the wife of Pheroras.

Herod, upon this, call'd a council of his friends and relations, and among other foul practices, exhibited a complaint againſt her for affronting his daughters; engaging the Phariſees againſt him, and giving his brother a potion to make him hate him. "And now, (ſays "Herod) turning to Pheroras, which of the "two would you part with, your brother or "your wife, if it were put to your choice? "I would rather part with my life itſelf (ſays "Pheroras) than with my dear wife." This anſwer ſtagger'd Herod, and thereupon he gave Antipater in charge, that he ſhould never entertain any diſcourſe, or have any thing more to do with either Pheroras or his wife, or any body elſe that belong'd to them.

Foul practices charg'd upon her.

Antipater not to nave any thing to do directly or indirectly with Pheroras or his wife.

Antipater made a ſhew of readineſs to comply with his order; but notwithſtanding this they ſpent ſeveral whole nights together; however, fearing a diſcovery from Salome, he ſo order'd the matter with ſome friends he had in Italy, that letters were written to Herod, by any means to ſend Antipater over to Rome, to make his court a-while to Ceſar. Upon this invitation, Herod immediately provided him a princely equipage, with money and all neceſſaries, and ſo diſpatch'd him away for Rome with his will and teſtament along with him: wherein Herod declar'd Antipater himſelf his ſucceſſor, and Herod after Antipater, whom he had by Mariamne, the daughter of the high-prieſt.

Herod ſends Antipater to Rome, and his laſt will along with him, &c.

Sylleus takes another journey to Rome, to try his old cauſe with Antipater over again.

Sylleus the Arabian made at this time another journey to Rome, (without any regard to Ceſar's command) to diſpute the ſame cauſe over again with Antipater, that he had formerly defended againſt Nicholas. It was a controverſy of great moment alſo, that he had with his ſovereign Aretas, having put ſeveral of his friends to death, and Sohemus for one, the moſt eminent perſon both for power and wealth in the whole city of Petra. He likewiſe corrupted Tabatus, one of Ceſar's governors, with a ſum of money to aſſiſt him againſt Herod; but Herod afterward out-bidding him, drew Tabatus off again from Sylleus, and made him receiver of Herod's duties. Now Sylleus finding that he came to no account, gave Auguſtus to underſtand by way of complaint, that Tabatus was not Ceſar's governor, but Herod's. This provocation tranſported Tabatus to ſuch a degree, that being as yet in great credit with Herod, he went

Sylleus's practices of ſubornation and corruption, laid open.

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* Al. Marthace.

† His nephew, not brother, unleſs the word brother be taken in a large ſenſe.

‡ Al. Livia.

and betray'd Sylleus to him; telling the king, that he had engag'd Corinthus, one of the guards, with a ſum of money, to join with him in a conſpiracy; adviſing withal, that he might be forthwith taken into cuſtody. The king made no difficulty of doing it at firſt word; for this ſame Corinthus, tho' he had his education in the court, was nevertheleſs by birth an Arabian; ſo that in a ſhort time Corinthus was not only taken up himſelf, but two Arabians more that were found with him; the one of them a friend of Sylleus, and the name of the other was Phylarchus, who being put to the queſtion, confeſs'd upon the torture, that he had prevail'd upon Corinthus for a mighty ſum of money to undertake the killing the king. Being interrogated and examin'd by Saturninus governor of Syria, they were ſent away to Rome.

A deſign upon the life of Herod, proved againſt Sylleus.

CHAP. XIX.

Herod baniſhes Pheroras the court, for refuſing to turn away his wife; who vows never to return while Herod lives. Herod falls ſick, and ſends for him, but he refuſes to come. Herod recovers, and Pheroras falls ſick. Herod viſits him, and he dies ſome few days after. Proofs of Pheroras's being poiſon'd, and by the advice of Sylleus. The witneſſes all agree. Antipater's coarſe way of treating his father. The diſcovery clear and certain. Herod's unmerciful rigour. The teſtimony of Pheroras's widow. His confeſſion at his death. Mariamne proved to be in the plot.

Ant. b. 17. c. 3. 5, 6, 7.

Pheroras and his wife baniſh'd the court.

HEROD importun'd Pheroras every day more than other to turn away his wife. He found matter in abundance to hate her for; but no way to puniſh her; till, in a frantick outrage, he baniſh'd both her and her huſband the court. Pheroras bore the affliction well enough, and ſo ſtrait withdrew to his tetrarchy, with an oath never to return again while Herod liv'd; and that nothing but his death ſhould put an end to his baniſhment. Herod fell now into a fit of ſickneſs, and ſent ſeveral times for Pheroras to come to him, as having ſomewhat to communicate to him before he dy'd: but Pheroras would not be prevail'd upon to go; and Herod on the other hand, beyond all expectation, recover'd. Pheroras, after this, fell ill himſelf, and Herod upon that occaſion gave a ſingular inſtance of his humanity and patience; for he gave him a viſit, and treated him with all the care and affection imaginable: but the diſeaſe carry'd him off in a few days. It was generally thought that Herod had a very particular kindneſs for Pheroras, to the laſt hour of his life; and yet there goes a report for all this, that he deſtroy'd him by poiſon. The body however, was carried away to Jeruſalem; a publick mourning appointed for him, and a moſt magnificent funeral. This was the end of one of the murderers of Alexander and Ariſtobulus. But the puniſhment of this wickedneſs fell afterwards upon the head of Antipater, the author of it; and his ruin took its riſe from the death of Pheroras; for ſome of his freed men, in the agony of their paſſion for ſo irreparable a loſs, went boldly to the king, and told him that his brother was poiſon'd, for his wife had given him ſomething to eat, that was neither dreſs'd nor ſeaſon'd after the uſual manner; and that, upon the eating of it, he was immediately ſick at heart. It was obſerv'd, that two days before, there was a cunning woman brought out of Arabia, at the inſtance of the mother and ſiſter, to prepare a philtre for Pheroras; but inſtead of a love potion, it prov'd to be a deadly poiſon, and given by the advice of Sylleus, to whom this woman was well known.

Pheroras vows never to return during Herod's life.

Herod falls deſperately ill, and ſends for Pheroras, who refuſes to come.

Herod recovers, and Pheroras falls ill.

Herod goes to ſee Pheroras, who dies of that ſickneſs ſoon after.

The body buried at Jeruſalem, with pomp and ſolemnity.

Pheroras ſaid to be poiſon'd.

A poiſon inſtead of a love potion adviſed by Sylleus.

HERE were ſo many ſuſpicions ſtarted, and the preſumptions ſo ſtrong, that the king order'd the putting of ſeveral perſons, bond and free, to the queſtion; one of them crying out in the extremity of her torments, "O God "(ſays ſhe) thou that art the ruler of heaven "and earth, avenge thyſelf and us upon the "mother of Antipater, for all the miſeries we ſuffer here for her ſake". When the king had gotten this light, he follow'd it as far as it would lead him; and a woman laid open the whole ſtory of the familiarity betwixt the mother of Antipater, and Pheroras and his women; their clandeſtine meetings; and how Pheroras and Antipater, when they came from court, ſat up and made merry with them all night, and not a ſervant admitted into the chamber. It was one of the free women that gave this evidence.

The witneſſes agree among themſelves, and with one another.

WHEN they came to be examin'd a part, there was ſuch an agreement in their informations, that the truth of the charge was no longer to be doubted. It came now into Herod's head, that Antipater's withdrawing to Rome, and Pheroras's (in effect) procuring his own baniſhment, were only contrivances to get out of the way; for they were often heard to ſay, that Herod's cruelty would never ſtop at Alexander and Ariſtobulus; but that they themſelves and their wives, muſt prepare to take their turns; for why ſhould any body hope to fare better at Herod's hand, after the execrable murder of his wife and children? So that there is no fence againſt this monſter, but getting out of his reach.

Antipater's ordinary way of treating his father.

THE women depoſed further, that Antipater would be often complaining to his mother, this: "When I (ſays he) am grey-head-"ed, my father grows every day younger and "younger; and who knows but I may die be-"fore I come to govern? Or what if my fa-"ther ſhould die before me, (as that may be "a long time firſt) I ſhall have loſt the very "reliſh of the pleaſure of a crown; beſide the "Hydra's heads that are now ſhooting out a-"gain in the children of Alexander and Ari-"ſtobulus: and as for my own children, they "are cut off by my father's will from any "pretence of claiming to the ſucceſſion; for "he has made the ſon of Mariamne his heir; "at leaſt if the will of a dotard may paſs for "any thing. But he'll take care to put a ſtop "to this diſpute, by not leaving one ſoul of "his family alive to pretend to't. He is cer-"tainly of all fathers that ever liv'd, the moſt "unnatural and malicious to his ſons; and yet "worſe, if it be poſſible, to his brothers:

“ witneſs the hundred * talents he gave me, never to have any thing more to do with Pheroras: and then when Pheroras cry'd out, what hurt have we done him? Nay, for that, (ſays Antipater) I wiſh he would but content himſelf to ſtrip us naked, and then leave us alive. But what can a body hope for from ſo very a brute, that makes the open profeſſion of friendſhip intolerable and dangerous? But, ſays he, here do we content ourſelves to meet and enjoy one another by ſtealth: whereas if we had but the hearts and hands of men, we might find means to aſſert our rights and liberties in another way”.

The diſcovery clear and certain.

This was the woman's confeſſion; and that Pheroras had ſome thoughts of getting away with them to Petra. It was a clear diſcovery, but the greateſt evidence of all to Herod, was the hundred talents; for he had only mention'd that particular to Antipater. So that he began with Doris, Antipater's mother, as the firſt object of his fury; took away all the ornaments, and precious things he had given her, to the value of many talents: and, after the rifling of her, he baniſh'd her. After this, upon the cooling of his choler, he caus'd Pheroras's women to be taken off the torture; but trembling all the while, and diſtracted betwixt jealouſies and fears. Nay, he was ſo ſtrict and cautious in his cruelties, that he put the innocent to the torture without diſtinction, for fear any of the guilty ſhould eſcape.

Herod's merciſeſs rigour.

The evidence of Antipater's deputy about the poiſon.

The next that took his turn was Antipater the Samaritan, the deputy of the other Antipater: and it appear'd by his evidence, that Antipater ſent for poiſon into Egypt, by a certain friend of Antiphilus, with a deſign upon the king's life; which he receiv'd from Theudion, the uncle of Antipater, and upon his order deliver'd it to Pheroras; who had taken upon him the doing of the deed, while he himſelf ſhould be at Rome, and out of diſtance to be ſuſpected: Pheroras committing the care of the poiſon to his wife to lay it up.

The evidence of Pheroras's widow.

The king ſent preſently, upon this, for the widow of Pheroras, and commanded her without any delay to ſhew him the ſecret ſhe had receiv'd. She went out in that moment with a pretence to fetch it; but caſt herſelf head long from the top of the houſe, to prevent both the torture and the diſcovery: but God's providence would not ſuffer Antipater to eſcape thus; for her fall was not mortal. She was taken up and carry'd to the king, and ſo ſoon as ever ſhe came to herſelf (for the fall had diſordered her ſenſes) the king put her to it, to tell him what made her take that deſperate leap; aſſuring her upon his oath, that if ſhe ſpake the truth, ſhe ſhould have no further puniſhment; but if ſhe falſify'd, ſhe ſhould die upon the torture, without allowing her ſo much as the rites of a burial.

After ſhe had kept ſilence for a ſhort time, ſhe expreſs'd herſelf to this effect: “ Am I, ſays ſhe, to keep ſecrets, now Pheroras is dead and gone, in favour of Antipater, who has been the deſtruction of us all? Great prince! give me the hearing, and I call that God, who cannot be deceiv'd, to bear witneſs of the truth of what I ſay. When you (ſpeaking to Herod) were upon a viſit to Pheroras in his ſickneſs, and weeping over him, my huſband call'd me to him. See, my dear wife, ſays he, how much I have been miſtaken in my opinion of my brother's kindneſs to me; for in plain terms, I hated him, and meditated the death of this man, that ſhews ſo generous a pity for me in my diſtreſs, (though yet among the living) but I have the juſt reward of my iniquity. And now fetch me immediately the remainder of the poiſon that Antipater gave you to keep, and burn it before my face: I ſhall carry the vengeance of a troubled conſcience into the other world elſe. I brought it as I was bid, and threw the greateſt part of the poiſon into the fire before his eyes; the reſt I reſerved for a time of need, in caſe of the worſt”. With theſe words, ſhe produc'd a box, with a little of the poiſon in it. The brother and the mother of Antiphilus were then put to the queſtion: and their information was that Antiphilus brought that box out of Egypt; and that he receiv'd the poiſon itſelf from a brother of his at Alexandrion, that practis'd phyſick. It look'd as if the very ghoſts of Alexander and Ariſtobulus had been every where at work to make diſcoveries, and to draw proofs from the moſt unlucky perſons and circumſtances. It was now evident that Mariamne the daughter of the high-prieſt had a hand in the plot; as was made appear by her brothers upon the queſtion: but Herod puniſh'd the mother in the ſon; for he ſtruck Herod the ſon of Mariamne out of his will, having formerly declared him in his teſtament the ſucceſſor of Antipater.

Pheroras's declaration and confeſſion at his death.

Mariamne prov'd to be in the plot.

CHAP. XX.

Bathyllus, a ſtabbing witneſs againſt Antipater: a counterfeiter of letters, and a notorious hypocrite. Pheroras's death ſtartles him. He goes his way to Sebaſte, where, to his wonder, no body owns him. He addreſſes himſelf to his father, who bids him prepare for his trial next day. The court meets; and the witneſſes are produced. A plauſible diſcourſe of Herod's to Varus. Nicolaus enters upon the proofs. Antipater's defenſe. Nicolaus ſharp upon him. The evidences of the poiſon brought in order. Antipater in a plot with Acme againſt Salome. A reſolution taken to put Antipater to death, but Herod's falling ſick prevents the execution. Herod ſtrikes Antipater out of his will; and puts Antipas in his place, and ſettles his Legacies.

Ant. b. 17. c. 6, 7.

Bathyllus, a ſtabbing witneſs againſt Antipater.

A ſupplemental poiſon.

Antipater counterfeits letters againſt the brothers.

The last and the moſt ſtabbing witneſs, in confirmation of all the reſt, was Bathyllus, one of Antipater's freemen, who was juſt now come back from Rome, and brought with him a ſupplemental poiſon; that is to ſay, the poiſon of an aſp, and of other ſerpents, for Pheroras and his wife to finiſh the work withal, if the other ſhould fail; beſide another invention over and above: which was, the counterfeiting of ſeveral letters againſt the brothers, which were of Antipater's compoſition.

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* One hundred Jewiſh talents (as has been before obſerved) weighed elven thouſand four hundred and ſix pounds and ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to thirty four thouſand two hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen ſhillings, and in gold to five hundred forty ſeven thouſand and five hundred pounds Engliſh money.

Archelaus and Philip princes of great hope.

Antipater a great dealer in forgery, and falſe intelligence.

Nothing but fraud and hypocriſy.

Archelaus and Philip were at that time at Rome, in the courſe of their ſtudies. They were now grown up, and young men of great hope and courage; and beſides all that, the ſons of the king, and ſo dangerous an obſtacle in Antipater's way to preferment, that he had little hope of gaining his point, unleſs he could get them removed: and in order to that end, he got letters forg'd againſt them in the name of ſeveral of his friends then living at Rome; ſome of them altogether upon the ſubject of their irreverent diſcourſes upon their father; openly and violently exclaiming againſt the death of Alexander and Ariſtobulus; taking it very ill that they ſhould be now ſent for from Rome, for their father had order'd them to return home: and this was the thing that troubled Antipater more than all the reſt. Nay, Antipater was in a practice of forgery, and ſecret intelligence, even before he left Judea, and procur'd letters from Rome to Herod upon the ſame ſubject; while he himſelf, for the avoiding of ſuſpicion, apply'd himſelf to his father as a kind of advocate for his brothers. "He hop'd they were not ſo bad, he ſaid, "ſome things might be falſe, and others "might have more of the heat and raſhneſs of "youth in them than of malice". It was a vaſt expence he was at all this while upon his intelligences, toward the deſtruction of his brothers: and to confound the account, he brought a great many rich garments, carpets, gold and ſilver plate, and ſeveral other curioſities of great price, to the value of two * hundred talents upon the whole; which he plac'd to the account of the ſuit they had with Sylleus, as a blind to the ſubornation.

Thus it went, but the greater evil ſwallow'd up the leſs: for when the whole country rung of the parricide, and all letters and witneſſes agreed in the proof and deteſtation of a repeated deſign upon the lives of the brothers, there was not ſo much as one word mention'd upon the road out of Judea, of the preſent ſtate of Herod's family; though it was now full ſeven months betwixt the proof of the fact and Antipater's return. But all the world hated him, or who knows but it might be a peculiar providence that ſtopp'd people's mouths, that would otherwiſe have been blabbing; in order to the execution of a divine vengeance upon ſo many horrid murders?

Herod in pain till he had Antipater ſure.

The news of Pheroras's death ſtartled Antipater upon divers accounts.

Antipater wrote Herod word now, that he was juſt entring upon his journey, and how honourably Ceſar had treated him, and diſmiſs'd him. But the king was ſtill in pain till he had him ſure; ſo that for fear of having him diverted by any precaution, he wrote him the kindeſt letters, in pretence, imaginable; and, in a familiar way, deſir'd him to be with him as ſoon as poſſible; for if he made haſte, he might compound for his mother's fault; whom Antipater knew to be baniſh'd already. The firſt notice he had of the death of Pheroras was by a letter he received at Tarentum; which wounded him to the very heart. Some look'd upon it as a matter of decency and good nature in ſo near a relation, but others again of more diſcernment, imputed this exceſs of ſorrow, not ſo much to his tenderneſs for Pheroras, as for the loſs of ſo wicked and neceſſary an inſtrument, and for the diſappointment of the plot: beſide that he was in ſome apprehenſion too of being detected in what he had done, and for fear the ſtory of the poiſon ſhould come out Upon his coming into Cilicia, he receiv'd his father's letter above-mentioned: and then haſten'd away preſently.

Antipater's friends divided, whether he ſhould return to his father or not.

The latter carried it, and ſo he went forward to Sebaſte. When Antipater came to the place, to his great admiration, not a creature would own him.

At his coming to Celenderis, he had a kind of inward foreboding upon him: and, in particular, his mother's condition fill'd his ſoul with frightful apprehenſions. The wiſer and more cautious part of his friends, were abſolutely againſt going to his father, till he were certainly inform'd upon what pretence his mother was divorced, for fear he himſelf ſhould come to be involved in his mother's crime. But the leſs conſiderate of his friends were altogether for being at home again, without any regard to Antipater's Intereſt: they counſel'd him by all means to make all imaginable haſte, for fear his delay might render him ſuſpected, and ſuggeſt matter for calumny to work upon. For if any thing ſhould be mov'd againſt him, it would be done in his abſence; and no man would dare to open his mouth againſt him, if he were upon the place; beſide that it would be a madneſs to hazzard a certain advantage upon a wild fanſy; whereas he was rather immediately to poſt away to his father, to be within diſtance of receiving a kingdom that could be no body's but his. Antipater was over-rul'd by the fatality of an impulſe, and ſo he proſecuted his voyage to Sebaſte a port of Ceſarea.

Antipater had nothing left him to truſt to, but confidence and impoſture

But upon his arrival, to his great admiration, the people all avoided him, and not a creature durſt come near him. They hated him as much before, 'tis true; but they were not ſo much at liberty to ſhew it: ſome were afraid of the king, for all the talk was now of Antipater: and Antipater was the only man all this while that knew the leaſt of himſelf. Never was any man more glorious at his ſetting out for Rome, or ſo abject and contemptible as he was upon his return. He was no ſtranger to the broils and confuſions of the family; but he had the wit to keep his fears as much as poſſible to himſelf, and with a chearful countenance to conceal an aking heart. There was no poſſibility of making an eſcape, or of any other way of relieving himſelf in this extremity: he had no certainty of the affairs of the family; for no body durſt come at him to inform him; ſo that he had now and then ſome intervals of hope, either that things were not diſcover'd, or in caſe of the worſt, he did not deſpair of bringing himſelf off by confidence and impoſture, which were the only two friends he had to truſt to.

Antipater enters the palace, and addreſſes himſelf to his father.

Herod turns ſharp upon him.

Being thus arm'd and prepar'd, he advanc'd without his friends into the palace; for his train was repuls'd with contempt at the firſt gate. It ſo fell out that Varus the governour of Syria was then preſent. Upon his entrance, he had the impudence to addreſs himſelf to his father, as in a way of duty and reſpect; but as he approached nearer him, Herod put out

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* Two hundred Jewiſh talents weighed twenty two thouſand eight hundred twelve pounds and ſix ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to ſixty eight thouſand four hundred and thirty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings, and in gold to one million ninty five thouſand pounds Engliſh money.

his hand to ſtop him, and with a down look cry'd out to him. “What! ſays he, ſhall a parricide preſume to embrace me? A curſe upon the impious ſoul of thee, for daring to come near me till thou haſt clear'd thyſelf of all thy crimes! And you have here your judge before you, Varus; who ſhall paſs ſentence upon you according to your demerit. Wherefore be gone, and prepare againſt to morrow for your defence, which is all the time I ſhall allow you.” Antipater ſtood mute, and without one word in return, went his way back again. His mother and his wife came to him afterwards, and inform'd him of the whole proceeding. This brought him to himſelf again, and to conſider what he had to ſay in his own juſtification.

And bids him prepare for his trial the next day.

The court met the day following. The witneſſes produced.

Herod, having a council next day of his friends and relations, call'd likewiſe the friends of Antipater to be there preſent; himſelf and Varus ſitting preſident. He cauſed all the witneſſes to be brought in; of which number there were certain ſervants of Doris the mother of Antipater, that had been long ſince priſoners. Theſe ſervants brought letters from the mother to the ſon, to this purpoſe: “Your father knows all, and therefore have a care of coming near him, unleſs you can depend upon Ceſar for his protection.” After the introducing of the witneſſes, Antipater enter'd the court; and caſting himſelf at the feet of his father: “I beſeech you, Sir, (ſays he) grant me an impartial hearing without prejudging my cauſe, and I make no doubt of proving myſelf to be an innocent perſon.”

Antipater at enters the court, and his father's feet prays only for an impartial hearing.

A plauſible diſcourſe of Herod's to Varus.

Herod call'd out to him aloud to hold his tongue, and ſo directed his diſcourſe to Varus. “I do certainly know, ſays he, that you, Varus, or any other unbiaſs'd judge, will be fully ſatisfy'd that Antipater deſerves to die; but I am afraid, in the mean time, what opinion you may conceive of my invidious fortune; as if this calamity were juſtly befallen me for being the father of ſuch children. But I have ſome right however to your humanity and compaſſion, for having been ſo indulgent a father to ſuch profligate wretches: as for the young men that are now dead and gone, I deſign'd them for the government, and train'd them up at Rome in the court and favour of Ceſar, the better to prepare them for the exerciſe of royal dignity; and none at laſt ſo great enemies of my peace and ſafety, as thoſe that I had raiſ'd in the world, even to be the envy of princes. But Antipater made his profit of their ruin; for he found his account in it, as a ſecurity to himſelf in the ſucceſſion. And what is the requital now that this monſter deſigns me for all theſe tenderneſſes, but the entering into a practice againſt the life of his father? I was likely to live too long he thought: nay, I had liv'd too long already, and that was his grievance. The crown alone would not content him, it ſeems, unleſs he made his way to it through the blood of his father. And in this truly he ſeem'd to have ſome colour of reaſon, for my bringing him back to court out of a private condition, to the excluſion of the ſons I had by the queen, in declaring him my ſucceſſor.

“Now to confeſs myſelf to you, Varus, I am convinc'd of my error. I did not do well to provoke my ſons by cutting off the ſucceſſion to their wrong, and in favour of Antipater; for what did I ever do for them comparable to what I did for him? He had a great part of the adminiſtration in his hands while I was living; and the ſucceſſion actually ſettled upon him after my death; and beſide other gratifications, a ſeparate revenue of fifty * talents, and his expences every where upon my charge; three hundred † talents upon his voyage to Rome, and the only perſon of my whole family that I recommended to Ceſar, as my preſerver. Take them all together, they had not half the wickedneſs in them of Antipater, and the proofs againſt them were infinitely ſhort of what I have againſt him; and yet this bloody wretch has the face to plead innocent, and does not deſpair I perceive of baffling the truth with a trick. Varus, look to yourſelf, for he will make a defence plauſible enough; but I know the beaſt thorough all his diſguiſes and impoſtures, and that he is falſe at the bottom.

“This is the man that was ſo earneſt with me, time paſt, to have a care of Alexander, and how I expos'd my perſon. How often would he come into my bed-chamber, and look about and ſearch for fear of treachery? This man was my guardian, and my ſecurity while I ſlept; my comforter in my mourning for the dead brothers; and one that would undertake for the duty of thoſe that were living: my champion, in fine, and my guard. When I call to mind, and conſider the addreſs, and the hypocriſy of this man, how artificially he laid his ſnares, and cover'd his deſigns; I can hardly think myſelf alive at this day, or how it was poſſible for me to eſcape the nooſe. But ſince my fate will have it ſo, and that my greateſt enemies are to be thoſe of my own family, and thoſe I have been the kindeſt to; I ſhall only deplore the hardſhip of my inevitable deſtiny, and keep my ſorrows to myſelf; but with this reſolution, that not one man comes off that ſhall be found guilty of thirſting after my blood, though all my ſons ſhould fall in the condemnation.”

Nicolaus enters upon the proofs.

Herod brake off upon this period, in a confuſion of thought, and gave order to Nicolaus, one of his friends, to enter upon the proofs. Antipater, who had lain proſtrate all this while at Herod's feet, now raiſ'd his head, and with a little exclamation addreſs'd himſelf to his father. “You have had the goodneſs, Sir, ſays he, to plead my cauſe; for how can I be a parricide, whom you yourſelf have ſo often own'd to have been your preſerver? If my piety be only impo-

Antipater's Defenſe.

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[*] Fifty Jewiſh talents, as has been before obſerved, weighed five thouſand ſeven hundred and three pounds one ounce and ten penny weight, and their value in ſilver amounted to ſeventeen thouſand one hundred and nine pounds ſeven ſhillings and ſix pence, and in gold to two hundred ſeventy three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty pounds Engliſh money.

[†] Three hundred Jewiſh talents weighed thirty four thouſand two hundred and eighteen pounds and nine ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to one hundred two thouſand ſix hundred fifty ſix pounds and five ſhillings, and in gold to one million ſix hundred forty two thouſand five hundred pounds of our money.

ſture and pretence, as you are pleaſed to ſay it is, how came I to be ſo crafty in one caſe, and ſo beſotted in another, as not to underſtand, that though men may be impos'd upon, yet the all-ſearching and the all-ſeeing eye of God, that knows our hearts, will not ſuffer ſo great a wickedneſs to paſs uniſh'd? God's vengeance overtook my brothers, becauſe of their undutifulneſs to you. But what temptation had I now to practiſe upon your life? The hope of a kingdom? Why, I did as good as reign already. Or was it that I thought you hated me? That was impoſſible, after ſo many demonſtrations to the contrary. Was I afraid of you? when quite on the other hand, others ſtood in awe of me, in conſideration of the zeal I had for your ſafety. Or was it that I wanted any thing? So far from it, that all my profuſions were ſupply'd out of your treaſure: ſo that certainly I muſt be the worſt, even of men, and of brutes, to be wanting in good offices toward ſo kind a father; being a perſon that you yourſelf, as you ſay, receiv'd into your favour, prefer'd to ſo many of your other ſons, and whom you declar'd king while you yourſelf were yet living; beſide other benefits, in proportion, to make me the envy of other men.

“Wretch that I am! and this fatal journey of mine to give ſo much time and matter for envy and treachery to work upon! But it was, Sir, for the ſervice of yourſelf, and of your affairs, that I undertook this voyage; and to keep Sylleus from putting affronts upon your old age. Rome is the witneſs of my loyalty, and ſo is the prince of Rome, and of the world, Ceſar himſelf, that has ſo often celebrated me for my reverence to my father. Be pleaſed, I beſeech you, to receive theſe letters that have more truth in them than all the forgeries that have been trump'd up againſt me: theſe letters are my juſtification, and the infallible arguments of a ſincere affection for you. You may remember, Sir, how unwillingly I took that journey to lay myſelf at the mercy of all the enemies I left behind me. It was your command, Sir, that ruin'd me, how unwillingly ſoever, in forcing me to give my adverſaries time for concerting their malice againſt me.

“If I had been a parricide, divine juſtice, either by ſea or land would have found me out. But I ſhall not lay the ſtreſs of my innocence upon that argument; for I know very well that with God's permiſſion you have condemn'd me in your heart already. All that I beg even in this ſtate, is only that I may not ſuffer upon the credit of proofs extorted by torment: but let me rather be put to the teſt, either of fire, ſcrews, or what other inſtruments of cruelty you ſhall think fit; without any mercy to a miſerable carcaſs: for if I am a parricide, no pain can be too much for me.” Antipater deliver'd theſe words with ſuch a paſſion of tears and outcries, that the whole court, Varus and all, were ſoften'd at it. Herod alone was ſo tranſported with rage at the ſenſe of the wickedneſs, and the clearneſs of the evidence, that all Antipater's tears and ejulations paſs'd with him only for matters of courſe.

Nicolaus very ſevere upon Antipater.

This declamation of Antipater's was followed by Nicolaus; who prefac'd what he had to ſay, with a diſcourſe upon the craft of Antipater, as the king had order'd; which upon the main, amounted to a mortal accuſation, without leaving any hope of mercy. For all the iniquities of the kingdom were imputed to Antipater; eſpecially the deſtruction of the brothers, which was manifeſtly the effect of his calumnies; beſides his practices upon the ſurvivors, as ſtanding in the way of his preferment. And it could not be expected, that he that could think of poiſoning his father, would ever ſpare his brothers. When he came to the proof of the poiſon, the evidences were produc'd in order; with aggravations upon the crime of Pheroras, who by Antipater's means had been induced to practice upon his brother; the king's beſt friends corrupted, and the whole palace fill'd with lewdneſs. This he ſaid, with a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, and ſo concluded.

The evidences of the poiſon produc'd in order.

In the next place, Varus call'd upon Antipater to anſwer for himſelf; who ſaid no more than that God was witneſs of his innocence, and ſo held his peace. Varus then call'd for the poiſon, and gave a draught of it to a condemn'd perſon, who dy'd immediately. He had afterward ſome private diſcourſe with Herod, tranſmitted the proceeding to Ceſar, and ſo departed the next day. The king kept Antipater in chains, and gave Ceſar an account of the proſecution.

Antipater in a plot with Acme againſt Salome.

Antipater was charg'd, after this, with a treacherous deſign upon Salome: for a ſervant of Antiphilus, at his return from Rome, brought the king a letter from one Acme, who waited upon the empreſs; wherein ſhe gave him to underſtand, that finding ſeveral letters from Salome to Julia, among her miſtreſs's papers, ſhe thought it might be a good office privately to ſend him the papers. Now theſe letters were ſtuffed with the moſt virulent ſcandals and reproaches upon the king that could be invented, and all of Antipater's contrivance; and Acme only employ'd as an inſtrument, for a ſum of money to convey them to Herod. And the thing was made yet more evident by another letter to Antipater from the ſame woman, in theſe very words. “I have written to your father, according to your direction; and I have likewiſe ſent him other letters. You may depend upon it that the king will never forgive his ſiſter after the reading of them. Pray take care when your ends are accompliſh'd, that you do not forget your promiſe.”

Herod grows ſad upon it,

And reſolves to ſee juſtice immediately done upon Antipater.

Herod falls ſick in that inſtant, and prevents the execution.

He ſtrikes Antipater out of his will, and puts Antipas in his place.

Upon the detecting of this forgery, and other ſubornations againſt Salome, Herod grew extremely ſad and penſive, when he conſider'd how narrowly Salome had eſcap'd the ſnare of Antipater: and he could not forbear thinking but that Alexander himſelf, might be taken off too by ſuch another impoſture: ſo that he took up a peremptory reſolution, without any more delay, to do juſtice upon Antipater in the name of the whole family. But in this very nick of time, Herod was diverted by a ſudden fit of ſickneſs from the execution of it. He ſent Ceſar however an account of Acme's part in the intrigue, and the treacherous practices againſt Salome. He alter'd his will upon it, ſtruck Antipater out of it, and ſubſtituted Antipas in his place, taking no notice of

Archelaus

He ſettles his legacies.

Archelaus and Philip, though the elder brothers, upon the ſuggeſtions of Antipater. He bequeath'd to Ceſar, beſide other conſiderations in money by the bye, a thouſand talents; and to the empreſs, her ſons, friends, and freemen, about fifty talents more; with lands, and conſiderable bounties to others. He gave alſo to his ſiſter Salome legacies to a mighty value. This was all ſettled accordingly by his laſt will.

CHAP. XXI.

Herod's miſery, both in body and mind. A tumult about Herod's golden eagle; Judas and Matthias the heads of it. Upon a report of Herod's being given over, the rabble cuts the eagle to pieces. The guards maſter the faction, and the people reaſon the caſe with Herod. The two ring-leaders are put to death. Herod worſe and worſe, and attempts a violence upon himſelf. Antipater put to death by Herod's order. Archelous declar'd ſucceſſor inſtead of Antipas. The death of Herod. A bloody order diſappointed. Herod's will read. Archelaus receiv'd as ſucceſſor to Herod with acclamations. The funeral ſolemnity.

Ant. b. 17. c. 8, 9, 10. The miſery of Herod, both in body and mind.

HEROD, betwixt age, ſickneſs, and grief, grew every day weaker and weaker. He was now threeſcore and ten, and ſo inconſolably afflicted about the death of his ſons, that in his beſt health he had no joy even in life itſelf. He was at this time very ill; but the thought of Antipater's being ſtill alive, was yet the moſt ſenſible part of his trouble; for his thoughts were intent upon nothing ſo much as the appointment of Antipater's execution, ſo ſoon as ever he ſhould find himſelf in condition to order it. And,

An outrageous tumult.

Judas and Matthias, the heads of it.

UPON the neck of theſe calamities, there happen'd a new broil upon a popular tumult; and the two heads of it were Judas the ſon of * Sephoreus, and Matthias the ſon of † Margalus; two ſophiſts, famous for their ſkill in the laws, and conſequently of great reputation among the people. They were mightily follow'd by the younger ſort, and their lectures daily throng'd and crowded with numerous congregations. When theſe rabbies found the king languiſhing, betwixt anguiſh of thought and diſtemper, they declared among their acquaintance, how fit a time that might be to vindicate the honour of God, in the demoliſhing of all works whatſoever erected contrary to his holy laws; averring that the ſetting up of images in the temple, or the likeneſs of any living creature, was abſolutely forbidden. Now this was underſtood to point at the golden eagle that Herod had plac'd upon the great gate; and ſo ſet the multitude at work preſently to pluck it down, as the moſt glorious hazard they could run, for their laws and their country, even if they ſhould die in the attempt; for ſuch an end would be follow'd with everlaſting life and happineſs, and with immortal honour; whereas none but narrow grovelling ſouls, and unthinking wretches, would rather chuſe to die in their beds of a diſeaſe, than fall a ſacrifice to religion and virtue. While this humour was a working, came the ſurprizing news all on a ſudden that the king was juſt upon the point of death: this made the rabble bolder, and more outrageous than before; inſomuch that they mounted the temple at noon-day, and letting down themſelves with ſtrong ropes, with axes they hew'd the golden eagle to pieces, a great multitude of people in the temple looking on. The captain of the guards had no ſooner notice of this uproar, but he fell in among them preſently with a party, ſeiz'd about forty of the || forwardeſt, and carry'd them away to the king. Are you ſo inſolent (ſays Herod) as to break the golden eagle? They told him Yes, they had done it. By what order? (ſays Herod again) By the laws of our country, they cry'd. Well! ſays he, and what makes you ſo chearful now when you are ſure to die? We are chearful, ſaid they, in the aſſurance of a better life after this. The king was ſo mov'd at this behaviour, that his anger put new life into him, and made him in ſome meaſure forget his diſeaſe. He call'd them over and over ſacrilegious and ſeditious miſcreants, under a colour of law to attempt the over-turning of the government: but, ſays he, like a company of wicked creatures you have behav'd yourſelves, and like ſuch you ſhall be puniſh'd. The people were afraid the ſeverity might go too far, and therefore made it their requeſt to Herod, that he would content himſelf with juſtice upon the ring-leaders and the priſoners, and ſhew mercy to the reſt. The king was at laſt prevail'd upon, and order'd thoſe that came down by the ropes, and the ** two heads of the faction to be burnt alive; and thoſe that were taken together, to have their heads ſtruck off by the common hangman.

They tamper the people into an uproar againſt Herod's golden eagle.

In this inſtant comes news that Herod was given over.

The rabble grows bolder upon it, and cuts the golden eagle to pieces.

The guards maſter the faction, and carry their priſoners to the king.

The people reaſon the matter with Herod.

The two rabbies and the ring-leaders are put to death.

A ſtrange complication of diſeaſes.

HEROD by this time was all over in pain from head to foot; a violent fever; an intolerable itching all over his body; gripes of the cholick; dropſical humours; windy pains in his ſtomach; his privy parts putrify'd, and crawling with worms; difficulty of breathing; broken ſighs; contraction of the nerves, and convulſions all over. Some were ſuperſtitious enough to make this calamity a judgment upon him, in revenge for the two rabbies: but yet notwithſtanding all the torments and diſeaſes he had to ſtruggle with, he was ſtill ſo deſirous of life, that in this very extremity he ſought for new remedies, and cheriſh'd ſome hope yet of his recovery. He croſs'd the Jordan, and try'd the warm baths of Callirrhoe that run into the lake Aſphaltitis; a water not only medicinal, but pleaſant to the taſte. His phyſicians then adviſ'd him to a bath of warm oil; but upon dipping into the veſſel he loſt his ſenſes, and his eyes were ſet in his head. This laſt fit was ſo ghaſtly, that his keepers broke all out into a clamour at the fright; ſo that the very outcry brought him a little to himſelf again. But at laſt when he found himſelf paſt all poſſibility of recovery, he order'd the ſoldiers fifty *† drachms a man, and money to a great value to be divided betwixt his governors and his friends.

Herod tries ſeveral remedies but to no purpoſe.

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* Al. Seripheus. † In the Antiq. Margalothus. || In the Antiq. b. 17. c. 8. ** The two Sophiſts.

*† Fifty drachms of ſilver (for ſuch we ſuppoſe to be here meant) amounted to about one pound nine ſhillings of our money.

When he came back to Jericho, and found his caſe deſperate, he did in a manner threaten death itſelf, by one of the moſt dreadful reſolutions that ever was heard of; the raging violence of his choler having put him directly into a flame. He ſent out an order quite thro' Judea, for the ſeizing of all the nobility, and ſhutting them up in the Circus ‖ or Hippodrome. Upon this, he ſpoke to Salome, and her husband Alexas: “I know very well (ſays “he) that the Jews will make holiday of the “day of my death; but I ſhall take care not “to want mourners, or a ſplendid pomp of “funeral ſolemnities, if you two will but fol“low my direction. Let it be your care then, “ſo ſoon as ever the breath is out of my bo“dy, to ſee the ſoldiers turn'd looſe upon “the perſons in the Circus, and put eve“ry man of them to the ſword. Now “this will be a certain way to make the “whole province of Judea, and every parti“cular family in it, true mourners at my “death.”

Herod leaves a bloody order with Salome and Alexas.

Letters from Rome of Acme's being put to death, and Antipater condemn'd to die

Herod, in the horror of his pains, attempts to kill himſelf.

Just upon the diſpatch of this order, Herod's deputies brought letters from Rome, that Ceſar had order'd Acme, the ſervant of Julia, to be put to death; and that Antipater was alſo condemn'd to die: but the letters ſaid withal, that if his father ſhould think fit to content himſelf with baniſhment, Ceſar would not be againſt it. Herod, for the preſent, was ſomewhat reliev'd by this meſſage; but then relapſing into his pains (as he was at that time afflicted with a violent cough) he had ſome thought of laying violent hands upon himſelf: and ſo took an apple, and call'd for a knife, as if it had been only to cut or to pare it. After he had look'd a little about him, for fear of being taken notice of, he rais'd his hand with the action of a man about to ſtab himſelf; but his nephew Achiab, perceiving it, ran up to him, and catching hold of him, prevented the miſchief.

A report in the palace that Herod was dead. Antipater treats with his keepers upon it, about an eſcape.

The king orders his guards to diſpatch him immediately, And makes Archelaus his ſucceſſor inſtead of Antipas.

There was preſently, upon this, a frightful outcry rais'd in the palace, on a report that the king was dead. Antipater was over-joy'd at the hearing of it, and had the confidence to treat with his keepers for a ſum of money to let him go; but the head officer did not only refuſe to comply with the propoſal, but went in that inſtant to the king and inform'd him thereof; who, upon the hearing of it, burſt out into an exclamation ſtronger than one would have expected from a man in his condition; and thereupon order'd his guards to go that moment, and diſpatch him, and to ſee his body depoſited in the caſtle of Hyrcanion. Upon this he alter'd his teſtament once more, and declar'd the eldeſt brother Archelaus his ſucceſſor, in the place of Antipas, and made Antipas a tetrarch.

The death of Herod.

Herod dy'd five days after the execution of Antipater, thirty four years from the death of Antigonus, and thirty ſeven years after he was declared king by the Romans. He was as fortunate a man as ever liv'd, ſaving the troubles in his own family, wherein he was the moſt unfortunate. He was advanced to the crown out of a private ſtate. He kept it a long time, and at laſt left it to his ſons.

Salome and Alexas diſappointed Herod's cruel order.

The ſoldiers knew nothing as yet of the king's death, ſo that Salome went out beforehand with her husband to the Hippodrome, and order'd all the people to be ſet at liberty that were ſhut up there (though appointed for death) and every man diſmiſs'd to his own home. This was upon a pretence that Herod had chang'd his mind. So ſoon as the company was gone, publication was made of the king's death to the ſoldiery; who being then drawn together into a body, at the amphitheatre of Jericho, Ptolemy, the keeper of the royal ſignet, entertain'd them with a ſpeech in honour of the deceas'd, whom he celebrated for a fortunate prince, condoling at the ſame time with the people for ſo ſenſible a loſs. After this, he read over a letter to them, that Herod had left for the ſoldiers, being a paſſionate recommendation of his ſucceſſor to the good-will and affection of the people. After this letter, he read the will; wherein Philip was declar'd heir of Trachon, and the neighbourhood to it; Antipas tetrarch, (as I ſaid before) and Archelaus to inherit the kingdom. Herod gave order for the delivery of his ring alſo to Ceſar; and to preſent him with the knowledge of the whole matter: for there was nothing to be done, diſpos'd of, or confirm'd, but by Ceſar's authority and direction: and for the reſt, the former teſtament to ſtand as it was.

Herod's will read.

Archelaus ſucceſſor to Herod, receiv'd with the unanimous acclamations of the people.

The pomp and order of the funeral ſolemnity.

This was follow'd by an unanimous ſhout of gratulations and acclamations, with a Long live Archelaus; both ſoldiers and people preſſing in with their good wiſhes and prayers. The next work was to be the interring of the body; wherein Archelaus ſpar'd neither for coſt nor care, and all the enſigns of royalty were made uſe of for the pomp and ornament of the funeral. The herſe was cover'd all over with an embroidery of gold and precious ſtones, and an intermixture of purple; and upon this was the body laid, and cover'd with purple too: a diadem upon the head, a crown of gold over that; a ſcepter in his right hand, and his children and near relations round about him: the guards and the Thracian troops, Germans and Gauls, march'd at the head of this ſolemnity, in a form and order of battle; all the reſt of the troops following their leaders alſo in very good order. And now to cloſe up the pomp, five hundred officers, domeſticks, and freemen, brought up the train. The body was carry'd two * hundred furlongs to the caſtle of Herodion; where it was bury'd according to the king's mandate. And this was the end of Herod.

‖ A place appointed for horſe races.

* Two hundred furlongs amounted to twenty five Engliſh miles and a quarter, and fifty geometrical paces over, which is juſt the twentieth part of a mile allowing a thouſand paces to make a mile.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Wars of the JEWS.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The ceremony of mourning and feaſting. The new king's declaration to his people. The multitude clamorous upon the ſubject of grievances. An uproar little ſhort of a rebellion. The guards worſted, till the army fell in with the whole body. Archelaus takes ſhipping for Rome, and Philip acts in his abſence. Sabinus advanced to Ceſarea in his way for Judea. Varus puts a ſtop to his journey. Sabinus goes to Jeruſalem, and demands poſſeſſion of ſome caſtles and monies. The officers civilly refuſe him. Antipas ſet up againſt Archelaus. Sabinus and Salome bring in a charge againſt him. Archelaus's defence. Ceſar hears both ſides, and proceeds to a trial. Antipater opens the caſe againſt Archelaus. Nicolaus for the defendant. Archelaus graciouſly receiv'd by Ceſar, and ſo the court is adjourn'd.

Ant. b. 17. c. 10. The ceremony of mourning and feaſting in the caſe of Archelaus.

THE neceſſity of Archelaus's going to Rome upon the death of Herod, prov'd the occaſion of new troubles. For after the ceremony of the ſeven days mourning was over, and the people magnificently feaſted, a cuſtom among the Jews that ruins many a man with the expence, for fear of being thought impious in the neglect; Archelaus, I ſay, after this ſolemnity, advanced all in white up to the temple, where the people received him with large expreſſions of reverence and reſpect: and he himſelf from a ſtately tribunal, and his throne of gold, ſhew'd as much grace and humanity to them.

His gracious declaration in favour of the people.

HE gave them thanks for the care they had taken of his father's funeral, and for the royal honours they had now paid to himſelf, as to an anointed king. "But yet (ſays he) till Ceſar, the declared lord and maſter of all, ſhall "have confirm'd the ſucceſſion, I ſhall not "entitle myſelf ſo much as to the name, and "much leſs to the power and authority of a "king. This was it, that when the army "would have ſet the crown upon my head at "Jericho, made me refuſe it at their hands: "though, ſays he, I ſhall never forget the "kindneſs and the hearty good will, both of "the ſoldiers and of the people, whenever "I ſhall come to be poſſeſs'd of regal power "from him that hath a right to confer it: "and let them depend upon it, ſays he, that "they ſhall find me upon all occaſions readier "to oblige them than ever they found my "father".

The multitude brake out into unreaſonable demands. Archelaus ſacrifices, and treats his friends.

THE multitude was mightily pleas'd with this declaration, and in the ſame inſtant put him to ſome ſort of trial how far he would be as good as his word. They ply'd him with ſeveral petitions; ſome to have their taxes eas'd, others to have them wholly taken off; and ſome again for a diſcharge of priſoners; but upon the whole matter, Archelaus deny'd them nothing. This being over, he ſacrific'd and feaſted with his friends.

The common people began upon the ſubject of grievances.

A LITTLE after Noon, there aſſembled a rabble of male-contents; and no ſooner was the common mourning for the death of the king over, but they began now to lament the people's grievances. "It was hard, they ſaid, "for Herod to put people to death for cutting down the golden eagle from the gate of "the temple": and this was not a diſcontent in ſecret neither; but what with tears, beating of breaſts, and impetuous outcries for the loſs of ſo many good men that effectually dy'd martyrs for the religion and laws of their country, the whole city rang with lamentations

And clamours for juſtice againſt Herod's mercenaries.

and mourning. “We demand juſtice, they “cry'd, upon Herod's mercenaries, the ac“curſed inſtruments that executed this wick“edneſs. Wherefore, in the firſt place, let “Herod's high-prieſt be turn'd out, and a man “of more piety and integrity put in his place”.

Archelaus finding there was no dealing with them by force, ſends his officers to quiet them by fair words.

An uproar little ſhort of a rebellion.

ARCHELAUS was tranſported at this to the uttermoſt degree of indignation; but being in haſte upon his journey, he was not at leiſure then to wait for a revenge: ſo that for fear of loſing his opportunity one way, and leaving a tumult behind him the other, he thought it more adviſable to deal with them by admonition and fair words, than by violence. Upon this, he ſent his maſter of the horſe to deſire them to be quiet; but the heads of the ſedition, ſo ſoon as ever he came up to the temple, fell to pelting him with ſtones, without hearing him ſpeak one word. Archelaus ſent after him ſeveral other meſſengers upon the ſame errand, and they all far'd alike; inſomuch that they wanted but number to make it a downright rebellion.

The feaſt of the paſſover. And a violent tumult upon that occaſion.

THE feaſt of unleavened bread was now at hand; the Jews call it their paſſover. This feſtival gave an occaſion for ſacrifices in abundance, and brought a great multitude of people up to the city upon the account of religion: divers of the faction of the two ſophiſts among the reſt, who came thither to lament the death of thoſe pretended patriots, took up their reſidence in the temple, from whence they would not remove; waiting for matter to inflame their party to a ſedition.

The multitude worſted the guards.

Till the army fell in and routed the whole body.

ARCHELAUS had the foreſight to ſend a band of ſoldiers and a tribune, with orders to ſeize their principals, if they ſhould be troubleſome: and this he did to obviate the danger of a general tumult. The multitude made head againſt this party: ſome they kill'd with ſtones, and the tribune himſelf came off ſorely wounded; the mutineers going as innocently back again to their devotions, as if nothing had been done. Archelaus finding to his coſt that this tumult was not to be appeaſed without blood, drew up his whole army upon them; the foot in the city, and the horſe before the walls. The foot fell upon them, even in the act of ſacrificing, and kill'd near three thouſand of their men at the very altar. The remainder fled to the mountains; and Archelaus cauſing proclamation to be made for all people to depart to their own homes, put an end to the feſtival.

Archelaus, upon this, takes ſhipping for Rome. And leaves Philip to act in his ſtead.

THIS ſedition being ſuppreſs'd, Archelaus with his mother and his three particular friends, Poplas, Ptolemy and Nicolaus, took ſhipping together for Rome; leaving Philip behind him, both as his viceroy, and as a truſtee to manage his particular eſtate. Salome with her children went along with him, together with the ſons of the king's brothers, and others of the kindred, under a pretext of aſſiſting Archelaus toward the gaining of the ſucceſſion: but, in reality, their buſineſs was to call him to an account for the violation of the holy temple.

Sabinus was now at Ceſarea on his way for Judea

But Varus put a ſtop to his buſineſs, and his journey.

Upon the departure of Archelaus and Varus, Sabinus goes his way to Jeruſalem. Where he formally demands poſſeſſion of ſome caſtles, and Herod's money.

The officers put him off with a civil refuſal.

Antipas ſets up for the ſucceſſion againſt Archelaus.

The counſel of Ireneus Antipas chiefly depends upon.

AS they were upon the way, they met with Sabinus the governour of Syria, at Ceſarea; who was then going into Judea, to take poſſeſſion of the monies that Herod had left behind him; but Varus, at the inſtance of Archelaus, and upon the mediation of Ptolemy, put a ſtop to his journey: ſo that Sabinus, for Varus's ſake, neither meddled with the caſtles, nor with the money, to the prejudice of Archelaus; and paſs'd his promiſe, that he would do nothing in it, but with Ceſar's approbation; and upon that account ſtay'd at Ceſarea. But yet ſo ſoon as Varus was gone for Antioch, and Archelaus for Rome, Sabinus upon the removing of theſe obſtacles, took his opportunity to go to Jeruſalem, where he lodg'd himſelf in the palace, and ſent from thence to the governours of the caſtles, and the officers of the treaſury, to put the one into his hands, and to give him an account of the other. But the officers were ſo juſt to the orders and inſtructions of Archelaus, as to obſerve them to a tittle; wherefore they put off Sabinus with this anſwer, that they were Ceſar's officers, not Archelaus's. Antipas, at the ſame time, put in for the kingdom too; inſiſting upon it, that the former teſtament was the better will of the two; and the ſucceſſion in that teſtament was ſettled upon Antipas: and he was ſure to have the intereſt of Salome and others of their relations that ſail'd with Archelaus, toward the ſupporting of that pretence. He carry'd his mother with him, and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus, and a try'd friend of Herod's; which went a great way in that caſe; for there were no two men dearer than they: but the perſon that he chiefly depended upon was Ireneus, a ſharp man, and an excellent orator. Antipas reckon'd himſelf ſo ſure in the ſtrength of theſe advocates, that whoever advis'd him to any ſort of deference, either to the ſeniority of Archelaus, or to the authority of his father in his ſecond teſtament, he would ſcarce afford him the hearing. When they came to Rome, all the enemies of Archelaus were ſure to join with Antipas: thoſe eſpecially who had a mind to ſhake off the yoke of government, or at leaſt to be under a Roman magiſtracy; and in caſe they could not obtain that, they would have Antipas for their king.

Sabinus's charge againſt Archelaus.

Salome's charge againſt him.

Archelaus's defence.

Ceſar hears both ſides, and proceeds to a trial.

ANTIPAS laid a great ſtreſs alſo upon the help of Sabinus; who had already exhibited an accuſation againſt Archelaus, by letters to Ceſar; with a character on the other hand, much to the advantage of Antipas. Salome and her companions ſtated the very caſe of the charge againſt Archelaus, and preſented it to Ceſar; while Archelaus did as much on the other ſide for himſelf, in a memorial under ſeveral heads for his own juſtification; beſide his father's ſeal-ring, and an account of what treaſure he left behind him; which was all tranſmitted to Ceſar by the hand of Ptolemy. Ceſar, computing with himſelf what he had heard on both ſides; conſidering alſo the greatneſs of the kingdom, and the variety of large revenues; the numerous family of Herod, together with the letters of Varus and Sabinus; he call'd the Roman nobility to meet in council; where Caius Ceſar, the ſon of Agrippa and his daughter Julia, was the firſt time commanded to take his place at the board; and ſo they proceeded to the trial.

Antipater opens the cauſe againſt Archelaus.

ANTIPATER, the ſon of Salome, an eloquent orator, and a bitter enemy to Archelaus, open'd the cauſe; ſuggeſting, in the firſt place; “That Archelaus had long ſince exercis'd ſo“vereign authority in effect, and that it was “now but matter of form to contend about “the name. For what ſignifies a hearing be“fore Ceſar, to him that has already refus'd him for a judge? for Herod was no ſooner dead, but people were immediately engag'd, and ſuborn'd to ſet the crown upon his head; while he himſelf did not only ſit like a king in a royal ſtate, and upon a golden throne, but act like one alſo; as in changing the order of the militia, diſpoſing of charges, receiving and granting petitions; exerciſing the power of life and death in publick crimes; ſetting his father's priſoners at liberty, &c. which are all regal privileges. Now for this perſon that has already engroſs'd to himſelf the powers and enſigns of royalty, to come to Ceſar only for the title of it, makes Auguſtus but a ſhadow of a prince, and a king in ſound, not in effect.

“AND then further, (ſays Antipater) what's all the ſolemnity of Archelaus's mourning for his dead father, more than an empty piece of formality? He affects ſorrow all day, and then ſits up feaſting and carouſing all night. And what was it at laſt, but the deteſtation the people had for his hypocriſy, that rais'd the late ſedition?” But the main ſtreſs of the charge was yet to come; which was, “a horrible ſlaughter about the temple. It was a feſtival day; the people gather'd together to worſhip, and pay their devotions, and they themſelves were made the ſacrifice. Their throats, in ſhort, were cut, and ſuch heaps of dead bodies pil'd up in the temple, as in the moſt implacable and mercileſs of foreign wars was hardly ever heard of. Now Herod was ſo well acquaintted with the cruelty of this man's nature, that it was almoſt impoſſible for him ever to give him the leaſt hope of a crown, ſo long as he was in his right ſenſes. And that, alas! was not the king's caſe in the latter teſtament: his mind was more out of order than his body; and he did not know what he did. Beſide that after all this, there was no diſability or defect charg'd upon Antipas the ſucceſſor by the former will; but people gave him the character of a prince very well qualify'd for the royal function. Or what if it ſhould be ſuppoſed now, that Herod was, in truth, ſound and in his right ſenſes? Archelaus has as good as abdicated the royal dignity by acting againſt the laws of the conſtitution. What havock would this young man make now, if he had Ceſar's authority to cover him in his cruelties, that does all this upon his own account without any power at all?”

ANTIPATER ſpoke abudantly to this effect, and a great many near relations of Archelaus gave evidence againſt him to the ſeveral points. When Antipater had now finiſh'd his plea for the plaintiff, Nicolaus roſe up for the defendant; who, in the firſt place, made it appear, “That the ſlaughter committed in the temple was not only of abſolute neceſſity, but the people that were kill'd were Ceſar's enemies.” He ſhew'd likewiſe, “That for the other pretended crimes, the preſent oppoſers of Archelaus were themſelves the adviſers of them.” As to the validity of the ſecond teſtament, he argu'd, “That it ought to ſtand, in regard that Herod had at that time the conſideration and reſpect to refer the confirmation of it to Ceſar. Now he that had the judgment to know the right lord and maſter, had certainly ſenſe enough to appoint the right heir.

Nicolaus for the defendant.

WITH theſe words Nicolaus concluded his argument, and Archelaus then ſtepp'd out on a ſudden and caſt himſelf at Ceſar's feet; who took him preſently up again with ſo ſingular a a grace of benignity and reſpect, that he gave to underſtand by it, he thought him worthy to ſucceed his father; but gave no poſitive determination at that time.

Archelaus caſts himſelf at Ceſar's feet, who receives him graciouſly.

THIS being done, Ceſar diſmiſs'd the council for that day, and enter'd into a deliberation with his friends what was to be done in the caſe: whether to chuſe any of thoſe that were in the will, for a ſucceſſor, or to make an equal partition of the principality among the whole family; for they were numerous, and it would require a great expence to maintain them all with honour.

And ſo adjourns the court.

CHAP. II.

The death of Malthace the mother of Archelaus. The Jews in an uproar, &c. The feaſt of pentecoſt. The people come flocking up to it from all quarters. The manner of the Jews drawing up. Sabinus preſſes Varus for relief; and takes ſanctuary in the tower of Phaſael. An aſſault given to the temple, and a bloody fight upon it. The Jews gall the Romans from the galleries above. The Romans ſet fire to the galleries, with a great ſlaughter. The ſoldiers pillage the holy treaſure. The Jews ſummon the palace, and ſit down before it. They offer Sabinus conditions, which he refuſes for fear of a ſnare, &c. Judea all over in factions and broils, &c.

BEFORE Ceſar came to any reſolution upon the ſucceſſion, Malthace the mother of Archelaus fell ſick and dy'd. At this time there came letters from Varus, out of Syria, of a revolt among the Jews; which Varus foreſeeing, went up to Jeruſalem upon Archelaus's journey to Rome, to reſtrain the incendiaries, and to keep things quiet. When he found this would not do, and that the multitude was ſtill unruly, he quarter'd one of the three legions he brought out of Syria, in the city; and ſo went back again to Antioch.

Ant. b. 17. c. 15. The death of Malthace the mother of Archelaus. The Jews in an uproar.

BUT when Sabinus came afterward to Jeruſalem, he furniſhed the Jews with new matter to work upon. For finding himſelf enforc'd with Varus's troops, beſide a band of his domeſticks, that were all arm'd, and within call, to ſerve the turn of his violence and avarice; his deſign was to get the caſtles, and Herod's monies into his hands, by force and menace upon the governors and other officers that had them in charge. It was now the feaſt of pentecoſt, or the fiftieth day; ſo call'd from the term of the revolution after ſeven times ſeven days. The people gather'd together in prodigious numbers, not ſo much for religion, as for ſpite and indignation; a world out of Galilee, Idumea, Jericho, and the country beyond Jordan, with the inhabitants of Judea; that for number and courage were more conſiderable than the reſt. They divided into three bodies, and pitch'd their tents in three quarters: one upon the north of the temple, another upon the ſouth, toward the Hippodrome; and the third to the weſtward

Sabinus enflames the quarrel.

The feaſt of pentecoſt. The people come flocking up to it from all quarters.

The manner of the Jews drawing up.

of the palace. So that the Romans were now beſet.

Sabinus preſſes Varus for relief, and takes ſanctuary in the tower of Phaſael.

SABINUS's heart began to fail him, betwixt the courage and the number of the enemies; ſo that he preſs'd Varus, by frequent expreſſes, to bring him relief immediately, or all would be loſt elſe. He took care of himſelf, however, and got into the tower of the caſtle that commanded all the reſt, which took its name from Phaſael the brother of Herod, that was ſlain by the Parthians. Sabinus, from this tower, gave a ſignal to the legionaries to break in upon the enemy; but he had not the heart himſelf to lead on the very men that he was to command. The Romans, according to their order, made a deſperate attempt upon the temple, and it came to a very bloody fight; but ſo long as the Jews had no help from above, either with darts or arrows, the Romans, being the better ſoldiers, had the advantage of them. But when the Jews afterward came to get poſſeſſion of the galleries, and to gall the Romans from over head, there were abundance of them kill'd, and at the ſame time out of diſtance to take their revenge; but hand to hand they would have been much too hard for them.

An aſſault given to the temple, and a bloody fight upon it.

The Jews gall the Romans from the galleries above.

The Romans ſet fire to the galleries, with a great ſlaughter.

UPON this pinch the Romans ſet fire to the galleries, which, for the workmanſhip, proportions, and ornament, were every way incomparable. There were abundance of the Jews that periſh'd in the fire; ſome cut off by the enemy upon their fall, others puſh'd off from the battlements, and, ſome again, in deſpair, choſe rather to die by the ſword than by the fire, and laid violent hands upon themſelves. Thoſe that made any attempt upon the Romans from the walls, were deſtroy'd without any difficulty; till at laſt, all of them being either kill'd or ſcatter'd, the ſoldiers made a booty of the holy treaſure, carrying off four * hundred talents. and leaving the remainder to Sabinus, all but what was carried away by ſtealth.

The ſoldiers pillage the holy treaſure.

The Jews ſummon the palace, and ſit down before it. They offer Sabinus conditions, which he refuſes, for fear of a ſnare.

Rufus and Gratus, two eminent officers.

THIS loſs of men and treaſure brought on an inforcement of a more dangerous body of Jews upon the Romans than the other, both for valour and number. They ſummon'd the palace, and ſet down before it, with a menace of giving no quarter, unleſs they immediately quitted it, and offering Sabinus liberty to depart with his legion, and what other troops he had about him, if he thought fit, as there were a great many court-volunteers, and three thouſand men of Sebaſte, (the braveſt fellows Herod had in his army.) Theſe were commanded by Rufus and Gratus; Rufus an officer of the horſe, and Gratus of the foot, both of them men of courage and conduct, and a conſiderable advantage to the parties they ſided with, even in their ſingle perſons. The Jews ſtill preſs'd the ſiege, and attempted the walls of the caſtle, calling out to Sabinus all the while to quit the place and be gone, without oppoſing himſelf any longer to the reſolution they had taken of recovering their liberties. Sabinus would willingly have gone off, if he durſt have truſted them; but their civility look'd ſo like a ſnare, that he ſuſpected it; and therefore, in the hope of relief from Varus, he ſtood the ſiege.

Judea all over in factions and broils.

JUDEA was at that time all over in tumults, and pretenders of all ſorts waiting for an opportunity to break in upon the government; as there were gotten together a band of two thouſand veterans in Idumea, that had formerly ſerv'd under Herod. They were well arm'd and appointed, and had ſeveral encounters with the king's troops, particularly with Achiab, Herod's kinſman, who had often to do with them upon ſallies out of wall'd towns, but in the plain field he was not able to deal with them.

The perſon and exploits of Judas the ſon of Hezekias, the great robber.

IN Sepphoris of Galilee there was one Judas, the ſon of Hezekias, (the famous captain of the robbers, formerly taken by Herod.) This Judas had at that time gather'd together a conſiderable body of men, forcing the king's magazines, and arming himſelf and his companions out of thoſe ſtores, ſetting himſelf againſt all oppoſers, and extremely haraſſing the country.

Simon formerly a ſervant of Herod's.

THERE was then alſo on the other ſide of the river, one Simon, formerly a domeſtick of Herod's. He was a man of a prodigious ſize and ſtature, a robuſt body, and of ſo exact a ſymmetry, that nothing could be more graceful in the proportions of one part to another. He conducted a parcel of thieves, and went up and down roving with a crown upon his head, burning and laying waſte wherever he came as at Jericho; he ſet fire to the king's palace there, and laid ſeveral glorious buildings in aſhes round about it; where, with much eaſe, he made himſelf maſter of a very rich booty. He was in a fair way to have gone through with his work, and made a clear country of it, if Gratus, who commanded the king's foot, had not brought his archers from Trachon, and a brave body of Sebaſtens, ſeaſonably in to their relief. In ſhort, they fought, and Simon was worſted, a great part of his foot cut off, and himſelf put to the rout; but as he was upon his flight a-croſs a ſteep bottom, Gratus gaincop'd him, and with a blow athwart the neck and ſhoulders cut him down. This was the end of Simon. But there was another gang yet of the ſame ſort of people that were gotten together about † Amathus and the borders of Jordan, which laid all the palaces in rubbiſh thereabouts.

Athronges, a ſhepherd, and his four brothers, men of ambition and courage.

THERE was alſo at that time a certain ſhepherd, whoſe name was ‡ Athronges, who had the confidence to ſet up for a king. He had a body to execute any thing, and ſo daring a reſolution, that he feared neither danger nor death itſelf; ſo that in the ſtrength of this impulſe he would run all hazards. He had for his ſeconds four brothers like himſelf, who ſerv'd him for his officers, both of war and council. They had every man his troop, and with theſe parties he made his incurſions. When he was upon any buſineſs of moment, he ſat mounted on his throne, with a crown upon his head, pronouncing judgment, and giving his orders like a very king indeed. At this rate the five brothers went on for ſome time, ſpoiling the country, and deſtroying whatever

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* Four hundred Jewiſh talents weighed forty five thouſand ſix hundred and twenty five pounds, and their value in ſilver amounted to an hundred thirty ſix thouſand eight hundred ſeventy five pounds, and in gold to two thouſand one hundred and ninety thouſand pounds Engliſh money.

† Betharamath Joſ.

‡ Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 12. al, Atharongeus.

ſtood in their way; the Romans in the firſt place, and the king's troops; nay, and the Jews themſelves, wherever they could make a booty of them. There was a convoy one day with corn and arms that the Romans were carrying to one of their legions. Theſe freebooters met them by * Emmaus, and fought them; they kill'd Arius the centurion, and about forty of his beſt men, and they had been all loſt, if Gratus with his Sebaſtens had not come in the nick of time to bring them off. Theſe ravagers went on a conſiderable while, committing great ſpoil and havock; and nothing came amiſs to them, either natives or ſtrangers. But in the end, three of the brothers were taken; the eldeſt by Archelaus, and the two next by Gratus and Ptolemy; a fourth render'd himſelf to Archelaus upon conditions. This was the end of the adventure of theſe five men; but Judea was at this time all overrun with a pillaging plundering war.

CHAP. III.

Varus joins with the Romans againſt the Jews. Sepphoris burnt to the ground. Sappho taken and pillag'd. Emmaus laid in aſhes. Upon the approach of Varus the Jews quit the ſiege in confuſion. The citizens waſh their hands of the ſedition, and compliment Varus into the town. Near two thouſand of the ringleaders crucified. Varus diſcharges the Arabians for their misbehaviour. The generoſity of Varus towards the Idumean Jews.

Ant. lib. xvii. c. 16.

Varus joins with the Romans againſt the Jews.

VARUS being given to underſtand from Sabinus and the chief officers at Jeruſalem, that the legion there was in danger to be loſt, he haſten'd with all poſſible expedition to their ſuccour, and ſo march'd with the two other legions he had under his command, and four wings of horſe, to Ptolemais, ordering the king's and the prince's auxiliaries to join him there at the rendezvous. The people of Berytus brought him an enforcement of fifteen hundred men well arm'd, in his paſſage. Upon his coming to Ptolemais, Aretas the king of Arabia (being a bitter enemy of Herod's) join'd him with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot. When he had drawn up his troops near Ptolemais, he ſent part of his army into Galilee, under the † command of his friend Gallus, who ſoon after encounter'd a party, and gave them a total rout, enter'd the city of Sepphoris, burnt it to the ground, and made all the inhabitants ſlaves.

Sepphoris burnt to the ground.

VARUS carried his army after this into Samaria, but ſpar'd the city, becauſe they had not intermeddled in the revolt. He encamped at ‡ Arus, a village belonging to Ptolemy, which the Arabians deſttoy'd for no other reaſon, but that he was a friend to Herod. The army advanc'd next to ‖ Sappho, a ſtrong place, which they took, rifled and pillag'd. The Arabians carried all before them with fire and ſword; ** Emmaus was abandon'd, and that they burnt by the command of Varus, in revenge for the death of Arius and his companions.

Sappho taken and pillaged.

Emmaus laid in aſhes.

Upon the approach of Varus the Jews quit the ſiege in a confuſion. The citizens waſh their hands of the ſedition, and compliment Varus into the town.

HE advanced from hence, with his army to Jeruſalem, where the Jews quitted the ſiege upon the very ſight of his approach. Some ſhifted away into the fields and the woods; but the citizens, on the contrary, carried it fair, and welcom'd him into the town. They had nothing to do, they ſaid, in the ſedition, but laid the blame upon others; and they were ſo far from joining with the mutineers, that they were as much block'd up in the town themſelves as the Romans. But it was an high day, and they could not hinder people from coming into the city. Joſeph the nephew of Archelaus, with Rufus and Gratus the king's generals, the Sebaſtens, and the Roman ſoldiers alſo in the military habit; theſe, in the firſt place, march'd all out of the town to meet him. Sabinus durſt not look Varus in the face, and had ſtole away ſome time before out of the town to the ſea-ſide. Varus in the mean time diſpers'd his troops up and down all over the country, in ſearch of the principal authors of this tumult. They took up great numbers of them, and for thoſe ſticklers that Varus found to be leaſt malicious, he order'd them to be kept in cuſtody, and for the reſt that were more criminal, he cauſed near two thouſand of them to be crucfied.

Near two thouſand of the ringleaders crucified. Varus diſcharges the Arabians for their misbehaviour.

VARUS had intelligence yet once again of ten thouſand Jews in arms about Idumea; ſo that he immediately diſcharg'd the Arabians, and ſent them home; for they did not act as men of honour and ſoldiers, but gave themſelves wholly up to ſpoil and rapine, laying the country waſte wherever they came, which was much againſt his liking. Upon the receiving of this news, he put himſelf at the head of his own troops, and march'd directly againſt the enemy; but before it came to blows, by the advice of Achiab, they ſurrender'd themſelves, and laid down their arms. Varus was eaſy to the multitude, but ſent the officers to anſwer for themſelves to Ceſar; ſome of whom Ceſar pardoned; but finding ſome kinſmen of Herod's in the number, he proceeded againſt them as traitors, for taking up arms againſt their king. By this means Varus accommodated matters at Jeruſalem, and leaving the ſame legion again in the city that he made uſe of before for their guard, he return'd to Antioch.

The generoſity of Varus towards the Idumean Jews.

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* Al. Ammaus.

† See Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 12.

‡ Ibid.

‖ Sampho, Antiq.

** Al. Ammaus.

CHAP. IV.

The Jews petition Ceſar for a free exerciſe of religion. Ceſar calls a Council of noble men and friends, to adviſe upon't. The Jews and their deputies on the one hand; Archelaus and his friends on the other. A bloody invective of the Jews againſt Herod and his ſons. Nicolaus ſtands up in the defence of Archelaus. Ceſar hears the cauſe; and ſoon after ſettles the government, and ſees Herod's will executed.

Ant. b. 17. c. 11.

The Jews petition Ceſar for a free exerciſe of their religion. Ceſar calls a council of noblemen and friends to adviſe upon it. The Jews and their deputies on the one hand, Archelaus and his friends on the other.

WHILE this paſs'd in Judea, there happen'd another diſpute with the Jews at Rome, that put a further delay to the pretenſions of Archelaus. There were fifty deputies, that had been ſent to Rome from their principals at Jeruſalem, before this confuſion broke out, (and it was with Varus's licenſe too.) Their buſineſs was to petition Ceſar in the name of the reſt, for a free liberty and exerciſe of their profeſſion; and there were eight thouſand Jews, inhabitants of Rome, who join'd with them in the requeſt. Ceſar called a council of the Roman nobility, and of his own particular friends, to meet in the temple of Apollo upon the Mount-Palatine; a ſtructure of his own erecting, and as rich and curious as coſt and ornament could make it. The council being aſſembled, there was a multitude of Jews and their embaſſadors ranged on the one hand, and Archelaus with his friends on the other. The kindred kept themſelves upon the guard, ſtanding a part as neuters; the envy and hatred they had for Archelaus would not ſuffer them to ſide with him, and then they were aſham'd on the other hand to take part with the ememies of a prince of the blood. Among others, there was Philip the brother of Archelaus, whom Varus ſent before, upon two friendly accounts; the one, that he might be within diſtance of aſſiſting his brother upon occaſion; the other, that in caſe Auguſtus ſhould think fit to divide the government among the children of Herod, he himſelf might come in for his ſhare.

A bloody invective of the Jews againſt Herod and his ſons.

THE accuſers were now to be heard; and the firſt point in queſtion was this: "What had Herod done contrary to the law? It was then urg'd, that he never demean'd himſelf like a king; but on the contrary, as the moſt intolerable tyrant upon the face of the earth. And his cruelty did not ſtop neither at the profuſion of innocent blood, and the violence of juſtice; but he made the very living wiſh themſelves dead. And he did not only tear the bodies of his ſubjects to pieces with torments; but ſtript his towns and cities of all that was choice and precious, and gave it away in oſtentation to foreigners; ſacrificing the very lives alſo of the Jews to ſtrangers. Inſtead of the bleſſings of our ancient laws and liberties, he hath left his people nothing but beggary and iniquity in exchange; inſomuch that they have ſuffer'd more plagues ſince his coming to the crown, than their forefathers ever felt ſince their deliverance from Xerxes, out of the captivity of Babylon.

"BUT the Jews have been now ſo wonted to ſlavery, that they are grown modeſt and patient under the yoke, even to the degree of entailing a voluntary ſervitude upon their poſterity, in the perſon of Archelaus, the ſon of the late tyrant; whom they ſaluted as king immediately upon the death of his father. They mourn'd for Herod, and offer'd up their joint vows for the long and proſperous reign of his ſucceſſor at the ſame time. And then, to put it out of doubt that he was the true ſon of his bloody father, he made his auſpicious entrance upon the government, with the ſlaughter of three thouſand citizens; and the better to entitle himſelf to the ſucceſſion, this butchery was his oblation to God of three thouſand victims; and all this upon a holy day, and the carcaſſes pil'd up in the holy temple.

"WHAT wonder is it now for men that have outliv'd ſo many miſeries, and eſcap'd ſo dangerous a rock, to own their averſion to this man, and to fall (if periſh they muſt) like men of honour with their faces to the enemy! All that the Jews deſire at the hands of the Romans, is only that Ceſar will judge the wretched remainder of them ſo far worthy of pity, as not to expoſe them to the rigour of their mercileſs oppreſſors; but rather to annex Judea to Syria, and range them under the laws and rules of the Roman government. It will then be ſeen whether the Jews are in truth ſo turbulent and ſeditious a ſort of people as they are given out to be; when they fall once into the hands of human and temperate governours. With this petition the deputies cloſ'd their charge.

Nicolaus ſtands up in the defenſe of Archelaus.

NICOLAUS, in his reply, clear'd the kings in the firſt place of the crimes ſuggeſted againſt them, and ſo proceeded to a character of the very nation of the Jews; ſetting them forth to be a people uneaſy under any government, but naturally averſe to kingſhip; concluding his diſcourſe with ſome remarks upon the relations of Archelaus, who join'd with his accuſers.

Ceſar hears the cauſe, and ſoon after ſettles the government, and ſees Herod's will executed.

WHEN Ceſar had heard both ſides, he diſſolv'd the court, and after ſome few days beſtow'd upon Archelaus one half of the kingdom under the name of an Ethnarchy, and with a promiſe to make him king in a ſhort time, if he found he behav'd himſelf ſo asto deſerve it. The other half he divided into two tetrarchies, which he gave to two other ſons of Herod: one to Philip, the other to Antipas; who had a diſpute with Archelaus about the ſovereignty. There fell to his ſhare the country beyond the river, and Galilee; of two hundred * talents yearly value. But Batanea, Trachon, and Auranitis, and ſome part of the land of † Zeno about Jamnia: this was aſſign'd to Philip, and yielded a revenue of an hundred ‡ talents. There fell into Archelaus's ethnarchy, Idumea, all Judea and Samaria; * which laſt was eas'd of a fourth part of their tribute, as a reward for not joining in the rebellion with their neighbours. Straton's tower, Sebaſte, Joppa, and † Jeruſalem, were all caſt into Archelaus's lot: but Gaza, Gadara, and Hippon (Greek cities) were detach'd from the kingdom, and annexed to Syria. The income upon the whole, to Archelaus, amounted to four ‡ hundred talents. Ceſar beſtow'd upon Salome, beſide what was left her by the king's will, Jamnia, Aſotus, and Phaſaelis: he gave her a palace alſo at Askalon; all which were valu'd at ſixty ** talents; but her palace was ſubjected to the juriſdiction of the ethnarchy. When Ceſar had diſcharg'd all Herod's legacies to his kindred, he gave to his two virgin daughters five hundred thouſand pieces of minted money over and above, and marry'd them to the ſons of Pheroras. But, in the end, upon the diviſion of Herod's patrimony, Ceſar made a generous diſtribution of a thouſand †† talents more, that were bequeathed to himſelf; reſerving only ſome particular things of little value, to keep by him in memory of the deceas'd.

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* Two hundred talents (as has been before obſerved) weighed twenty two thouſand eight hundred and twelve pounds ſix ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to ſixty eight thouſand four hundred and thirty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings, and in gold to one million ninety five thouſand pounds Engliſh money.

† Zenodorus, Ant. b. 17. c. 13.

‡ An hundred talents (as we obſerved before) weighed eleven thouſand four hundred aud ſix pounds three ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to thirty four thouſand two hundred and eighteen pounds fifteen ſhillings, and in gold to five hundred forty ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds of our money.

CHAP. V.

A counterfeit Alexander. The manner of the contrivance. The method and management of the cheat. The impoſtor detected, and condemn'd to the galleys. The firſt projector put to death.

Ant. b. 17. c. 17.

A counterfeit Alexander.

The manner of the contrivance.

The method and management of the cheat.

AT this time there ſtarted up a certain young man, by nation a Jew, and educated in Sidon, with the free man of a Roman citizen. This man took upon him to perſonate Alexander, whom Herod put to death; and went to Rome on purpoſe to ſet up the impoſture. He had with him, for countenance and counſel, another Jew, that was perfectly well inform'd in the train and intrigues of Herod's court. This Jew gave his companion his leſſon; which was, that the people employ'd by his father to put himſelf and Ariſtobulus to death, had ſo great a compaſſion for them, that they ſubſtituted two other perſons in their places, and convey'd the brothers out of the way. This paſs'd for current with many Jews in Crete; who furniſh'd the pretender there with plentiful ſupplies. He went from thence to Melos; where he was receiv'd again with ſtill more honour and bounty. Nay, and he carry'd the matter ſo fair too, that he took ſeveral of his friends along with him to Rome. Upon his arrival at Puteoli, the Jews of the place made him magnificent preſents; and Herod's friends treated him all the while as a ſovereign prince. The wonderful likeneſs, in fine, had got him ſuch credit, that as many as had ſeen Alexander would not ſtick to ſwear that this was the man. The ſtory made ſuch a noiſe in the world, that the Jews at Rome came all flocking in to ſee him: nay the very ſtreets and ways were throng'd where he was to paſs. In ſhort, the deluſion had ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed them, that they carry'd him up and down in a chair of ſtate, and ſpar'd for nothing either of coſt or reſpect that might ſort with his pretence.

The impoſtor detected, and condemn'd to the gallies.

The firſt projector put to death.

Now Ceſar calling to mind the lineaments and air of Alexander's face, (whom he remember'd ever ſince he was before him upon Herod's accuſation) he bethought himſelf of ſending one Celadus (who knew him as well as any man) to fetch the young man to him; not but that Ceſar believed him to be a cheat all along; but however, for the humour's ſake, ſomething was to be done in form. Celadus found him out; and upon the firſt ſight of him, concluded him to be a counterfeit; but when he came to conſider the coarſneſs of his skin, ſhape, and manner of addreſs, his ſuſpicion was confirm'd beyond all peradventure. The thing indeed that mov'd Celadus the moſt, was his bold way of out-facing people. Asking about Ariſtobulus; "He was very well, "he ſaid, but liv'd on purpoſe at Cyprus, to "be out of harm's way; for if they kept to"gether, there would be more danger of miſ"chief by a ſurprize". When Celadus had kept his countenance thus far, he took him aſide, and told him plainly, this is all a juggle, ſays he; do you but diſcover the author of this contrivance, and Ceſar will give you your own life for your pains. He promiſed him that he would, and ſo follow'd him to Ceſar; where he diſcover'd the Jew that had put him upon it, to get money by it: and in particular, the exact ſums that he had rais'd from the ſeveral cities impos'd upon by the deluſion, which were more than Alexander himſelf could have procur'd, if he had been alive. The impoſture was ſo comically acted, that Ceſar could not but ſmile at it: and yet, however, in the end, he condemn'd the falſe Alexander to a galley, (as a ſervice that his body was made for) and commanded the adviſer to be put to death; but for the fooliſh people of Melos, they had pay'd dear enough for their madneſs, he thought, in the expence; and ſo that charge was their puniſhment.

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* See Antiq. b. 17. c. 13.

† Some read Anthedon for Jeruſalem.

‡ Four hundred talents weighed forty five thouſand ſix hundred and twenty five pounds, and their value in ſilver amounted to one hundred thirty ſix thouſand eight hundred ſeventy five pounds, and in gold to two millions one hundred and ninety thouſand pounds Engliſh money.

** Sixty talents weighed ſix thouſand eight hundred and forty three pounds nine ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to twenty thouſand five hundred and thirty one pounds five ſhillings, and in gold to three hundred twenty eight thouſand and five hundred pounds Engliſh money.

†† A thouſand talents weighed one hundred fourteen thouſand and ſixty two pounds and ſix ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to three hundred and forty two thouſand one hundred and eighty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings, and in gold to five millions four hundred and ſeventy five thouſand pounds of our money.

CHAP. VI.

Archelaus baniſh'd for his oppreſſion, and his goods ſeiz'd. A foreboding dream. The dream expounded and made good. Another dream of the princeſs Glaphyra's. Glaphyra's viſion of her firſt huſband. She tells her dream, and dies within two days.

Ant. b. 17. c. 12.

WHEN Archelaus came to be ſettled in his ethnarchy, he did not forget old grudges, but ſeverely oppreſs'd both Jews and Samarians; and upon an embaſſy from both to Ceſar againſt him, in the ninth year of his government, he was baniſh'd to Vienne, a city of Gaul, and his eſtate confiſcated.

Archelaus baniſh'd for his oppreſſion, and his goods ſeiz'd. A foreboding dream.

THERE goes a ſtory of a ſtrange dream Archelaus had before his ſummons to attend Ceſar. He dream'd he ſaw nine large full ears of corn, and oxen eating them. Upon this he apply'd himſelf to ſeveral of the magicians and Chaldeans to unriddle this dream: ſome ſaid one thing, ſome another; but Simon, an Eſſene, gave it this interpretation. “Theſe ears of corn, ſays he, are years; by oxen, is to be underſtood changes, and overturning of things; as the earth is overturn'd with the plough. So many years as there were ears of corn you are to reign; and after many ſtrange revolutions, to die.” Within the compaſs of five days after this reſolution, Archelaus was call'd upon to plead his cauſe before Ceſar.

The dream expounded.

And comes to paſs.

Another ſtrange dream of the princeſs Glaphyra.

THERE was another memorable dream alſo of the princeſs Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus the king of Cappadocia, and the wife of this Archelaus; whoſe firſt huſband was Alexander, the brother of him we are now ſpeaking of, and the ſon of Herod; by whom he was afterwards put to death. This princeſs, fater his death, marry'd Juba the king of Libya; and upon his deceaſe went home again, and liv'd with her father in her widowhood. Archelaus the ethnarch fell ſo deſperately in love with her at firſt ſight, that he preſently put away Mariamne, and took her to his wife. In ſome ſhort time after this ſhe went back into Judea, and had there a viſion of her firſt huſband Alexander, appearing to her. “Audacious creature! ſays he, was not one huſband enough for thee after me? but haſt thou the face now to take a third, and this under my own roof? And which is yet worſt of all, my own brother? Theſe are injuries not to be put up. But this will not do: for I will have you again in ſpite of your heart.” She told this dream to her friends, and dy'd within two days.

Glaphyra had a viſion of her firſt huſband.

Glaphyra tells her dream, and dies two days after.

CHAP. VII.

Three ſorts of Jews: Phariſees, Sadducees and Eſſenes. Of the Eſſenes; their temperance, and opinion of marriage; their goods in common; their apparel, charity, and way of living; their ſcruples of conſcience. Men of peace and good faith; and againſt all oaths. The method of entring into the ſociety. Their way of puniſhing offenders. The juſteſt people alive. They have a veneration for antiquity. Strict obſervers of the ſabbath. They are commonly long liv'd; and firm in the contempt of death itſelf. Their opinion of the ſoul. Some of them pretend to the ſpirit of prophecy. Another ſort of Eſſenes. Of the Phariſees. Of the Sadducees. They are ſevere, even to one another; but inhuman to ſtrangers.

Ant. b. 17. c. 12.

THE eſtate of Archelaus being now reduced into a province, Ceſar ſent down Coponius, a Roman knight, with a full commiſſion to govern it. In his days, one * Judas a Galilean ſtirr'd up the people to a revolt; upon a ſuggeſtion, that in owning the Romans for their maſters, and in paying them tribute, they ſerv'd God and man both alike. Now this man was of a ſect by himſelf, and in truth without a fellow. There are among the Jews three ſects of † religion; as Phariſees, Sadducees and Eſſenes; the laſt is the faireſt of the three for the exerciſe of ‡ holineſs and ſeverity.

Three ſorts of Jews; Phariſees, Sadducees and Eſſenes.

Of the Eſſenes.

Their temperance.

Their opinion of marriage.

THESE Eſſenes are by nation Jews; the moſt united and friendly people one with another under the ſun. They have the ſame averſion to pleaſure that they have to vice, and reckon upon continence, and the command of the paſſions, as a virtue of the firſt rate. They have no great reverence for marriage; but for other people's children, that they take under their care while they are young and tender, they value them as their own fleſh and blood, and train them up accordingly. They are not yet againſt marriage, as enemies to the race and ſucceſſion of mankind; but they have an opinion that the fair ſex is frail and intemperate, and hardly to be kept within the compaſs of fidelity to one ſingle man.

As for the goods of this world, they have all in common.

As to the matter of wealth, and the goods of this world, they have it all in contempt, and do not ſo much as know what it is to be rich or poor; for it lies all in common, as a condition of the ſociety. By this means, no man ſhall be contemptible for being poor, nor honourable for being rich; but the whole party ſhall live like brethren, being all equal ſharers in one common patrimony.

Their apparel plain and cleanly.

THEY will not ſuffer any oil to come upon their bodies; for if ſuch a thing ſhould happen, they are never quiet till they get it out again. They value themſelves upon the plain ſimplicity of their appearance, though never ſo coarſe; provided only that their garments be white and clean.

The extent of their charity.

THEY chuſe their ſtewards, for the receipt and management of the revenues, out of the beſt men they have, and leave it to their diſcretion to make a diſtribution of them to every man in proportion, according to his need.

Their way of living.

THEY have no one certain place of abode, but diſperſe themſelves up and down into ſeveral cities; where they are ever ready and open to entertain all comers of their own ſect, and as free as if they were at home, though they never ſaw one another in their lives before.

And travelling.

THEY carry nothing about them when they travel, but arms for their ſecurity upon the highway. They have ſome body or other in every city to take care of their friends, that they want neither lodging, food, garments, nor other neceſſaries. The dreſs they wear reſembles that of children, when they are under the charge of maſters and governours.

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* In Rufinus 'tis Simon. See Antiq. b. 18. c. 1.

† See Jonſius de Script. Hiſt. Philoſ. l. 3. c. 4.

‡ See Druſius de tribus Sectis Judæorum, l. 3. c. 22.

They neither buy nor ſell one with another.

They never change either their garments or their ſhoes, but when the one is torn, or the other worn out. They neither buy nor ſell among themſelves, but help one another with what they want, and what one wants the other ſupplies; not by the way of exchange; but the one is oblig'd to give, and the other at liberty to receive.

Their ſcruples in matter of conſcience.

They are the ſtricteſt people in their piety of all men living. They make a conſcience of ſpeaking, one word of common buſineſs before the ſun riſes; but they have certain traditional forms of prayer for that occaſion, imploring particularly from * God, that the ſun may ſhine upon them. After this act of devotion, they are all diſmiſs'd to their ſeveral tasks and employments; and when they have ſtudy'd, and wrought hard till the fifth † hour of the day, they meet again with linen cloths thrown over them, and ſo waſh themſelves all over with cold water. Upon this purification, they retire to their cells; where no mortal of any other profeſſion is ever allow'd ſo much as to breathe among them. From thence they enter into a refectory, which they account little leſs holy than the temple itſelf. When they have ſtay'd there a while without a word ſpeaking, the baker brings up every man his loaf, and the cook every man his plate, or meſs of ſoup, and ſets it before him. The prieſt then bleſſes the meat, and none there dares ſo much as touch it till the grace be over. And ſo after dinner, another grace again; for they never fail to give God thanks both before and after meat, as the author of the bleſſing. This duty being over, they quit their habits, as in ſome meaſure ſacred; and ſo to their ordinary work again till evening. They go next to ſupper as before; where they ſit together, gueſts and all, if they have any, at the ſame table.

There's no manner of noiſe or diſorder in thoſe houſes. They ſpeak by turns; and this way of gravity and ſilence gives ſtrangers a great veneration for them. This is the effect of a conſtant courſe of ſobriety, in their moderation of eating and drinking only to ſuffice nature.

The reverence they have for their ſuperiors.

They are not allow'd to do any thing without the advice of their ſuperiors; ſaving only in offices of aſſiſtance and compaſſion; and there they are left at liberty; for every man is free to help the virtuous, and to relieve good men in want. 'Tis true, they are not allow'd to give any thing to their relations without leave of their governours.

Men of temper, peace and good faith.

The Eſſenes are againſt all oaths.

They are great maſters of their paſſions, men of good faith, lovers of peace, and their word at leaſt is as ſacred as their oath: for they do effectually look upon the taking of an oath worſe than perjury, and account of him for a liar, and a man of no credit, who cannot be believ'd without bringing in God for a witneſs.

They have a mighty honour for the wiſdom of the ancients.

They have a mighty reverence for the works and writings of antiquity; eſpecially in what concerns the good either of ſoul or body; as in the caſe of remedies for diſeaſes; the virtues of plants, metals, ſtones, minerals, and the like.

The form and method of entring into the ſociety.

When any man has a mind to come into the ſociety, they do not preſently admit him, but keep him out of the pale for one whole Year; admitting all of the ſame claſs to the ſame order of diet; giving every man alſo a pick-ax, a girdle, and a white garment, as aforeſaid. When a man has been long enough among them to give ſome competent proofs of his continence and virtue, they change his courſe of diet, and allow him the benefit of purifying waters to waſh himſelf: but he is not yet admitted to the table in the refectory, till he has ſtood a two years probation for his integrity and good manners; and upon that trial he is taken into the ſociety: that is to ſay, upon this further condition, before he can be eſtabliſh'd a member of the community.

With theſe further conditions.

He is firſt to bind himſelf by ſolemn execrations and profeſſions, to love and worſhip God; to do juſtice toward men; to wrong no creature willingly; no, nor to do it though commanded; to declare himſelf an enemy to all wicked men; to join with all the lovers of juſtice, and equity; to keep faith with all men; but with princes eſpecially, as they are of God's appointment and his miniſters. He is likewiſe to declare, that, if ever he comes to be advanc'd to any ſtation above his companions, he will never abuſe that power to the injury of his ſubjects; nor diſtinguiſh himſelf from his inferiors by any ornament of dreſs or apparel: but that he will love and embrace the truth and bring falſe ſpeakers to juſtice. He binds himſelf likewiſe to keep his hands clear from theft and fraudulent dealing, and his ſoul as untainted with the deſire of unjuſt gain: that he will not conceal from his fellow-profeſſors any of the myſteries of his religion; nor communicate any of them to the prophane, though it ſhould be to ſave his life. And then for the matter of his doctrine, that he ſhall deliver nothing but what he hath receiv'd; that he will endeavour to preſerve the doctrine itſelf that he profeſſes, the books that are written of it, and the names of thoſe from whom he had it.

These proteſtations are made uſe of as a teſt for new comers, and as a ſecurity to engage them ſtrictly to their duty.

Their way of puniſhing offenders.

Upon the taking of any man in a notorious wickedneſs, he is excluded the congregation; and whoever incurs that ſentence, comes probably to a miſerable end. For he that is ty'd up by theſe rites and ſacraments, is not allowed ſo much as to receive a bit of bread from the hand of a ſtranger, though his life itſelf were in hazard; ſo that men are driven to graze like beaſts, till the fleſh rots from the bone. In this diſtreſs, the ſociety hath ſometime had the charity and compaſſion to receive ſome of them again, when they were at the very point of death; computing that the puniſhment they ſuffer'd might in ſome degree attone for the offence.

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* See Sam. Petitus's Var. Lect. l. 2. c. 7.

† The antients begun to reckon their hours of the day at our ſix in the morning, which they call'd the firſt, the ſecond, the third hour of the day, &c. their fifth hour therefore muſt be our eleven o'clock in the morning.

The Eſſenes the juſteſt people alive.

In the adminiſtration of juſtice, they are the moſt regular and exact people alive. They determine nothing but what is carried by a hundred voices at leaſt; and when the judgment is once paſt, there's no recalling it.

The eſteem they have for their legiſlators.

Their debates in council.

Next to the ſupreme authority of God himſelf, they reckon that of their legiſlators; making it death to ſpeak ill of them, or to blaſpheme them. They aſcribe great honour to their elders, and to the majority of the people; and think it very reaſonable to obey the one, and to hearken to the other. When there are ten together in council, no particular perſon is to ſpeak, if the other nine be againſt it.

They make it a matter of immorality to ſpit toward the middle of the company, or upon the right-hand.

The ſtricteſt ſort of Jews in the obſervation of the ſabbath.

They are the ſtricteſt obſervers of the ſabbath of all ſorts of Jews; for they do not only make ready their ſabbath-day's meal the night before, to avoid kindling a fire on that day; but they dare not ſo much as remove a pot or a diſh from one place to another, or eaſe themſelves of the neceſſities of nature.

Upon other days, when they are preſs'd at any time to ſtep aſide, they take a pick-ax (as I ſaid before) and open the ground a matter of a foot deep; when they have diſcharg'd themſelves, they fill up the hole again, out of a ſuperſtitious ſcruple not to pollute the * beams of the ſun with ſuch an object. And though there be no more in it than a natural purgation, it is yet follow'd with the ſolemnity of a formal purification.

The people that make profeſſion of this manner of life, are divided into four ſorts, according to their reſpective obligations; and the younger are reputed ſo much inferior to their elders, that if they do but touch one another, they are fain to purify, as if it were upon the contact of a ſtranger. They live to a great age; many of them to an hundred years and upwards; which I aſcribe in a great meaſure to the ſimplicity of their way of feeding, and to the temperance of their manners.

They live temperately and long.

And ſtand firm to the contempt of torments, and death itſelf.

They are firm and hardy againſt all dangers too, and reſolute to the contempt of torments; inſomuch that they account an honourable death much more deſirable than life itſelf. We need go no further for the proof of this aſſertion, than to the war betwixt the Jews and the Romans. And upon ſeveral occaſions, what torments did the Jews endure! as burning, breaking of bones, and all manner of pains, rather than let fall one irreverent word of their legiſlator, or but touch one morſel of a forbidden meat. And all this, not only without ſupplications and tears, or any abjection of mind, but with a chearfulneſs of countenance in the very anguiſh of their pains; defying and triumphing over their very tormentors, and delivering up their ſouls with a ſerene conſtancy of courage, in the aſſurance of exchanging a preſent life for a better to come.

The Eſſenes opinion of the ſoul.

They firmly believe the mortality of the body; and that the ſoul, being of the ſame ſubſtance with the ſubtileſt air, is incorruptible and immortal; and, by a kind of natural inclination, or attraction, ſhut up in the fleſh as in a priſon. But when it ſhall be freed from theſe corporeal bonds, as out of a long ſlavery, it ſhall chearfully mount up to the region of endleſs bliſs. This opinion ſuits well enough with ſome conceits of the Greeks, who fancy a place beyond the ocean, where there's neither rain nor ſnow, nor raging heats, but only gentle refreſhing gales; and this do they make to be the ſeat of the bleſſed ſouls. As for the wicked ſouls on the other hand, they ſtand condemn'd to impetuous tempeſts, killing froſts, and everlaſting pains and groans, world without end.

This is much after the Grecian ſtory of the Fortunate Iſlands; which are the places ſet apart for the entertainment of thoſe glorious ſpirits they call heroes, and demi-gods: and then they have their hell too, in the deſcription of an infernal pit, with plagues and puniſhments for ſuch as Siſyphus, Tantalus, Ixion, Tityus, and the like; computing all this while the ſoul to be immortal, from the natural diſpoſition it hath to the love of virtue, and to the deteſtation of vice; for good men are made better even in this world by the hope of better things yet to come in another; beſide the check that it puts to impiety and lewdneſs, when men ſhall come to conſider, that though they may eſcape the eye and the ſtroke of human juſtice in this world, divine vengeance will yet find them out in that to come, and puniſh them with pains everlaſting. This is the Eſſenes philoſophy upon the ſubject of the ſoul; and we find very few, when they have once imbib'd this doctrine, that ever depart from it.

Some of them pretend to the ſpirit of prophecy.

There are among the Eſſenes alſo, that take upon themſelves to foretel things to come; building their confidence upon antient prophecies and holy writ; and not without preparatory ſanctifications to fit them for the work. But be it as it will, they ſeldom fail in their predictions.

Another ſort of Eſſenes.

There is beſides another ſort of Eſſenes, agreeing with the former in the ſame meats, manners and laws; but they are yet divided upon the point of wedlock; for they look upon thoſe that are directly againſt marriage, as the profeſt enemies of mankind: that is to ſay, in cutting off the ſucceſſion, and ſo extinguiſhing the race. Now if all people were of the ſame mind, the world would quickly be at an end. But they proceed with this caution yet, that the woman muſt be ſubjected to a three years probation, and if ſhe ſhall be found in a condition of health fit for child-bearing, ſhe ſhall be reputed after that trial qualify'd for marriage. The women are likewiſe to be cover'd when they waſh, as the men are; and this is enough ſaid of the Eſſenes.

Of the Phariſees.

To come now to the two former ſects, the Phariſees, and the Sadducees: the Phariſees are, in the firſt place, the great doctors of the law, and the beſt read men in the Jewiſh rites and ceremonies. It is, in effect, the firſt article of their creed, that, "Fate and God do "all"; and yet that whether we do well or ill, it is much in our own power which of the two; only that deſtiny interpoſes ſometimes in this or that particular. They believe the ſoul to be immortal, and they believe likewiſe a tranſmigration of the ſouls of good men into other bodies; but at the ſame time, that the ſouls of the wicked are tranſmitted into a ſtate of everlaſting woe.

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* See Sam. Petitus's Var. Lect, l. 2. c. 7.

Of the Sadducees.

The Sadducees, on the other hand, abſolutely deny fate. "God can do no ill, they "ſay, himſelf; and he leaves men at liberty "to do what they liſt". They have good and evil before them, and they take their choice. But for reward or puniſhment in another world, they underſtand nothing of it. The Phariſees, in fine, are ſociable, and live in a good intelligence one with another; but the Sadducees are harſh, and ill-natur'd even among themſelves, but directly inhuman and intolerable to ſtrangers. This is all I have to ſay of the philoſophy of the Jews, and I ſhall now return to the ſubject of my hiſtory.

They are harſh even among themſelves, but inhuman to ſtrangers.

CHAP. VIII.

Auguſtus dies, and Tiberius ſucceeds him. Pilate made governor of Judea. A tumult upon conveying Ceſar's enſigns into Jeruſalem. Pilate ſummons the Jews under colour of a hearing. The generous behaviour of the Jews prevail'd with Herod to remove the enſigns. Another broil about a tax upon the holy treaſure. Agrippa complains of Herod to Tiberius. A dangerous expreſſion of Agrippa's to Caius, and he was kept priſoner for it till the death of Tiberius. Caius Ceſar ſucceeds Tiberius; and advances Agrippa, to the grief of Herod and his wife. Herod, at the Inſtance of Herodias, addreſſes himſelf to Caius for his favour. Caius checks him for't. Herod and Herodias die in Spain.

Ant. b. 17. c. 1, 2.

THE ethnarchy of Archelaus, being now reduc'd into a province, the two brethren, Herod and Philip, (call'd Antipas) continued in the command of their tetrarchies. Salome dies, and bequeaths her toparchy to the empreſs * Livia; together with Jamnia, and a nurſery of palm-trees at Phaſaelis.

Auguſtus dies and Tiberius ſucceeds him.

Augustus being now dead alſo, after a reign of ſeven and fifty years, ſix months, and two days, Tiberius the ſon of Livia ſucceeded to the Roman empire. Philip the tetrarch built a city in Paneas, which he call'd Ceſarea; it was erected at the very head of the river Jordan: and he rais'd another alſo in Gaulanitis; which he call'd Julias. Tiberias in Galilee, was built by Herod; and ſo was Julias alſo in † Perea.

Pilate made governor of Judea. Ceſar's image and enſigns convey'd ſecretly into Jeruſalem. The people broke out into an uproar upon it.

Pilate was now governor of Judea; and being ſent thither by Tiberius to take charge of his command, he ſecretly convey'd late one night into the city certain enſigns of Ceſar's, with his image upon them. This put the Jews into ſo outrageous a tumult the next day, that they were all under the greateſt concern imaginable, to think what would become of their liberties and religion, if their laws were trampled upon, and prophan'd at this rate; for the bringing of images into the city was a thing abſolutely forbidden. This diſorder in the town was quickly ſeconded and inflam'd by a vaſt confluence of people from all parts of the province. The Jews, upon this, went in a great body to Ceſarea, to move Pilate for relief; and there they earneſtly beſought him to be tender of their laws, and to order the removing of the images out of the city. Pilate gave no heed at all to what they ſaid; ſo that the Jews threw themſelves flat upon the ground round about his houſe, and in that poſture they continued five days and five nights, without ſo much as moving from the place.

They petition Pilate at Ceſarea for relief.

Pilate ſummons the Jews under colour of a hearing, but in truth with deſign to cut them all off that ſhould oppoſe the receiving of the image or colours.

On the ſixth day, Pilate mounted the tribunal which was in the great ‡ court, and gave the Jews a ſummons, as if it had been only to receive his anſwer; when all on a ſudden, the deſign being ſo laid, and a ſignal given, the Jews were immediately ſurrounded with armed troops, three deep, quite round about them. This was ſuch a ſurprize, that the Jews might well be amaz'd at it; and in that inſtant Pilate declar'd that they ſhould die every man of them, unleſs they receiv'd the colours into the city; and upon that word he order'd the ſoldiers to draw their ſwords. The Jews in this confuſion caſt themſelves proſtrate, one and all before them, ſtretch'd out their necks, and offer'd themſelves to the execution; crying out with one voice, that they would rather die than ſee the prophanation of their laws. Pilate was ſo aſtoniſh'd at the daring zeal of theſe people in the defenſe of their religion, that he gave order preſently to have the ſtatues remov'd out of the city.

The generous behaviour of the Jews, prevail'd upon Pilate to remove the ſtatues.

There followed another broil about a tax upon the Corban.

This broil was follow'd with another. The Jews have a holy treaſure which they call Corban; and Pilate laid a tax upon it toward the charge of aqueducts, for the bringing in of water at the diſtance of three hundred ** furlongs. The common people were ſo tranſported at this impoſition, that they came in great numbers with loud complaints to Pilate about it, as he was upon the very tribunal. But he had the foreſight to provide againſt a tumult, by intermixing ſoldiers in diſguiſe with the multitude, to be in readineſs to fall on, when ever Pilate ſhould give the word: but with this caution however, in caſe of any uproar, to make uſe only of cudgels without drawing their ſwords. The people grew clamorous and unquiet; and upon that provocation, Pilate gave the ſoldiers the ſignal; who did execution according to their orders. There was a great number of Jews deſtroy'd; ſome were kill'd by blows, ſome were crowded and trampled to death, others periſhed upon the purſuit. The rabble took this rebuke for a warning, and gave over muttering; ſo that this ſeverity put an end to the riot.

The rabble affront Pilate upon the very tribunal. But by mingling ſoldiers with the multitude, the miſchief of the invention was utterly defeated.

Agrippa complains of Herod to Tiberius, who takes no notice of it. So that Agrippa keeps his credit ſtill, and makes his court to Caius.

Agrippa the ſon of Ariſtobulus, who was put to death by his father Herod, went ſome time after to Tiberius with a complaint againſt Herod the tetrarch. Tiberius never minded the accuſation; ſo that Agrippa was eaſy and quiet at Rome, in the condition of a private man; and made his court the mean while to perſons of the firſt quality, and in particular to Caius the ſon of Germanicus. Agrippa was treating him one day with the compliment of a collation; and when he was well warm in his cups, and in the height of mirth and jollitry, he ſtretched out his arm with an exclamation: "Ah, ſays he, how glad ſhould "I be to ſee Caius maſter of the world in"ſtead of Tiberius." This was carry'd to Tiberius by one of the company; for which

A dangerous expreſſion of Agrippa to Caius, for which he was impriſon'd.

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* Julia, Joſ.

† In the region beyond Jordan.

‡ See Selden de Synedr. Hebr. l. 2. c. 15. p. 377. Ed. Amſtel.

** Three hundred furlongs amounted to almoſt thirty eight Engliſh miles.

he was confin'd and kept in great miſery till the death of the emperor, which happened about ſix months after; when he had reigned two and twenty years, ſix months, and three days.

Caius Ceſar ſucceeds Tiberius in the empire. He releaſes Agrippa; gives him a tetrarchy, and the name of a king too. This advancement went to the envious hearts of Herod and his wife.

CAIUS CESAR, upon coming afterward to the empire, enlarged Agrippa, and gave him Philip's tetrarchy, who was now dead, and the title of king too. This advancement of Agrippa went to the envious heart of Herod the tetrarch; and his wife Herodias was not wanting neither to the inflaming of his ambitious mind into the hope of the kingdom; and at this rate ſhe twitted him. "You were "lazy, ſays ſhe, and might have had it for "the asking, if you had but thought it worth "a journey to Ceſar. If Caius was prevail'd "upon to make Agrippa a king, of a private "man, he would never have ſtuck certainly "at making Herod a king, of a tetrarch." Herod was now prevail'd upon by his wife to go to Caius, and Agrippa his accuſer follow'd him incontinently. But ſo far was the emperor from gratifying his ambition, that on the contrary, he check'd him ſeverely for his avarice, and gave away his tetrarchy to Agrippa. Herod, upon this diſappointment, fled with his wife into Spain, where he died in exile.

The emperor with a ſevere check, gives away his tetrarchy to Agrippa. Herod and his wife die in Spain.

CHAP. IX.

Caius Ceſar ſets up for a god. His barbarous cruelties. Petronius orders Ceſar's ſtatues to be ſet up in the temple. Death without mercy to all oppoſers. Petronius marches with an army from Antioch towards Judea. The ſituation and deſcription of Ptolemais. Memnon's ſepulchre. The Jews petition Petronius at Ptolemais for relief; who ſummons them to Tiberias, and there reaſons the caſe with them. Petronius relents; and diſſolves the court once again, without coming to any reſolution. He promiſes his mediation to Ceſar; diſmiſſes the multitude, and draws off to Antioch. Petronius writes to Ceſar what had paſs'd, who, in return, orders the putting of Petronius to death; but the death of Caius prevented the execution.

Ant. b. 17. c. 13. Caius Ceſar ſets up for a god. His bloody and mercileſs executions. Petronius order'd to ſet up Ceſar's ſtatues in the temple. Death without mercy to all refuſers; and the reſt to be all made ſlaves.

CAIUS CESAR had the blaſphemous vanity, in this tide of his fortune, to ſet up for a god, and to aſſume to himſelf both the name and the worſhip. He ſtruck off the heads of ſuch numbers of the Roman nobility, that the very order was in a manner ſuppreſs'd, and his country diſabled, by thoſe frequent executions. And his impious cruelty did not ſtop here neither, but he carried it into Judea too; ſending Petronius with a commiſſion, and a charge to ſet up his ſtatues in the temple, and to put every ſoul to the ſword, that ſhould dare to refuſe them: and for the reſt of the Jews to make them all ſlaves. But God in his mercy order'd matters otherwiſe. Petronius marched away in all haſte from Antioch toward Judea, with three legions and a conſiderable number of auxiliaries out of Syria. The report of this expedition was ſuch a ſurprize to the Jews, that the greater part of them could not believe it; and thoſe that did, were not in any condition to provide for a defence; but the army being now advanc'd as far as Ptolemais, they were all ſeiz'd with a mortal terror.

Petronius marches with a great army from Antioch towards Judea.

The ſoldiers ſeiz'd at Ptolemais with a panick terror. The ſituation and deſcription of Ptolemais.

THIS Ptolemais is a city upon the coaſt of Galilee, ſituated on a large plain, and ſurrounded with mountains to the eaſtward at the diſtance of about ſixty [*] furlongs, but belonging to Galilee; to the ſouthward with Carmel, at about [†] a hundred and twenty furlongs to the north, with a very high mountain, call'd the Tyrian Ladder, at an [‡] hundred. About two furlongs[**] from the town itſelf, there was a little river called Belus, and not far from it ſtands Memnon's ſepulchre, bordering upon a proſpect of near an hundred [††] cubits over, which has ſomewhat in it that is very remarkable. There is the appearance of a round valley that yields a kind of a glaſſy ſand: the ſhips meet and carry it off, and as faſt as they fetch it away, the winds from the top of the mountains fill up the place again. It is the nature of that place to turn any thing to glaſs that comes into it. But the moſt wonderful thing of all to me is this; that after thoſe ſands are vitrify'd, 'tis but caſting any part of them upon the skirts of that place, and it turns to common ſand again; ſuch is the nature and condition of the ſoil.

Memnon's ſepulchre.

The Jews in a fright, petition Petronius at Ptolemais for relief. Petronius relents.

IN this conſternation, the Jews with their wives and children went to Petronius, at Ptolemais, and there beſought him as well for their country's ſake, as their own, not to preſs the violation of their laws to the ruin of ſo many miſerable people. The petitioners were ſo many and ſo earneſt, and their caſe ſo deplorable, that Petronius was prevail'd upon to leave his army and the emperor's ſtatues at Ptolemais; and ſo advancing toward Galilee, he ſummon'd the Jews of all ſorts to attend him at Tiberias. Being come to Tiberias, he enter'd upon a diſcourſe to them of the ſtrength and power of the Roman army, and the menaces of Ceſar; adding withal, that the Jews requeſt was in truth but a tacit affront; for why ſhould they take upon them to diſpute thoſe orders that all the ſubjects of the Roman empire beſide themſelves ſubmitted to; that is to ſay; the placing of the emperor's ſtatues in the temples among their other gods. This expoſtulation he told them, was within a little of a revolt; and next after Ceſar, he himſelf was concern'd in the matter.

He ſummons all the Jews to Tiberias. He expoſtulates the matter with the Jews.

THEY had nothing to ſay for themſelves, but that the laws and cuſtoms of their country would not allow them to ſet up any images whatſoever, either of God or man; or in any place whatſoever, either ſacred or profane. "Well, ſays Petronius, and am not I to keep my maſter's laws as well as you are to keep yours? Or in caſe I ſhould tranſgreſs them in your favour, ſhould not I deſerve to be puniſh'd; neither is it Petronius that oppoſes you, but Ceſar: for I am as much under command as you are yourſelves." The whole multitude upon this, broke out into an unanimous outcry, that if they were ſure to die for it, they would never yield to the violation of their laws.

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[*] Sixty furlongs amounted to ſeven Engliſh miles and a half, and ninety geometrical paces.

[†] An hundred and twenty furlongs amounted to fifteen Engliſh miles, and an hundred and eighty geometrical paces.

[‡] An hundred furlongs amounted to twelve Engliſh miles and an half, and an hundred and fifty geometrical paces.

[**] Two furlongs amounted to an Engliſh quarter of a mile, and three geometrical paces.

[††] An hundred cubits were ſomething more than an hundred and eighty two Engliſh feet, that is ſixty yards and two feet.

WHEN the noiſe and confuſion was a little abated; "What! ſays Petronius, you are reſolved then to take up arms againſt Ceſar? No, ſaid they, there's not a day goes over our heads, but we offer up vows and ſacrifices to God for his proſperity, and for the whole people of Rome; but if he intends to impoſe images upon us in the temple, he may as well maſſacre the whole people of the Jews; and in that caſe we ourſelves, with our wives and children, are all ready to ſacrifice our lives, and die martyrs for our laws and religion." Petronius was ſo divided upon this, betwixt admiration and pity, to ſee the invincible force of ſuch a zeal for religion, and ſuch a multitude of people united in the ſame reſolution, that the meeting broke up once again without any thing done.

Petronius ſo charm'd with the bravery of the Jews, that he diſſolved the meeting without coming to any reſolution.

Petronius reaſons the matter with the petitioners.

THE next day, and ſeveral days after, Petronius went in private from man to man, to ſome of the moſt eminent perſons among them, and ſpoke in publick alſo at the ſame time to the common people; one while adviſing them as a friend, and then minding them of the inſuperable courage of the Romans, and the danger of incurring Ceſar's diſpleaſure; "beſide, ſays he, that I am under an abſolute neceſſity of obeying my orders." But when he ſaw that nothing of this would work upon them, and that they had almoſt loſt their ſeed-time to attend this controverſy, having been already near fifty days about it, Petronius told them at laſt, that for their ſakes he was reſolv'd to expoſe himſelf to a deſperate hazard. "I will either ſatisfy Ceſar, ſays he, and ſave you and myſelf both at once; or, if nothing will ſerve him but extremities, I will lay down my life for you." And ſo he diſmiſs'd the multitude with a thouſand vows and prayers for him, and drew off his army from Ptolemais to Antioch. From Antioch he ſent immediately to Ceſar, with an account of the manner of his entring into Judea: how the whole nation were join'd in one common petition; which he was afraid could not be oppos'd or deny'd, without the hazard of the whole province. "They deſir'd nothing more, he ſaid, than the maintenance of their laws againſt all innovations." The anſwer that Caius gave to this letter, was an order for the putting of Petronius to death, for not executing his command. But it ſo fell out, that the bearers of this order were kept three whole months upon the way by contrary winds and foul weather; and in the mean time arriv'd the tidings of the death of Caius by a quicker paſſage, and ſeven and twenty days before the other.

And promiſes them his mediation to Ceſar.

He diſmiſſes the multitude, and ſo draws off to Antioch.

Petronius writes Ceſar word of what paſs'd.

Ceſar anſwers this letter with an order to put Petronius to death.

The death of Caius prevents the execution.

CHAP. X.

The army declares Claudius the ſucceſſor of Caius; and the conſuls meet about it. Agrippa in favour both with Claudius and the ſenate. He ſides with Claudius, and is ſent upon an embaſſy to the ſenate. Agrippa, in juſtification of Claudius, and the army. The ſenate's anſwer to Agrippa, and Claudius's return to the ſenate. A ſoldier ſtands up for the honour of Claudius. The ſoldiers deſert, and the ſenate follows their example. Claudius's party had been loſt if Agrippa had not prevented it. Claudius makes himſelf popular. He pays his vows and ſacrifices in form. His royal bounties to Agrippa and Herod. The vaſt wealth and power of Agrippa. The walling in of Jeruſalem. Agrippa reign'd three years, and dy'd at Ceſarea. The family of Alexander and Ariſtobulus.

CAIUS being cut off by treachery, when he had reign'd three years and ſix months, Claudius was advanced to the government by the army which was then at Rome. The conſuls, Sentius Saturninus and Pomponius Secundus, appointed, according to the reſolution of the ſenate, three companies for the guard of the city, and ſo they met in the capitol; where they determin'd to oppoſe Claudius for the barbarities of Caius, with a deſign to bring the government again to an ariſtocracy, as it was of old, when the worthieſt men were taken into the adminiſtration. It ſo happen'd that Agrippa came while this paſt, and was invited both into the council by the ſenate, and into the army of Claudius, as a conſiderable addition to what party ſoever he eſpous'd. Now Agrippa, finding Claudius to be as good as emperor already, he went over into his intereſt without much difficulty, and was immediately employ'd upon an embaſſy to the ſenate; giving them to underſtand, that the army's ſetting of him up for emperor, was an abſolute force upon him, and in truth, purely their act, whether he would or no: but that now, ſince the thing was done, he could not recede, either with honour or ſafety; for it would look like an undervaluing of the good will of the ſoldiers, to decline the dignity; as it would provoke them to a revenge, if he ſhould ſeem inſenſible of the obligation; telling them over and above, that now he was choſen, there was no declining it; for the envy of the choice would ſtick by him ſtill, even if he ſhould lay down the ſovereignty. But however, ſince the firſt point was over, and that he was in poſſeſſion of the government, he had determin'd within himſelf to attend and execute the office; not as a tyrant to domineer at will and pleaſure, but as a prince of tenderneſs for his people. He ſhould content himſelf with the honour of the name of emperor, and in caſes of ſtate to hearken to the advice of the ſenate; "for, ſays he, if Claudius were not modeſt and temperate in his own nature, the exemplary fate of Caius were enough to make him ſo."

Ant. b. 17. c. 14.

The army declares Claudius the ſucceſſor of Caius.

The conſuls ſet a guard upon the city, and meet in the capitol.

A change of government deſign'd.

Agrippa courted both by Claudius and the ſenate.

He eſpouſes the intereſt of Claudius, and is ſent immediately upon an embaſſy to the ſenate.

Agrippa in juſtification of Claudius and the army.

Claudius a prince of tenderneſs and moderation.

WHEN Agrippa had gone thus far, the ſenate (depending upon their credit with the army, and the prudence of their own conduct) made him this ſhort reply; "That they "were not a people to be made voluntary "ſlaves." Agrippa carry'd this anſwer to Claudius, who preſently ſent him back again to tell the ſenate, "That he was not a man to betray his friends who promoted him to the empire." He was very much troubled at the thought of having a quarrel with the ſenate: but if it muſt come to a deciſion by arms, Claudius deſir'd them only to appoint ſome ſpot of ground without the city for the place of battle; for it would be highly unreaſonable and unjuſt to have Rome itſelf laid in blood

The ſenate's anſwer to Agrippa.

Claudius's return to the ſenate.

and aſhes, only to gratify the humour of a few hot-headed people. This meſſage Agrippa had in charge from Claudius, and he deliver'd it accordingly to the ſenate.

A ſoldier ſtands up for the honour of Claudius.

WHILE things were in this diſpoſition and poſture, one of the ſoldiers who was there preſent ſtood forth, and drawing his ſword; "My fellow companions, ſays he, what's the "matter here that we are now at daggers-"drawing with the beſt friends we have, and "upon the very brink of a civil war, only for "adhering to Claudius? An emperor without "a blemiſh, and a prince that we ſhould ra-"ther treat with duty and reſpect, as our "protector, than with arms as an enemy". With theſe words he march'd off through the middle of the court, and the reſt of the ſoldiers follow'd him. This deſertion put the nobles into ſuch a fright for fear of the conſequences, that when they found oppoſition would not only be fruitleſs and inſignificant, but dangerous, they very fairly did as the military men had done before them, they went and declar'd for Claudius. In this interim, divers of the officious pick-thank ſoldiery lay upon the watch, with their ſwords drawn, under the walls, to diſpatch them at their coming out; and they had been kill'd every man of them, before Ceſar could have known any thing of the matter, if Agrippa had not given timely notice to prevent it, telling Ceſar plainly, that if he did not put a check to the licence of the army; eſpecially toward the nobility, there would be nothing but cutting of throats in a ſhort time, and inſtead of making him the maſter of a glorious empire, they would leave him only the prince of a deſart.

The ſoldiers deſert.

And the ſenate follows their example

The nobility had been all deſtroy'd, if Agrippa had not prevented it.

Claudius makes himſelf popular.

He pays his vows and ſacrifices in form.

His royal bounties to Agrippa and Herod.

CLAUDIUS took Agrippa's advice, and put the ſoldiers in better order, treated the ſenators in his camp with all honour and kindneſs; and then went out with them according to cuſtom, to offer vows and ſacrifices for the proſperity of the empire. He beſtow'd upon Agrippa, not only his father's kingdom entire, but thoſe places over and above that Auguſtus had confer'd upon Herod, as Trachonitis and Auranitis; with a command alſo that was call'd the kingdom of Lyſanias, appointing the particulars of this grant to be notify'd by proclamation to the people; and giving it likewiſe in charge to the ſenate, to have it cut in tables of braſs, and ſet up in the capitol. He gave the kingdom of Chalcis alſo to Herod, the brother of Agrippa, who was become his ſon-in-law too, by marrying Berenice his daughter.

The vaſt wealth and power of Agrippa.

The walling in of Jeruſalem.

Agrippa reign'd three years, and dy'd at Ceſarea.

AGRIPPA was now grown great in wealth and power, beyond all thought or imagination; and the treaſure that he got he did not ſquander away neither, upon vanities or trifles. His firſt enterprize was the walling in of Jeruſalem; and if it had been carry'd on anſwerable to the beginning, the Romans would never have been able to have taken it. But after a three years reign as king, he died at Ceſarea, and left the work unfiniſhed, having govern'd three years before in the quality of tetrarch. He left three daughters that he had by Cypris, Berenice, Mariamne and Druſilla, and one ſon, whoſe name was Agrippa. He was very young when his father dy'd; ſo that Claudius reduc'd the kingdom into a province, and made *Cuſpius Fadus governor; after whom Tiberius Alexander, who making no alteration in the laws and cuſtoms of the country, kept the people in peace. A little after this died Herod, who govern'd in Chalcis, and left by Berenice, the daughter of his brother, two ſons; Berenicianus and Hyrcanus; and by Mariamne his former wife, Ariſtobulus. There was another brother Ariſtobulus alſo that dy'd a private man, and left a daughter whoſe name was Jotapa. Theſe, as we have ſaid before, were the children of Ariſtobulus the ſon of Herod. But Alexander and Ariſtobulus were the ſons of Herod by Mariamne, whom the father himſelf put to death. The children of Alexander govern'd afterward in the Greater Armenia.

The family of Alexander and Aribobulus.

CHAP. XI.

Herod of Chalcis dies, and Agrippa ſucceeds him. Cumanus ſucceeds Tiberius Alexander. A beaſtly affront upon the Jews, and a horrible uproar upon it. Another tumult occaſion'd by a robbery. A ſoldier tears and burns the books of Moſes. The offender put to death. A quarrel betwixt the Jews of Galilee and thoſe of Samaria. Jeruſalem all in a flame about it. Cumanus marches to their relief. The rabble reaſon'd into their wits again. The countries infeſted with robbers, and complain of them to Quadratus. The riſe of the tumults charged upon the Samaritans, and the conſequences upon Cumanus. Quadratus goes to Jeruſalem to be farther informed. Ceſar gives Cumanus and the Samaritans a hearing at Rome. He paſſes judgment againſt them, and orders the execution of it. Ceſar's bounties. Claudius dies, and Nero ſucceeds him. Nero the worſt, and the weakeſt of princes.

AFTER the death of Herod who govern'd in Chalcis, Claudius introduc'd Agrippa, the ſon of Agrippa, into his uncle's kingdom; and Cumanus ſucceeded Tiberius Alexander in the kingdom of Judea. During the time of his adminiſtration, the Jews fell into new and grievous troubles. The people being gathered together at Jeruſalem in vaſt numbers to celebrate the feaſt of unleavened bread, and a band of ſoldiers ſtanding at the gate of the temple (as it was cuſtomary upon theſe meetings) for fear of tumults. There was one ſoldier among the reſt that turned up his back-ſide naked in the face of the congregation, and made a beaſtly noiſe with it, anſwerable to the brutality of the action. This put the whole multitude into ſuch a rage, that they preſs'd in throngs up to Cumanus for juſtice upon the ſoldier for that affront; and ſome hot mutinous young men, among the reſt, made a direct brawl and quarrel of it; falling on with hard words and ſtones, and ſtriking the ſoldiers. Cumanus, for fear of further miſchief by a popular uproar, ſent an enforcement of freſh men to ſupport the former. This put the Jews in ſuch a fright, that they ſhifted for themſelves to get out of the temple as ſoon as they could; but the paſſages were ſo crowded and wedg'd up, that upwards of ten

Herod of Chalcis dies, and Agrippa ſucceeds him; and Cumanus ſucceeds Tiberius Alexander.

A beaſtly affront upon the Jews by a ſoldier, at a ſolemn feſtival.

A horrible uproar.

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* Ceſſius Feſtus Ruf.

Ten thouſand ſmother'd in the preſs.

thouſand of them were trod and ſqueez'd to death in the preſs. This encounter made it a diſmal feſtival to the whole nation: there was nothing but tears and wringing of hands in every houſe; and not a family but had a ſhare in the mourning.

Another tumult occaſion'd by a robbery.

This calamity was ſcarce over, but it was immediately ſucceeded by another. One Stephen, a domeſtick of Ceſar's, was travelling upon the highway, with ſome houſhold-ſtuff of his maſter's. He was ſet upon near Bethoron, and robb'd, by a band of thieves. Cumanus ſent a party to take up the people in the adjacent villages, and bring them to him bound; making them anſwerable for not taking the highway-men. While they were upon this enquiry, a common ſoldier, happening in the ſearch to lay his hands upon the books of Moſes, tore them to pieces, and threw them into the fire. This brought the Jews together in multitudes, as if their whole country had been in a flame. They all met in the ſame inſtant, as if they had been mov'd by a machine; and then in the heat of a ſuperſtitious zeal, they repair'd immediately to Cumanus at Ceſarea: where they preſs'd him with violent importunities, not to let that wretch eſcape unpuniſh'd, that had put ſo audacious an affront upon God and his law. Cumanus found there was no quieting theſe people without ſome ſort of ſatisfaction, ſo that he commanded the ſoldier to be brought out, and put to death in the ſight of the multitude: and that put an end to the tumult.

A ſoldier tears the books of Moſes to pieces, and throws them in the fire.

Cumanus orders the offender to be put to death.

A quarrel betwixt the Jews of Galilee, and thoſe of Samaria. The occaſion and matter of it.

There happen'd at the ſame time an unfortunate difference between the Jews of Galilee and thoſe of Samaria. There was a certain Jew of Galilee, paſſing thro' a village call'd * Geman, in the great plain of Samaria, that was there kill'd, as he was going up to Jeruſalem to worſhip at a ſolemn feſtival. The people of Galilee preſently drew out a body to revenge themſelves of the Samaritans by arms: the better ſort of them applying themſelves to Cumanus, and adviſing him by all means, before it went too far, to go over to Galilee; and upon a ſtrict enquiry made into the matter, to ſee juſtice done upon the murderers. Cumanus, it ſeems, had ſomewhat elſe to do, and ſo diſmiſs'd the petitioners without entring into the cauſe. The ſtory of this outrage coming ſoon after to Jeruſalem, put the whole multitude into ſuch a flame, that they left the ſolemn buſineſs of the day; and in a confuſion, without either officer or order, reſolv'd to fall upon Samaria, in ſpite of all their officers could do to reſtrain them. The heads, both of the robbery and the tumults, were Eleazar the ſon of Dineus, and Alexander; who breaking into the borders of Acrabatena, burn'd all before them, and put man, woman, and child to the ſword.

Jeruſalem all in a flame about it.

The ringleaders of theſe outrages, and their merciless cruelties.

Cumanus marches to their relief, and puts Eleazar to the rout.

Cumanus, upon the news of this ravage, came with a Sebaſtene party of horſe to the relief of the country; took a great many of Eleazar's followers, and cut off many more. As to the remainder of this rabble, that made ſuch havock in Samaria, the great officers, and the leading men of Jeruſalem, went out in ſackcloth and aſhes after them; begging of them, and uſing all arts and arguments to make them quit their deſign. "Do not deſtroy Jeruſalem, (they cry'd) to be reveng'd of Samaria. Have pity upon your "country, your temple, your city, your "wives; which are in truth all at ſtake: "and do not ſacrifice all that is dear to you "in this world, to be reveng'd of one poor "Galilean." The reaſons prevail'd upon the Jews to deſiſt from their enterprize, and be quiet.

The rabble are at laſt reaſon'd into their wits again.

The countries are infeſted with robbers.

There was about that time moſt notorious robbing; as peace breeds villany. The countries were all over-run with freebooters; and upon the whole matter, it was but the greater thieves robbing the leſs. Numidius Quadratus being then governor of Syria, ſeveral of the heads of the Samaritans addreſs'd to him at Tyre, with a heavy complaint againſt the robbers that infeſted their country. There were divers of the Jewiſh nobility then preſent, and there was Jonathan alſo, the ſon of Ananus the high-prieſt. Now this Jonathan baffled all objections, with turning the blame upon the Samaritans, as the firſt authors of the tumult, in the death of the Galilean. He charg'd the conſequences alſo upon Cumanus, for want of doing juſtice in time upon the offender.

The Samaritans complain of them to Quadratus the governor of Syria.

Jonathan charges the riſe of the tumult upon the death of the Galilean, and the conſequences upon Cumanus, for not doing juſtice upon the murderer.

Quadratus goes his way to Ceſarea; thence to Lydda, and ſo to Jeruſalem, to be further inform'd.

Quadratus, when he had heard the cauſe, put off the further conſideration of it till he came into Judea, where he might have a more particular information. He went after that to Ceſarea, and there cauſed all thoſe that Cumanus had taken alive, to be crucify'd. Thence to Lidda, where he heard the Samaritans cauſe once over again, and cut off the heads of eighteen principal men of the Jews, that he certainly knew were dipp'd in the tumults. As to the two high-prieſts, Jonathan and Ananias, with Ananus the ſon of Ananias, and ſome other Jews of the firſt quality, he ſent them all to Ceſar; beſide ſome noble Samaritans alſo. He order'd Cumanus and Celer the tribune away to Rome, to anſwer for themſelves to Claudius. Things being thus ſettled, he went forward from Lydda to Jeruſalem; where finding the people in the middle of their feſtival of unleavened bread, all in peace, he went back for Antioch.

Ceſar gives Cumanus and the Samaritans a hearing at Rome.

When Ceſar had heard at Rome what Cumanus and the Samaritans had to ſay for themſelves, (Agrippa being there too, a zealous advocate for the Jews: and Cumanus had great friends there alſo upon his own account) he gave ſentence againſt the Samaritans; condemning three of the beſt of them to be beheaded, Cumanus to be baniſh'd, Celer the tribune to be ſent bound to Jeruſalem, and deliver'd to the Jews to ſee the ſentence executed, his body to be drawn thro' the city, and his head to be ſtruck off. He made Felix, the brother of Pallas, governor of Judea, Samaria, Galilee and Perea. He prefer'd Agrippa from the kingdom of Chalcis to a greater command. He gave him alſo the province that had been † Philip's; which was Trachonitis, Batanea, and Gaulanitis: ſuperadding to all theſe, the kingdom of Lyſanias, and the tetrarchy that had been Varus's.

He paſſes judgment againſt them, and orders the execution of the ſentence.

Claudius dies, and Nero ſucceeds him.

When Claudius had reign'd thirteen years, eight months, and ‡ twenty days, he departed this life, and left the ſucceſſion to Nero; whom his wife Agrippina had artificially in-

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* Perhaps Genaim.

† Felix's. Ruf.

‡ Thirty. Ruf.

troduc'd into the government: notwithſtanding that he had at that time a legitimate ſon, Britannicus, by his firſt wife Meſſalina; and a daughter, octavia, whom he marry'd to Nero. He had alſo by * Elia Petina another daughter, called Antonia.

Nero the worſt, and the weakeſt of princes.

No man ever made a worſe uſe perhaps of the advantages of a great power and fortune, than Nero did; witneſs the waſhing of his hands in the blood of his brother, his wife, and his mother; and then the proſecution of that inhuman cruelty toward his neareſt relations; the folly and madneſs of degrading himſelf by turning player, and ſubjecting the imperial dignity to the buffooneries of the ſtage. But theſe ſtories are ſo generally known already, and ſo little to my purpoſe, that I ſhall rather paſs them over in ſilence, and ſo return to my buſineſs.

CHAP. XII.

Nero's grants and commiſſions. Felix defeats the robbers, and takes their captain priſoner. A new ſort of cut-throats, call'd Sicarii. Jonathan the high-prieſt the firſt that fell by their hands. The city in a confuſion at it. The danger of enthuſiaſts. A magician ſets up for a prophet, and marches at the head of thirty thouſand men toward Jeruſalem. Felix meets him, and gives him a total overthrow. The robbers ſet up for abſolute liberty. A tumult betwixt the Jews and the Syrians, about the city of Ceſarea. The elders do all they can to pacify them. The cauſe at laſt comes to be heard before Ceſar. Feſtus ſucceeds Felix.

Ant. b. 20. c. 11, 12, 13. Nero's commiſſions and bounties.

To come now to that part of Nero's hiſtory that concerns the Jews. He gave Ariſtobulus the ſon of Herod the government of the Leſs Armenia, and annexed four cities more to the territory of Agrippa; that is to ſay, Abila, and Julias in Perea; and in Galilee, Tarichee and Tiberias, with their dependences. The remainder of Judea he gave to Felix; who no ſooner had his commiſſion, but he made war upon the robbers; took Eleazar their captain, with ſeveral others, and ſent them all bound to Rome; after they had harraſs'd the country at pleaſure for twenty years together. In fine, what with the thieves that were kept priſoners, or put to death, and the country people that join'd with them, the number of the kill'd and taken was almoſt incredible.

Felix makes war upon the robbers, defeats them, and takes their captain priſoner.

A new ſort of cut-throats call'd Sicarii. Their way of conduct and execution.

So ſoon as the land was well clear'd of theſe ruffians, there ſtarted up another ſort of cut-throats, under the name of Sicarii, from Sica, the weapon they us'd. Now theſe people made no difficulty of doing their work even at noon-day, in the very ſtreets of Jeruſalem, and in the face of the ſun, eſpecially upon great days, when the town was crouded with people. Their way was, to carry ſhort daggers under their coats; and mixing with the multitude, privily to ſtab their enemies; and then as any man fell, none ſo forward as they themſelves to complain of the villany. This practice went on a good while, not only without diſcovery, but the actors of it were not ſo much as ſuſpected. The firſt man that fell by theſe aſſaſſins was Jonathan the high-prieſt; after which, not a day paſs'd for a good while, without ſeveral executions of the ſame kind. This ſo ſtartled the city, that the very fear was in ſome reſpect worſe than the miſchief; for it was as dangerous to walk the ſtreets, as to be in a battle. They ſuſpected every man for an enemy at a diſtance; and durſt not truſt their friends when they came near them. And after all, this watchfulneſs and guard was not enough to ſecure them: ſo bold and dextrous were theſe bravo's in the exerciſe of their profeſſion.

Jonathan the high-prieſt was the firſt that fell by theſe ruffians, The city in a diſmal fright and confuſion at it.

There was another ſort of miſcreants now, that did yet more miſchief with their tongues than the other did with their weapons. 'Tis true, they ſpilt no blood, but they deſtroy'd more with their doctrines, than the other did with their daggers; and utterly corrupted the happy and the orderly ſtate of the city. Theſe were impoſtors and ſeducers, that under the colour of religion, ſet men a madding after ſtrange opinions and innovations. They withdrew the people into woods and ſolitudes, upon pretence that God had a work in hand to ſet them at perfect liberty; and that he would reveal himſelf further to them by tokens from heaven, that would give them an infallible aſſurance of it. Felix ſaw manifeſtly what they were a doing, and found it neceſſary to nip the deſign of a rebellion in the bud; ſo that he ſent out a body of horſe and foot after theſe enthuſiaſts, and deſtroy'd a great number of their diſciples.

The danger of enthuſiaſts and impoſtors under colour of pretended revelations.

Felix defeats a body of the ſeducers.

A magician ſets up for a prophet, and marches at the head of thirty thouſand men towards. Jeruſalem.

This miſchief was follow'd with that of an Egyptian pretender, that fell heavier upon the Jews than the other. This Egyptian was a magician, but paſs'd for a prophet; he had inveigled at leaſt thirty thouſand men into his congregation, whom he led about by the way of the wilderneſs, and ſo to mount Olivet; propoſing to march thence to Jeruſalem; beat out the Roman gariſon, and make himſelf maſter of the place and country: with his friends and guards about him all this while to aſſiſt in the enterprize. Felix, finding it to be a growing evil, advanced up to the Egyptian with his Roman legions, and a conſiderable body of the Jews to join him. Felix gave him battle, and totally defeated him; the Egyptian himſelf, with ſome few of his followers, ſaving themſelves by flight. There were great numbers of his people kill'd, others taken and put in chains, and the reſt diſpers'd to their own homes.

Felix encounters him upon the way, and gives him a total rout.

The magicians and the robbers ſet up for abſolute liberty.

It is with a diſtemper'd nation as in the caſe of an ill habit of body, one trouble is no ſooner remov'd but another immediately ſucceeds it: for the magicians and the robbers were now comploting how they might ſet up for abſolute liberty, and engage the multitude in a reſolution to ſhake off the Roman yoke. This they attempted, both by argument and menace; threatening death without mercy for any man to own that juriſdiction: propoſing to reduce thoſe by terror, that would otherwiſe ſubject themſelves to a voluntary ſlavery. This party diſpers'd itſelf all over the country, plundering great mens houſes, cutting of throats, and burning wherever they came; ſo that Judea was brought to the laſt extremity of deſperation with dread and trouble, the war growing every day more cruel than other.

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* Agrippa in Ruf.

An outrageous tumult betwixt the Jews and the Syrians, about the city of Ceſarea.

There was at this time another tumult alſo that broke out about Ceſarea, upon a quarrel that aroſe there betwixt the Jews and the Syrians living promiſcuouſly together. The Jews would have it to be their city; arguing that a Jew was the founder of it, meaning king Herod. Their competitors could not deny a Jew to have been the builder of it; but inſiſted upon it on the other hand, that it belong'd to the Gentiles; for if it were the Jews city, they would never ſuffer temples and ſtatues to be erected in it. They fell into ſuch heats upon this diſpute, that they betook themſelves to hoſtile violence; and not a day paſs'd but there was miſchief done, more or leſs, betwixt the forward men of the two parties. The elders did all that was poſſible to be done, by authority and advice, to quiet the Jews on the one hand, but they were wholly ungovernable; and the Greeks on the other hand, thought themſelves too good to truckle to the Jews. The Jews, 'tis true, were look'd upon to have more wealth and courage, but the Greeks had a much greater intereſt in the ſoldiery: for a great part of the Roman army being drawn out of Syria, they were the readier to aſſiſt them, both as their countrymen and kindred. The magiſtrates and officers did all that was to be done too, by the uttermoſt ſeverity of diſcipline to quaſh the tumult; as taking the incorrigible and obſtinate into cuſtody; whipping and chaining them up, and the like. But the exemplary ſufferings of ſome wrought nothing upon the ſpirits of others that were more harden'd, nay, on the contrary, that which they thought would have diſcourag'd or over-aw'd them, made them ſtill worſe and worſe.

The elders do all they can by fair means and foul, to quiet it.

Felix at laſt, when he ſaw nothing would bring them to reaſon, commanded the faction away out of the city by proclamation, upon their uttermoſt peril. But divers ſtaying behind in contempt of authority, the governor ſent a party of ſoldiers in among them, that kill'd ſeveral of them and ſeiz'd their goods. But the ſedition ſtill continuing, the governor diſpatch'd away commiſſioners to Nero; ſome of the principal men of both parties, to plead their cauſe before Ceſar. Feſtus ſucceeded Felix, and fell very hard upon the highwaymen that were moſt troubleſome to the province, taking and killing a great many of the thieves.

The cauſe comes at laſt to be heard before Ceſar Feſtus ſucceeds Felix.

CHAP. XIII.

Albinus ſucceeds Feſtus. A corrupt and a tyrannical governor. Albinus a lewd man, but nothing to Geſſius Florus that came after him. Albinus and Florus compar'd. Ceſtius Gallus governor of Syria. A heavy complaint to Gallus againſt Florus. Florus does what he can to make the Jews rebel. Ceſar's decree in favour of the Ceſarean Greeks. The riſe of the Jewiſh war.

Ant. b. 20. c. 15, 16. Albinus ſucceeds Feſtus. A corrupt and tyrannical governor.

Albinus ſucceeded Feſtus; but he did not govern like his predeceſſor. He was a man ſo univerſally wicked, that there was no ill he boggled at: as corruption, avarice, extortion, oppreſſion; and this in all caſes too, as well private as publick; bribery in civil cauſes, bribery again in perſonal; and the nation heavily oppreſs'd under the burden of arbitrary tributes. Was any man in the hand of the law for rapine and violence, either upon conviction before the preſent magiſtrate, or upon the ſentence of former judges? There needed but a friend and a piece of money to ſet him at liberty: and no man was ever found guilty by this governor, that had but money to make him innocent, and purchaſe his freedom.

There was at this time a faction at Jeruſalem, that had ſet their hearts upon a change of government, and thoſe of the party that had wherewithal, compounded with Albinus before-hand to be eaſy to them in caſe of a broil. But there was a popular mixture of men alſo, that could not be quiet themſelves, ſo long as the ſtate was at peace; and theſe people were taken into the intereſt of Albinus. The heads of this mutinous medley had every one of them a troop of reſolute fellows at his command, of his own complexion, while the governor himſelf was only the moſt illuſtrious thief of the band, with his guards about him to do execution at pleaſure upon thoſe that were not in a condition either for reſiſtance or defence. It came to this upon the main, that the oppreſſed durſt not open their mouths to complain; and thoſe that eſcap'd, were glad to give part of what they had for the ſaving of the reſt; and the receivers themſelves worſe at laſt than the thieves. In fine, "there was no faith left upon the earth", and the multiplicity of tyrants was evidently the foundation of a ſlavery to come.

Albinus a lewd man, but nothing to Geſſius Florus that came after him. Albinus and Florus compar'd.

These were the manners, and this the character of Albinus; but Geſſius Florus his ſucceſſor, was ſuch a foil to him, that the former look'd like an angel upon the compariſon. Albinus indeed was falſe, but yet cloſe and ſecret in his iniquities, which had ſomething like modeſty in it; but Geſſius made an open profeſſion of his cruelty and injuſtice; inſomuch, that he valu'd himſelf upon the merit of his crime, and made it his glory to declare himſelf a profeſs'd enemy to the whole nation. He behaved himſelf in the province more like an executioner than a governor; for he treated the whole body of the people like common criminals, without ſetting any bounds, either to his rapine, or to his tyranny. He had neither pity in him, nor ſenſe of honour; but was mercileſs to the miſerable, and utterly void of ſhame, in caſes ſo foul that impudence itſelf would have bluſh'd at. No man ever put truth out of countenance with paradox and impoſture as this man did; neither did ever any man find out ſuch artificial ways of addreſs for the doing of miſchief. The deſtroying of a whole nation, man by man, would not ſerve his turn neither, without ſweeping away whole cities intire, and cutting off the neck of the common body of the people at a blow. He gave ſuch liberty and encouragement to ſpoil and pillage, that it fell little ſhort of a proclamation of allowance to all people to take what they could get, provided he might but go a ſhare in the booty. And then for his avarice, he drain'd the province into ſo ſtarving a degree of poverty, that the inhabitants left it in effect, a deſart, for want of bread, and tranſplanted themſelves into foreign provinces.

Ceſtius Gallus governor of Syria.

A heavy complaint to Gallus againſt Florus.

Cestius Gallus was at that time governor of Syria; and in his days there was not a Jew that durſt ſo much as open his mouth to him in a complaint againſt Florus. But however, upon his coming up to Jeruſalem, upon the feaſt of unleavened bread, the multitude, to the number of at leaſt three hundred thouſand, made their application to Gallus to take pity of a miſerable people, and deliver the province out of the hands of Florus, that peſt of a governor. Florus was within hearing of this outrage; but ſo far from being mov'd, or out of countenance at it, that he turn'd it all to ridicule. Ceſtius in the mean time, did what he could to pacify the people, by telling them that Florus ſhould deal better with them for the future; and ſo he went back again to Antioch. Florus brought Gallus onward of his way as far as Ceſarea, telling him a thouſand lies as they paſs'd; but, at the ſame time, contriving within himſelf the neceſſity of a war with the Jews, as the only way to lie undiſcover'd and bring himſelf off. In the caſe of a peace, the Jews, he thought would lay hold of ſuch an opportunity to bring the cauſe before Ceſar, which would be dangerous; whereas if he could but once work them to a revolt, the greater miſchief would take off the envy of the leſs: for which end he endeavoured every day, all that lay in his power, to force them by degrees into a rebellion in his own defenſe.

Florus does what he can to make the Jews rebel.

Ceſar decrees in favour of the Ceſarean Greeks. The riſe of the Jewiſh war.

The Ceſarean Greeks had at this time carried their cauſe againſt the Jews before Ceſar, and obtained a decree in their favour; which ſentence gave riſe to the Jewiſh war. It bore date the twelfth year of Nero, and the ſeventeenth of Agrippa, in the month * Artemiſius.

CHAP. XIV.

Ceſarea was the occaſion of the Jewiſh war. The Jews affronted in their Synagogue. The bribery and perfidy of Florus. A mock ſacrifice. A violent commotion. Jucundus endeavours to compoſe it, but in vain. The Jews remove the books of their law. They petition for relief, and are puniſh'd for it. Florus makes matters worſe and worſe. The Jews fall heavily upon him for ſo doing: but with the face however of a ſeeming reſpect. Florus turns them off with ſcorn. The barbarous proceedings of Florus. The ſobriety and moderation of the Jews. Florus the worſe for good advice. His bloody orders and executions. Several of the nobility whipt and crucify'd. Six hundred and thirty Jews murder'd by Florus's men in one day.

Ant. b. 20. c. 15. The buſineſs of Ceſarea was the occaſion of the Jewiſh war.

THE tyranny of Florus was indeed a dangerous temptation to a rebellion: but the Jews ſtood firm againſt that provocation, and afterward it was the buſineſs of Ceſarea that did the work.

The Jews affronted in their ſynagogue.

There was a certain Greek had a houſe in Ceſarea, cloſe upon the place where the Jews had their ſynagogue. They would fain have made a purchaſe of this houſe, and treated with the maſter ſeveral times about it, offering him much more for it than it was worth: but ſo far was he from complying with their propoſal, that out of pure croſneſs, inſtead of giving them more room, he fell to blocking of the way, in a manner, quite up, by crowding ſo many little ſhops into the paſſage, that there was hardly room left for one ſingle body to get into the ſynagogue. Upon this, ſome of the hot young men of the Jews went out preſently to the workmen, and caution'd them not to go on, at their peril. Florus countermanded that prohibition; ſo that the Jews had nothing more to do but to try the governor with a ſum of money. Several of their principal men met about it, and among the reſt, one John, a farmer of the king's cuſtoms; who contracted with Florus for eight † talents to forbid the building. They deliver'd him the money, and he promis'd all things ſhould be done accordingly; but immediately upon the receipt of it, he went from Ceſarea to Sebaſte, as if it had been on purpoſe to leave them at liberty for an uproar: as who ſhould ſay, eight talents is the price of an opportunity for you to cut one another's throats.

The bribery and perfidy of Florus.

A mock ſacrifice.

The next day, being the Jews ſabbath, when the people were all together in the ſynagogue, a ſpiteful Ceſarean ſet an earthern veſſel juſt before the door, with a ſacrifice of birds upon it. This contemptuous mockery put the Jews out of all government and patience, to ſee their laws had in deriſion, and the place prophan'd. The more moderate and conſiderable men of the party, were for appealing to the governors for juſtice and redreſs: but for the ſeditious hot-brain'd young fellows of the faction, nothing would ſatisfy them but ribaldry and blows; and the Ceſareans, on the other hand, were as ready for the encounter: the ſacrifice of birds, being purpoſely deſign'd to draw on a quarrel. And here began the action.

A violent commotion.

Jucundus a horſe officer, endeavours to compoſe it, but in vain. In this difficulty the Jews remove the books of their law. They petition for relief, and are puniſh'd for ſo doing.

Jucundus, a captain of horſe, and one that was left to keep the peace, coming in juſt upon this nick of time, order'd the earthen veſſel above-mentioned to be taken away: and then apply'd himſelf toward the allaying of the tumult. But the Jews finding Jucundus over-born by the Ceſareans, preſently took up the books of their laws, and carry'd them off to ‖ Narbata, a province of that name, about ſixty ‡ furlongs from Ceſarea. Twelve of their chief men, with John the publican, went to Florus at Sebaſte, with a complaint for what had paſs'd, and a petition for redreſs; not forgetting to remind him by-the-by, (tho' very tenderly) of the eight talents. Florus caus'd them immediately to be taken up and bound, for preſuming to remove their laws from Ceſarea. That was the pretence.

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* i. e. in the month of May.

† Eight Jewiſh talents weighed nine hundred and twelve pounds ſix ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to two thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings, and in gold to forty three thouſand eight hundred pounds Engliſh money.

‖ Nabata. Ruf.

‡ Sixty furlongs (as has been before obſerved) amounted to ſeven Engliſh miles and an half, and ninety geometrical paces.

This

Florus makes matters worſe and worſe.

The Jews outrageouſly fall upon Florus.

This action of Florus provok'd the Jews of Jeruſalem to the higheſt degree of indignation: but they found it convenient for the preſent to ſmother their reſentment. Florus, juſt as if it had been his proper office to blow the coals of diſſention, and inflame the Jews to a quarrel, ſent in Ceſar's name for ſeventeen * talents out of the treaſury, and for the emperor's ſervice. This put the Jews in ſuch a confuſion, that they ran up and down the city, and to the temple, like mad-men; crying out all the way upon Ceſar, Ceſar, as loud as they could bawl, to be delivered from the inhuman barbarities of Florus; purſuing him with clamours, mockeries, and maledictions of all ſorts; as there was one of the mutineers had gotten an alms-basket at his back, and went about the ſtreets begging of broken meat for the poor miſerable Florus, in deriſion of him. But all theſe taunts and abuſes had no other effect upon him, than that they made his avarice ſtill more ſpiteful, as well as more inſatiable. And then inſtead of putting a check to the firſt heat of the ſedition at Ceſarea, and removing the cauſes of the tumult as he ought to have done, both by duty and contract; he takes his march with an army of horſe and foot to Jeruſalem, and makes the power of Rome only ſubſervient to his private paſſions and luſts, either of pride, profit, or revenge; filling the hearts of the people wherever he came, with confuſion and terror.

They offer him however the compliment of a ſeeming reſpect.

Florus turns them off with ſcorn.

The multitude however, after all manner of indignities caſt upon them, put on the countenance ſtill of an officious reſpect, in going out to receive him upon the way, and preparing to entertain him with all ſemblances of honour and eſteem, uſual in ſuch caſes. While they were in this diſpoſition, to give him a ſeeming welcome into the city, Florus prevented their compliment, by ſending Capito a centurion to them with fifty horſe to put a ſtop to their journey; who deliver'd his meſſage to them in theſe terms. "I am to command you, "ſays he, in the name of Florus, to go your "ways home again: and to let you underſtand "that the man you have made ſo bold with, "both in earneſt and jeſt, is not to be cajoled "into better opinion of you by a parcel of fair "and falſe words. If you are in truth, as you "would be thought to be, men of reſolution "and courage, call that man all thoſe ſcan"dalous and reproachful names to his face, "that you did behind his back; and aſſert "that liberty by your arms, that you have "made ſuch a noiſe with in your clamours." What with this rebuke, and the ſoldiers breaking in upon the multitude, the people ran ſeveral ways in a fright, without waiting for the ceremony of ſaluting Florus, or of paying thoſe offices to the ſoldiers that are cuſtomary in ſuch encounters. They went, in fine, every man to his own home; and, betwixt care and fear, paſs'd the night in anxious vigilance.

The barbarous proceedings of Florus.

The ſobriety and moderation of the Jews.

Florus the worſe for good counſel.

His bloody orders and executions.

Several of the nobility whipt and crucify'd.

Six hundred and thirty Jews murder'd by Florus's men in one day.

Florus lodg'd at this time in the palace, and the next day he mounted the tribunal; the high-prieſt and the prime men of the city being there preſent. He paſs'd bitter reflections upon ſome lewd and reviling ſpeeches that had been thrown out againſt him; demanding poſitively that the authors of them ſhould be found out and produc'd; threatening withal, that he would take his revenge upon thoſe that were there upon the place, if they did not bring him the guilty. The Jews made anſwer, "That for the body of "the people, they were for peace and quiet; "and for thoſe that laſh'd out with their "tongues, they implor'd a pardon from them. "For it could not be imagin'd, they ſaid, in "ſo vaſt a multitude of people, but there muſt "needs be ſome raſh and unexperienc'd men. "Neither was it poſſible to diſtinguiſh who "were guilty, and who not: for even thoſe "that repented of what they had done, would "not yet own the doing of it. And therefore "they only offer'd it to Florus's conſidera"tion, whether any thing could be more for "the ſervice of the Roman empire, than to "conſult the ſafety of the people and city, "by preſerving them firm in their allegiance to "Ceſar: and whether it might not be more "adviſable (in caſe of the worſt) to ſpare ſome "few criminals, for the ſake of a great many "innocents, than to deſtroy ſo great a num"ber of innocent men for the ſake of here "and there one that was guilty." This way of reaſoning blew up Florus into ſuch a rage, that he preſently order'd away the ſoldiers to the great market in the upper town, to rifle the place, and kill all they met. When the ſoldiers found themſelves ſupported in their claim to the pillage by the concurring authority of their commander; they did not only execute their order upon the places and people they were ſent to, but all houſes were alike to them, and all the inhabitants put to death without diſtinction; as well thoſe they took upon their flight, in by-ways, and ſecret paſſages, as thoſe they found in their houſes. No booty, in ſhort, came amiſs to them. Several of the nobility, that they ſeiz'd and brought to Florus, were by his order whipt and crucify'd. The whole number of the ſlain upon that day, reckoning women and children into the account (as the very infants at the breaſts of their mothers did not eſcape them) was ſix hundred and thirty. The calamity was grievous in itſelf, and yet worſe for the very novelty of it: for it was never heard of before Florus's time, that ever any of the equeſtrian order were whipt like ſlaves and gibbetted; for tho' the perſons were by extraction Jews, the dignity was yet Roman.

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* Seventeen talents weighed one thouſand nine hundred and thirty nine pounds fifteen pennyweights, and their value in ſilver amounted to five thouſand eight hundred and ſeventeen pounds three ſhillings and nine pence, and in gold to ninety three thouſand and ſeventy five pounds Engliſh money.

CHAP. XV.

Berenice goes to Jeruſalem to pay a vow. The manner of performing that duty. She moves Florus in favour of the Jews. The people in a rage againſt him. They come to themſelves again; and Florus is troubled at it. He projects a new broil. Arguments for a compliance. Florus's project ſucceeds in a terrible deſtruction. He attempts the caſtle, and is beaten off. He retires to the palace. The communication cut off betwixt Fort-Antonia and the temple. Florus gives over his deſign, and returns to Cæſarea.

AGRIPPA was at this time gone to Alexandria, upon a viſit to Alexander, whom Nero had made governor of Egypt. His ſiſter Berenice was then at Jeruſalem, and in extreme affliction for the barbarous outrages that were practis'd there; inſomuch that ſhe ſent ſeveral meſſages to Florus by ſome of her horſe-officers and guards, beſeeching him earneſtly to hold his hand, and ſpill no more blood. But Florus had no ſenſe at all, either of the heinouſneſs of the ſin, or of the honour of the interceſſion. His heart was ſet upon lucre and pillage, and he look'd upon all other things (Berenice herſelf not excepted) with contempt and neglect. So that the ſoldiers did not only go on, maſſacring and cutting of throats, before Berenice's face; but had moſt certainly kill'd the queen herſelf, if ſhe had not made her eſcape into the palace; where ſhe lay waking all that night, with a guard to look to her, for fear of a ſurprize. The occaſion of her coming to Jeruſalem, was the paying of a vow to Almighty God; as is uſual in caſes of providential deliverances from ſickneſſes and other great dangers. It is cuſtomary for people under thoſe circumſtances to continue in prayer for thirty days before the ſacrifice; abſtaining from wine, and ſhaving the hair. Berenice was now in her diurnal courſe of devotion; and ſtanding bare-foot before the tribunal, there was ſhe interceeding to Florus for the people, but without any ſucceſs or reſpect: beſide that ſhe ran the riſk of her life for the piety of the office. This was the ſixteenth of the month † Artemiſius.

Berenice goes to Jeruſalem to pay a vow.

The manner of performing that duty.

She mediates to Florus in favour of the Jews.

ON the next day, the people gather'd together in the market-place (in the upper town) outrageouſly exclaiming againſt the murderers of their friends that were kill'd there the day before. But the main ſtreſs of their rage and ribaldry fell upon Florus. The great men and the high-prieſts were ſo ſenſible of the danger of provoking him the ſame way over again, that they tore their garments, and went about begging from man to man, not to talk at that rate; for the exaſperating of Florus was the way to deſtroy them all. Upon this application, the multitude was a little more compos'd: partly out of reſpect to the interceſſors, and partly in hope that the governor's ſpite was over.

The people in an uproar raging againſt Florus.

They are reaſon'd into a better temper.

Florus troubled at it. His project for the raiſing of a new broil.

FLORUS was not at all pleas'd to ſee things ſo quiet again; and therefore he bethought himſelf of a contrivance how to create a new broil. He ſent for the high-prieſts and ſome of the chief men of the Jews to come to him, and then told them there were two companies coming from Ceſarea, and it would be a convincing evidence of the people's good affection to the government, if they would but go out, and meet them upon the way. The thing being promis'd and agreed upon, Florus gave it in charge to the centurions, that in caſe the Jews greeted them with any ſhew of compliment or reſpect upon their meeting, they ſhould not pay them any manner of civility in return: and if they ſhould expreſs any reſentment at it either in words or looks, they ſhould betake themſelves to their arms. The high-prieſts got the people together into the temple, and there adjur'd them by all means to go out and compliment the Romans upon the way, and to be ſure to give them a friendly ſalute, for fear any thing ſhould be taken amiſs. There were ſeveral raſh heads in the crowd againſt it; and the reſt of the multitude, while the ſlaughter of their friends was yet freſh in their memory, were forward enough to join in opinion with the incendiaries. While this was in agitation, in came all the prieſts and Levites, expoſing the holy veſſels and other precious ornaments of the temple: the ſinging men and organiſts with their muſical inſtruments, addreſſing themſelves to the people, with earneſt entreaties to preſerve the honour of the temple ſacred, without provoking the Romans by contumelious affronts to the rifling of it. There were alſo divers of the high-prieſts with aſhes upon their heads, their breaſts naked, and their garments torn; applying themſelves to all the men of dignity, one by one in particular, and to all together in general, with repeated importunities not to betray their country for ſo ſmall a matter, to thoſe very people that gap'd after the ruin of it. "For what, ſaid they, will the Romans be the better for it, if you ſhew them the ſame reſpect now that you have done formerly? and what will the Jews now be the better either for the refuſal of it? Nay, on the contrary, if you treat them with honour, and according to the forms of good manners, you will leave Florus no pretence to trouble you; and it will effectually amount to a redeeming of your country from the calamities that you have otherwiſe to fear. You are alſo to conſider the diſproportion betwixt the peaceable majority of the multitude, and a few ſcatter'd mutineers; and that there is all the reaſon in the world, that the greater part ſhould over-rule the leſs." This way of diſcourſe had ſuch an effect upon the people, that, betwixt authority, argument, and menace, the hotteſt men of the faction were brought over to hear and to do reaſon. So ſoon as things were brought to this diſpoſition, the prieſts and princes of the people marched out to meet the ſoldiers; and the multitude in very good order follow'd them. When the Jews were advanced within diſtance of exchanging a ceremony, they ſaluted the Romans with great humanity; but receiving no return, the angry part of them fell immediately to reviling Florus, as the author and contriver of all their miſeries. The ſoldiers took the hint, and in the ſame inſtant fell upon the Jews with clubs and cudgels, put them into a confuſion, and upon the purſuit, trampled great numbers of them under their horſes feet; ſo that upon the

Arguments for a compliance.

The people brought to their ſenſes again.

Florus's project ſucceeds.

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† i. e. May.

whole,

A terrible deſtruction. And a dreadful ſpectacle.

Florus attempts the caſtle, and is beaten off.

He retires to the palace.

The communication cut off betwixt Fort Antonia and the temple.

Florus gives over his deſign, and returns to Ceſarea.

whole, betwixt thoſe that dy'd of blows and wounds, thoſe that were cruſh'd to death in the croud, or ſmother'd in the gate by preſſing who ſhould get out firſt, and ſo hindring one another, there was upon the main a miſerable deſtruction, and as frightful a ſpectacle; for what with bruiſes, maims and ſuffocations, the bodies were ſo disfigur'd, that one friend did not know the face of another, to give him decent burial. In fine, the enemy kill'd all they could come at; and the thing they principally labour'd was to get betwixt the Jews and the gate of Bezeth, being a paſs that led to the caſtle Antonia and the temple. Florus, at the ſame time, made a ſally out of the palace with what troops he had, upon the back of the Jews, in a proſpect of forcing the caſtle; but upon the people's rallying and making head againſt him, his deſign fail'd him. For having now got poſſeſſion of the houſes, they annoy'd the Romans to ſuch a degree with ſtones and darts, from the roofs, that the enemy finding no fence againſt that way of attack, nor any poſſibility of breaking through the multitudes of people that throng'd up thoſe narrow ſtreets, Florus was fain to retire with the remainder of his army to the palace. The Jews being now in ſome apprehenſion of Florus's returning to the aſſault, and of his making an attempt upon the temple by the way of the fort Antonia, they went and cut down a certain gallery of communication betwixt the fort and the temple; which was ſuch a mortification to Florus, that finding his project hopeleſs, and his avarice diſappointed, (for the holy treaſure was all he aim'd at) he gave over the enterprize. Upon this, he confer'd with the high-prieſt and the ſenate; telling them that he was now leaving the city, and ready to aſſign them what gariſon they ſhould think fit. Their anſwer was, in regard that there were to be no innovations, one company would be ſufficient; provided it might not be that which the people had had a quarrel with already; for they were great ſufferers by them, and lay under a prejudice. Florus chang'd the company, as they deſir'd, and went back with the reſt of his army to Ceſarea.

CHAP. XVI.

Florus complains of the Jews to Ceſtius, as Ceſar's enemies. Ceſtius is better inform'd, and adviſes upon it. Politianus pitch'd upon to manage the enquiry. He conſults Agrippa; and they are both receiv'd with great reſpect. They ſhow Politianus what havock Florus had made; and the loyalty of the Jews to other governors. Politianus goes back to Ceſtius. The people preſs for a complaint to Nero againſt Florus. A healing ſpeech of Agrippa's to the Jews. A diſſuaſive from ſedition. The Romans are lords of the univerſe; as the Athenians, the Lacedemonians, the Macedonians, &c. Agrippa touches upon the conſcience and religion of the War. The whole body of the Jews is involv'd in one common cauſe. Agrippa brings the people to ſome degree of moderation.

Florus charges the Jews to Ceſtius, as enemies to Ceſar.

Berenice and ſome great men give Ceſtius the truth of the ſtory.

Ceſtius adviſes upon it.

And pitches upon Politianus for the menage of the enquiry.

He meets Agrippa, and tells him his buſineſs.

FLORUS was no ſooner come to Ceſarea, but he found out new matter for the inflaming of a war, and ſent it in a letter to * Ceſtius, wherein he charg'd the Jews with a revolt, which was ſo impudent a falſity, that the very crimes he imputed to the Jews, he was expreſly guilty of himſelf. Now queen Berenice, and the principals of Jeruſalem, were ſo juſt and candid in this matter, as to give Ceſtius the particulars of the whole truth, and a punctual account of Florus's unjuſt adminiſtration. Upon the receipt of this intimation, Ceſtius preſently confer'd with the great men about him, what he had beſt to do. Some were for his marching with an army out of hand into Judea, and to bring the offenders to juſtice, if the report ſhould be found to be true, or otherwiſe, to encourage them in their loyalty, if they ſhould appear to be falſly accus'd. Now Ceſtius himſelf was rather of opinion for employing ſome perſon of honour and addreſs beforehand, to learn out the truth of things, and then to give him a faithful information upon the whole affair. The man he pitch'd upon was † Politianus, a tribune; who meeting king Agrippa near Jamnia, in his return from Alexandria, told him whence he came, who ſent him, and what was his buſineſs. There were at that time there, ſeveral high-prieſts of the Jews, ſenators, and others of the firſt quality, to pay their duty to the king: they had no ſooner paſs'd the firſt compliment of reſpect in courſe, but they launch'd out into a lamentable remonſtrance of the miſerable ſtate they were reduc'd to by the inhumanities of Florus. Agrippa thought as they did; but it would not have ſtood with his dignity to blow the coal; ſo that he rather turn'd the invective artificially againſt the Jews, whom yet he pity'd in his heart; out of a deſire rather to reſtrain and ſweeten, than to exaſperate their paſſions: for the leſs they might ſeem to ſuffer, the leſs provocation could they pretend to a revenge. They that had moſt to loſe, and certainly moſt reaſon to deſire a peace, could not but take that gentle reproach for a ſignal inſtance of the king's goodneſs.

The people of Jeruſalem receive Politianus and Agrippa, at ſixty ſtadia from the town.

They ſhew Politianus what havock Florus has made up and down the city.

The people of Jeruſalem receiv'd Agrippa and ‡ Politianus, upon the way, ſixty furlongs from the city, out of reſpect, to attend them up to the town; the women all the while bitterly bewailing the loſs of their murder'd husbands, and the whole multitude, after their example, burſting out into tears and lamentations as by conſent: ſome of them imploring Agrippa in generoſity to take pity of the nation; and others begging of †† Politianus but to go into the city, and ſee what havock Florus had made there. Upon this they took him into the market-place, and ſhew'd him how every thing was abandon'd there and forlorn, and the houſes all in rubbiſh. They prevail'd with ** Politianus after this, by the means of Agrippa, to take a view of the city

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* This Ceſtius was governor of Syria.

† So in Rufinus. In the greek Νεαπολιτανόν τινα πέμπει.

‡ Gr. Τὸν Νεαπολιτανόν.

†† Gr. Νεαπολιτανός.

** Al. Νεαπολιτανός.

And the loyalty of the Jews to all other Roman governors.

as far as the pool of Siloah, and only one ſervant along with him; where he ſhould ſee with his own eyes how obedient the Jews were to all other Romans in authority; but for the horrid cruelties of Florus, they were utterly intolerable. When he had taken a view of the city, and inform’d himſelf ſufficiently in the loyal diſpoſitions of the Jews, he call’d the people together, and went up to the temple; where he enter’d into a declamatory commendation of their approved fidelity to the Romans; and then, after enlarging himſelf in exhortations and good counſels, upon the ſubject of the common peace, he gave God praiſes and thankſgivings, with all veneration for his holy religion, in place and manner according to the law; and ſo went back to Ceſtius.

Politianus goes back to Ceſtius.

The people preſs for a complaint to Nero againſt Florus. The danger of ſuch a proceeding.

POLITIANUS had no ſooner turn’d his back, but the multitude immediately addreſs’d themſelves to the king and the high-prieſts, preſſing for leave to ſend embaſſadors to Nero with a complaint againſt Florus: “For if we, ſaid they, ſhould ſit ſtill, without bringing ſo bloody an outrage to an examination, and putting the authors of it to the teſt, it would look as if we ourſelves were the criminals, and durſt not abide the trial.” It was clear on the one hand, that it would be dangerous for Agrippa to refuſe them this liberty; and it had at the ſame time, the face of an invidious proſecution on the other, to turn looſe the multitude againſt their governor by ſuch an invective, under the name of an embaſſy: ſo that Agrippa, finding himſelf divided betwixt the bold and martial humour of the Romans, and the hazard of tranſporting the Jews into a tumult, call’d an aſſembly to meet in a great gallery, and after the placing of his ſiſter Berenice upon a chair of ſtate, in the Aſmonean palace, which overlooks that gallery from the upper part of the town (the temple and the gallery being join’d by a bridge) he ſpoke to the people after this manner.

Agrippa calls an aſſembly.

A healing ſpeech of Agrippa to the Jews.

“IF I found you now under any ſort of diſpoſition to make war upon the Romans, as I am at this time clearly convinc’d of the contrary, and that the greater part of your profeſſion are men of peace and order, I ſhould have ſav’d both you and myſelf this trouble: for what would any application or advice of mine ſignify to a body of men that labour under an incurable prejudice? But in regard that ſome people are purely unquiet, for want of an experimental knowledge of the miſeries of war; ſome out of a vain and inconſiderate hope of liberty, others out of avarice, for the advantage of the booty, and making profit to themſelves out of a general confuſion: in regard, I ſay, of theſe corruptions and miſtakes, I have now thought fit to call you together; and to tell you what I think convenient to be done under your circumſtances, in order to the rectifying of your errors, and to prevent the ruins of a dutiful majority by the intemperate heats of a few deſperate libertines. All I deſire is only your patience and ſilence, and to be heard without murmuring and noiſe, whether you approve what I ſay or not. As for thoſe that are abandon’d to the ſpirit of diſorder and confuſion, and irrecoverably loſt, they are ſtill at liberty to follow their own counſels, let my opinion be what it will. But it is to no purpoſe for me to ſpeak at all, unleſs I may be heard by thoſe who deſire to hear me.

The faults of government and the bleſſings of liberty are the common ſubjects for art and paſſion to work upon.

“I know very well that the faults of governors and the bleſſings of liberty, are two common topicks for men of art and paſſion to work upon. Now before I enter upon the diſquiſition of what you yourſelves are, and the force you are pretending to encounter, I muſt, in the firſt place, divide two points that you confound, by making them into one. If revenge upon your oppreſſors (or let it be juſtice, if you pleaſe) be the thing that you contend for, what’s the meaning of your crying up liberty at ſuch an extravagant rate? Or, if ſubjection be in itſelf ſo intolerable, what’s the quarrel to your governors? For let them be the beſt natur’d people under the cope of heaven, ſubjection is but ſubjection ſtill; and ſo ſtill as ſcandalous as it was before.

Whether rulers be good or bad, ſubjection is ſubjection ſtill.

We owe a duty and reſpect even to the worſt of governors.

“TAKE things to pieces now, and conſider a little, upon what ground it is that you pretend to calumniate and cavil, and in what manner you are to behave yourſelves, even if your governors ſhould be to blame. It is your intereſt, as well as your duty, to ſweeten things with offices of tenderneſs and reſpect, and not to treat your ſuperiors with brawls and coarſe language. When you make things greater than they are, you provoke thoſe that are over you to make things worſe than they would otherwiſe be; and to turn that male-adminiſtration that they were half aſham’d of before, into a bare-fac’d raging tyranny. There’s nothing takes off the edge of oppreſſion, like patience: reſignation is enough to put perſecution out of countenance, even let it be never ſo violent and unjuſt.

A diſſuaſive from ſedition.

“ADMITTING that you are in truth extremely abus’d by the Roman government, will you have this to be the act preſently of all the Romans; nay, and of Ceſar himſelf too? And there’s your quarrel. You cannot imagine that thoſe governors have it in their commiſſion to oppreſs you; or that Ceſar himſelf can look eaſt and weſt, and ſo thorough the four quarters of the world all at a time; when ’tis no eaſy matter for him to get a faithful account at Rome, even of what is done here. How great a madneſs is it then, to run the riſque of ſo dangerous a war for trifles; and in very deed, for we know not what! Beſide that matters may mend in time; for governors are neither immortal nor perpetual; but they take their turns: and it is reaſonable enough to hope, and to promiſe ourſelves, that who ſucceeds next to the office will be better. Now when a war is once commenc’d, ’tis neither to be diſcontinued nor carry’d on without miſerable inconveniences. As for thoſe that ſet up for liberty, let them have a care, in the firſt place, not to run themſelves out of it; for the laſt ſlavery is always the uneaſieſt, and to avoid that yoke muſt be acknowledged a juſt cauſe of war; for he that is once a ſubject, and then falls off, is rather a ſtubborn ſlave, than a generous advocate of freedom.

“IF any thing could have been done againſt the might of the Romans, why was it not done when Pompey broke in upon us? But “if your fore-fathers and the princes of thoſe times, though much your ſuperiors in men, money and conduct, were not able to ſtand before ſo inconſiderable a detachment of their power; with what face or ſenſe can you pretend now at this time of the day, to bid defiance to the whole body of the empire? To ſay nothing of the obligation of an hereditary allegiance of ſo long a continuance, that hath deſcended from your predeceſſors to their poſterity.

The bravery of the Athenians was not able to ſupport them againſt the Romans.

“What do you think of thoſe brave and generous Athenians, that conteſted for the liberty of Greece, to the very extremity of laying their country in aſhes? Thoſe people that brought down the proud heart of the vain and inſolent Xerxes; put him to flight at Salamis, and, having broken the whole power of Aſia, forced him to ſhift for himſelf in a cock-boat: that haughty prince that turn'd the ſea into land, and the land into ſea, to make room for his fleets and armies; that look'd as if they would have ſwallow'd Europe: and yet the nation that did all this are now ſubjects to the Romans, and the metropolis of Greece receives laws from Italy.

The Lacedemonians.

“The caſe is the ſame with the Lacedemonians too, after all their famous exploits at Thermopylæ and Platea, and Ageſilaus's carrying their victorious arms into the heart of Aſia. And yet at preſent theſe heroes own the ſame maſters ſtill.

The Macedonians, &c. had all the ſame maſters.

“To come now to the Macedonians, with their Philips and their Alexanders: a people that to this very day propoſe little leſs to themſelves than the empire of the univerſe: has not fortune reduc'd them alſo to the ſame fate, and of conquerors made them ſubjects? And ſubjects alſo to the ſame governors. I might reckon up a great many other nations now, much more conſiderable than yourſelves, that in the vanity of an ambitious contention for liberty, have been forced to ſubmit and to obey: and are you the only men in the world, do you think, that are too good to ſerve the ſovereign lords of all other people? Where's your militia, or the arms that you depend upon? Your fleets to ſcoury the Roman ſeas? And where's your treaſure to anſwer the expence of this undertaking? You fancy an Egyptian or an Arabian war perhaps: but you proceed altogether upon falſe meaſures, without comparing the diſproportion betwixt your ability and your undertaking, and the inequality betwixt a weak and a diſorderly people, and the ſtability of a formidable empire. 'Tis a common thing for you to be over-run and ſurpriz'd by your next neighbours; when at the ſame time the Romans carry'd the whole world before them.

The power and majeſty of Rome.

The Romans lords of the univerſe.

“Nay, and the known world would not content them neither; for though they were poſſeſs'd of the courſe of the Euphrates to the eaſt, the Danube to the north; the Libyan deſart to the ſouth, and as far as Cadiz to the weſt; nothing would ſerve them but another world beyond the ocean, and the carrying of their arms into Britain; which at that time was look'd upon as inacceſſible. But what is it now that you pretend to all this while? Would you be thought richer than the Gauls, hardier than the Germans, or wiſer than the Greeks? or do you take yourſelves to be hard enough for all mankind beſide? Upon what ground is it that you are thus bold and confident againſt the Romans? It will be ſaid perhaps, that it is an uneaſy and an irkſome thing to ſerve: but if it be ſo to you, what muſt it be to the Greeks? Who, over and above a large extent of territory, are look'd upon as men of the nobleſt extraction of any people under the ſun, and the moſt renown'd for valour: and yet theſe men, great and noble as they are, live in obedience to the Romans; and ſo do the Macedonians alſo; who have undoubtly more right to a claim of liberty than you can pretend to. Or what do ye ſay to the five hundred cities of Aſia, that peaceably ſubmit themſelves to a conſul, without any guard or gariſon to over-awe them. To ſay nothing of the Heniochians, the Colchians, the nations about the Boſphorus, and the inhabitants of the coaſts of Pontus, and the lake of Meotis; people ſo free in former times, that they never had ſo much as a maſter among themſelves: and yet three thouſand Romans were enough to keep them all in ſubjection; and forty galleys ſufficient to preſerve all thoſe ſeas in peace and obedience, which no body durſt ever venture upon before.

“Had the Bithynians, Cappadocians, Pamphylians, Lydians and Cilicians, nothing to ſay for themſelves upon the point of liberty? for they are at preſent all tributaries, and pay their duties, without ſoldiers to compel them. And how is it with the Thracians now, in a large country of ſeven days journey in length, and five over, and much more rude, and more defenſible than yours; being almoſt impaſſable for the bitter froſts and deep ſnows there; and yet a guard of only two thouſand Romans keeps them all in order. And then for the Illyrians, from beyond the Danube as far as Dalmatia, and ſo likewiſe the Dacians; they are all under the guard only of two legions. Nay, the Dalmatians themſelves, after ſo many conteſts for liberty, ſo many baffles in the attempt, and ſo many rallies and re-inforcements afterwards, in proſecution of the ſame deſign; how quiet and eaſy are they under the command of one ſingle legion?

“But after all this, if any pretence whatſoever might juſtify a revolt, the Gauls of all men living have the greateſt encouragement and temptation to do it, in the very ſituation of their country. For they are naturally fortify'd; on the eaſt with the Alps, the Rhine on the north, the Pyrenean mountains on the ſouth, and on the weſt with the ocean. But notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, three hundred and fifteen nations in the ſame intereſt; an inexhauſtible ſource of all good things within themſelves both for uſe and commerce, not only for their own, but likewiſe for the common benefit of mankind; and yet we find theſe people under the Roman allegiance; and propounding no other happineſs to themſelves than in that of their maſters. And this reſignation does not ariſe from the want of courage or diſcipline, or from the want of brave examples in their anceſtors; who had ſtood a diſpute of eighty years for

" the maintenance of their liberty; but find-" ing ſo admirable a concurrence of fortune " and virtue in the actions of the Romans, " the Gauls were ſo ſurpriz'd betwixt the ve-" neration they had for the one, and their " dread of the other, that the Romans gain'd " as much upon them by their goodneſs as by " their arms; inſomuch, that at this day, with " only twelve hundred men, they ſecure almoſt " as many cities in their allegiance.

" What advantage accrued to Spain from " their golden mines, when they came to con-" tend with the Romans for their freedom? " Or I might inſtance in nations more remote " from Rome, both by ſea and land; as the " Luſitanians and Cantabrians; where neither " valour, diſtance, nor ſituation, could war-" rant them againſt the power of Rome; tho' " bordering upon a ſea ſo impetuous, that it " is not to be ſo much as nam'd, or thought " of, without dread and horror. And what " ſignify'd Hercules's pillars, or the Pyre-" nean mountains, the interpoſition of ſo ma-" ny warlike nations, or any other difficulty, " to the obſtructing of the progreſs of their " victorious arms? but they were reduced as " well as the reſt, and one ſingle legion ſerv'd " for a guard upon them all.

" I need not tell you that the Germans " are a populous nation, and that their coun-" try is of a vaſt extent; the people ſtrong, " and big-limb'd, their courage anſwerable to " their ſize and ſtature, and firm to the very " contempt of death itſelf. But part of this " you are eye-witneſſes of; for the Romans " have ſlaves of that nation all over the earth. " In their anger they are more outrageous than " brutes; and the Rhine is at this day their " frontier. They have a guard of eight Ro-" man legions upon them, that make ſlaves of " as many of them as they take, and the reſt " ſeek their ſafety in flight, not in force of " arms.

" As for thoſe that place ſo much confidence " in the walls of Jeruſalem, they ſhould do " well to conſider the walls of Britain, where " the inhabitants are ſurrounded by the ſea, " in a kind of a new world, not much inferior " to the other. They have made themſelves " maſters of this vaſt iſland too, and aſſigned " only four legions for a guard upon it. And " what ſhall we ſay of the Parthians now? a " powerful and a warlike people, that have " heretofore given laws to ſo many great na-" tions themſelves. What's the meaning of " ſending the flower of their nobility for hoſ-" tages to Rome, but a tacit acknowledgment " of ſubjection under the colour of peace? Are " we the only men in the world to make war " upon the empire, when all other nations " tremble under the apprehenſion of their arms?

" Pray call to mind the fate of Carthage, a " people that valu'd themſelves as branches of " the noble race of the Phenicians, that had " the honour of the famous Hannibal for their " commander. What was the end of that " brave people, but to fall under the conquer-" ing arms of Scipio?

" But neither the Cyrenians, of the Lace-" demonian race; nor the Marmaridans, who " ſtretched their dominion as far as the parch'd " deſarts; nor the Syrtes, ſo frightful to our " apprehenſions; nor the Naſamonians, nor " the Moors, nor the numberleſs multitude of " the Numidians, were able to put any check " to the Roman courage. They had reduced, " in fine, the third part of the world to their " ſubjection, ſo large that the very nations are " hardly to be number'd, beginning from the " Atlantick ſea and the pillars of Hercules, to " the Red ſea, and comprizing all the Ethi-" opia's. All this they took by arms, reſerv-" ing over and above to themſelves, a yearly " tribute of corn, ſufficient to maintain the " people of Rome for eight months, beſide o-" ther duties that they pay chearfully and rea-" dily, though there be but one legion in ga-" riſon to raiſe the contribution.

The bravery of the Athenians was not able to ſupport them againſt the Romans.

" But here's no need of recourſe to remote " examples, for proof of the uncontroulable " power of Rome, when we may have inſtan-" ces ſo much nearer hand. As for the pur-" poſe, in Egypt, a kingdom that ſtretches out " as far as Ethiopia and Arabia-Felix, conti-" guous to the Indies; and an infinite multi-" tude of people in it, beſide thoſe of Alex-" andria; and yet this mighty populous king-" dom does not think much to be rated by the " poll toward the ſervice of the ſtate, and as " a tributary to the Romans; but tamely an-" ſwers the impoſition, though not without " ſome ground plauſible enough to murmur at it.

" How comes it now that Alexandria does " not revolt too? a ſtrong, a large, and an " opulent city, thirty * furlongs in length, " and ten † in breadth; prodigiouſly peopled, " and fortify'd all around it, either with de-" ſolated deſarts, ſeas without ports, deep " rivers, or boggy quagmires. But the for-" tune of Rome ſurmounted all theſe difficul-" ties; for two legions in the city were e-" nough to ſecure the ‡ peace of Egypt, and " to bridle the Macedonian nobility. Now " this city paid more tribute in a month than " you do in a year; and four months provi-" ſion in corn for the people of Rome, beſide " money.

The Macedonians, &c. had all the ſame maſters.

The power and majeſty of Rome.

" If this be the caſe, what deſarts do you " propound to repair to for companions in " your undertaking? for all the habitual part " of the world is clearly againſt you, and in " effect Romans; unleſs you flatter yourſelves " with hopes of aſſiſtance from your coun-" try-men the Adiabenians on the other ſide " of the Euphrates. But ſuppoſing now that " they could be guilty of ſo groſs an overſight, " as to engage in a war ſo deſperate, upon ſo " unreaſonable a ground; the Parthians them-" ſelves would never endure ſuch a diſreſpect " toward the Romans as muſt inevitably end " in a rupture, by countenancing a war againſt " them. So that you have no retreat left but " a recourſe to God's power (in truth) againſt " his providence; which is moſt evidently ſeen " in the advance, eſtabliſhment, and protec-" tion of the Roman empire.

The Romans lords of the univerſe.

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* Thirty furlongs (as has been before obſerved) amounted to ſomething more than three miles and three quarters, Engliſh meaſure.

† Ten furlongs amounted to an Engliſh mile and a quarter, and fifteen geometrical paces.

‡ See Caſaubon's notes upon Fl. Vopiſcus, p. 250.

Agrippa reflects upon the conſcience and religion of the war.

“Consider again the conſcience and religion of the war, even if you yourſelves were the ſtronger of the two. How can you pretend to diſpenſe with the violation both of God's and your own laws; or to expect a bleſſing from heaven in the very act of your diſobedience? If you * keep the ſabbath-day as ſtrictly and religiouſly as you profeſs, and as your laws bind you to do you will moſt certainly be caught in the ſame ſnare over again that your predeceſſors were hamper'd in by Pompey heretofore: that is to ſay, by taking advantage of your ſcruples, and falling upon you on thoſe days when you dare not ſo much as move a hand to defend yourſelves. Now if you make no conſcience of breaking the laws, in fighting one day as well another, how do you fight for the maintaining of them, and how can you look for any favour from God in the deliberate breach of his own commandments? Who ever made war but in hope of aſſiſtance either from God or man? and when both fail, what can be the conſequence but a voluntary wilful ſlavery? If this be your reſolution, what have you more to do, but to lay violent hands upon your wives and children, and to lay your glorious country in aſhes? The extravagant madneſs of the action will be ſome ſort of excuſe for it: beſide that it will ſave you the diſhonour of falling by the hand of an enemy. 'Tis a high point of wiſdom, my good friends, and, upon my word, a very neceſſary point, to foreſee and to provide for a ſtorm while the ſhip is yet in harbour; and it is as dangerous, on the other hand, to put off the conſideration of it till the tempeſt is upon you, and then ſtand trembling, and at your wits end, which way to turn yourſelves. As for thoſe calamities that threaten us at unawares, and by ſurprize, people that fall into them are to be pity'd, for there's no preventing of evils not to be foreſeen: but for men that run headlong into viſible hazards, they fall not only unlamented, but with infamy alſo and ſcandal.

Your way of proceeding in this affair would almoſt perſuade any perſon of common ſenſe and reaſon, that you are already agreed upon terms with the Romans, how they are to behave themſelves in caſe of gaining their point: that is to ſay, with tenderneſs and moderation, and not according to the practice of other nations, with fire and ſword; burning your cities, extirpating your whole race, and deſtroying every man of you, upon the purſuit, that ſhall outlive the fury of the battle: for which way can you fly, but into the very mouths of your enemies; who are either the ſubjects of Rome already, or ſuch as live in fear of being quickly made ſo?

The cauſe of the Jews is one common cauſe.

“And you are not to flatter yourſelves that this calamity will ſtop here neither; but all the Jews upon the face of the earth are to expect your fate, and the whole univerſe will join as one man, to the puniſhing of this rebellion. You will remember what I tell you now, when you ſhall ſee the ſtreets run blood, to gratify the impetuous violences of a few turbulent and hot headed counſellors. And the Romans are not to be blam'd at laſt, for doing only that which you yourſelves have forc'd them to; and you are then to conſider, on the other ſide, in caſe they ſhould ſpare you, what an impiety you have to anſwer for, in the abuſe of ſo much humanity and good nature.

“Or if you have no longer any ſenſe now of natural tenderneſs for your wives and children, have at leaſt ſome compaſſion for your capital city, and the ſacred walls of it; have mercy even upon the temple, your law, and the ſanctuary, which you yourſelves are now about to deſtroy with your own hands; for you are never to hope for mercy again from the Romans, after ſo ungrateful an abuſe of the dulgences you have formerly received from them.

“But to conclude, I do here call God and his holy angels, and our whole country, and all that is ſacred, to witneſs; that for my own part, I have done whatever in me lay toward your preſervation. If you will do as you ought to do, and follow my counſel, you may yet live in peace: but if you go on in this deſperate way of tumult and outrage, I will have no more to do with you.

This diſcourſe of Agrippa was ſeconded ſo effectually with the tears of his ſiſter Berenice, who was there preſent, that they both wept, and the people abated ſomewhat of their violence, and fell to mutteriug one with another, that their quarrel was not to the Romans, but to Florus, for the indignities he had put upon them. “And yet, ſays Agrippa, you do the very ſame things that the profeſs'd enemies of Rome would do. Have you not broken down the Antonian galleries; and do you not refuſe Ceſar his tribute? Now if you would remove all pretence of jealouſy, you have no more to do then, without any farther delay, but to pay the one, and to rebuild the other; for this is none either of Florus's fort or tribute.”

Agrippa brings the people in ſome meaſure to their wits again.

The people ſeem'd now to be argued into reaſon, and very orderly waited upon the king and Berenice up to the temple; where they apply'd themſelves immediately to the re-edifying of the galleries, and at the ſame time ſent their agents and officers up and down the province to collect the tribute that was unpaid; and the whole arrear, being the juſt ſum of forty † talents, was in a ſhort time pay'd in.

The violent rage of the tumult being ſomewhat abated, Agrippa adviſed the multitude to ſubmit to Florus for the preſent, till Ceſar ſhould ſend them another governor. This put the people in ſuch a flame, that they did not only give him inſolent reviling language, but pelted him with ſtones, and drove him out of the city. The king was ſenſible of the contempt, to the higheſt degree; and finding the rabble ſo inſufferably bold and ungovernable, he ſent ſeveral men of quality to Florus at Ceſarea, to make ſuch choice out of them as he thought fit, to ſerve as collectors for the whole province; and ſo Agrippa departed into his own kingdom.

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* See Selden de Jure Nat. & Gent. l. 3. c. 18, 19.

† Forty Jewiſh talents weighed four thouſand five hundred ſixty two pounds and ſix ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to thirteen thouſand ſix hundred eighty ſeven pounds and ten ſhillings, and in gold to two hundred and nineteen thouſand pounds Engliſh money.

CHAP. XVII.

Maſſada ſurpriz'd, and the gariſon put to the ſword. The Jews reject the Romans cuſtomary ſacrifices. Eleazar the head of the faction, and this refuſal the ground of the war. Men of the beſt quality are for moderate counſels. The impiety of the prohibition. An affront to Ceſar himſelf. Precedents and reports in favour of the practices. They apply themſelves to Florus and Agrippa for relief. Agrippa ſends troops to Jeruſalem. A war begun in the city. A very great ſlaughter. The feſtival Xylophoria. The king's troops worſted. The faction quits the upper town, and lays all in aſhes. Men of the beſt quality creep into ſinks and vaults. Antonia taken by aſſault. Manahem heads the Jeruſalem rebels. A notable ſtratagem defeated. The king's people get leave to depart.

Maſſada ſurpriz'd, and the gariſon put to the ſword.

SOON after this, there was a ſtrong party of the rebellious faction gotten by ſtealth into Maſſada, a Roman gariſon; where they ſurpriz'd the ſoldiers, put all the Romans to the ſword, and placed a guard of their own people in their places.

The Jews reject the Romans cuſtomary ſacrifices. Eleazar the head of the faction; and this refuſal the ground of the war.

There happen'd at the ſame time another diſorder alſo, in the temple at Jeruſalem. One Eleazar, the ſon of Ananias the high-prieſt, a deſperate daring young man, and a military officer then in command, preſs'd ſome of his friends among the prieſts, not to receive any offering or ſacrifice but from the nation of the Jews. Now this was the very ground and foundation of a war with the Romans: for upon this inſtance of Eleazar's, Ceſar's ſacrifices came to be rejected, that were offered up in courſe for the welfare of the people of Rome. The high-prieſts, and the men of the beſt quality, declared themſelves extremely unſatisfy'd with the novelty of that prohibition; and with great importunities deſir'd the continuance of ſo pious a cuſtom as the offering up of prayers for princes and governors: but the mutineers were ſtiff and inexorable, depending upon the ſtrength of their numbers; for all that were for innovations were on their ſide, Eleazar being look'd upon more particularly as the head of the ſedition; a perſon (as I ſaid before) of courage, and in command.

Men of the beſt quality are for moderate counſels.

This occaſion brought together the princes, the high-prieſts, and the Phariſees of the firſt quality, to adviſe what was beſt to be done upon the preſent juncture: for they ſaw manifeſtly the mortal conſequences that threaten'd the city by this tumult. They debated the point, and came to this reſolution; to try what they were able to do toward pacifying the minds of the people. In order to this experiment they call'd the people together in a body, before the brazen gate, (as they call'd it) on the inſide of the temple to the eaſtward: and there they began their diſcourſe, with reflections upon the raſhneſs of the enterprize, and of involving their country in ſo deſtructive a war.

The impiety and injuſtice of the prohibition.

From thence they proceeded to the unreaſonable ground of the diſpute, and the injuſtice of the cauſe; for ſo far were their predeceſſors, they ſaid, from prohibiting or refuſing oblations from ſtrangers, (which would have been a very wicked thing) that they were, in ſome ſort, a part of their worſhip: their preſents, as appears to this very day, being preſerved in the temple as ornaments, and in honour to the memory of the preſenters.

But to be now provoking the Romans to a dangerous war, and to the ſcandal, if not the ruin, of Jeruſalem itſelf, by ſetting up new methods of religion (for this impious interdiction, to the excluding of all ſorts of people but Jews, from offering up prayers and oblations to God in his holy temple, imports no leſs:) this had the face, they ſaid, of ſo extravagant an impoſition, that the very inhumanity of it were not to be excus'd, even in the caſe of any private perſon: but to make it general, and to carry it to the whole people of Rome, and effectually, to the excommunicating of Ceſar himſelf, the affront muſt needs be unpardonable.

An affront to Ceſar himſelf

But what if this contempt ſhould be turn'd upon us now, and we, that refuſe to offer up prayers and oblations for other people, ſhould not be allowed the liberty hereafter of worſhipping for ourſelves, when the city ſhall be left without all manner of diſcipline; all this we are to expect unleſs we repent, and make ſatisfaction, before Ceſar comes to the knowledge of the uncharitable and fooliſh things we have been guilty of already.

Precedents and reports in favour of the practice.

With theſe words ſeveral of the beſt read men they had in the Jewiſh rites and laws, ſtood forth with precedents and reports of the practices of former times, upon the point in queſtion; who did all agree and declare, that their anceſtors never refuſed the receiving of oblations from ſtrangers. But the innovators, whoſe buſineſs was war, not peace, gave no heed to what they ſaid; neither did the Levites ſo much as ſhew themſelves at the altar, being wholly intent upon the war.

They apply themſelves to Florus and Agrippa for ſuccour.

When the men of quality found that their authority had no influence over the multitude, but that the ſedition grew ſtronger every day than other, being ſenſible that themſelves were likelieſt to fall firſt under the laſh of the Romans, they laid their heads together, and agreed upon ſending deputies with inſtructions to make things eaſier to them; ſome to Florus, among whom Simon, the ſon of Ananias, was chief; others to Agrippa, the principals being Saul, Antipas, and Coſtobarus; which laſt was a kinſman of Agrippa's. Their buſineſs was to ſollicit them both, to come with ſome troops to Jeruſalem to cruſh the rebellion in time.

This was the beſt news in the world to Florus, who long'd for nothing more than an opportunity to inflame the war, how calamitous ſoever in itſelf; as appear'd by the delay of his anſwer to the deputies, on purpoſe to give the rebels opportunity to gather to a head. But Agrippa, who was for the common good, had a mind to ſave both parties the beſt he could, the guilty as well as the innocent; and by that means to ſecure the Jews to the Romans, and Judea and Jeruſalem to the Jews. Beſides, he was well appriz'd how much his own intereſt was at ſtake too; whereupon he ſent two thouſand auxiliary horſe; that is to ſay, from Auranitis, Batanea and Trachonitis; with Darius at the head of them, and Philip the ſon of Joachim their general.

Agrippa ſends troops to Jeruſalem.

The princes of the people, with the high-prieſts, and all that were for peace, received theſe deputies into the upper town; the lower part, and the temple, being already in the hands of the faction. They began a ſkirmiſh with darts and ſtones, and ſo proceeded to bows and arrows on both ſides, without intermiſſion: and ſometimes upon ſallies and ex-

A war begun in the city.

curſions, they fought alſo hand to hand. The rebels ſeem'd to be the more daring; but the king's men were better skill'd in the arts of war. The thing they principally preſs'd, was the forcing of the ſacrilegious faction out of the temple; while Eleazar and his complices labour'd as hard on the other ſide to make themſelves maſters of the upper town. The diſpute laſted ſeven days, without any manner of advance on either hand, but with great ſlaughter on both ſides.

A very great ſlaughter.

The feſtival of Xyplohoria.

THE feſtival of Xylophoria (as they call it) now drawing on, which had the name from the cuſtom of carrying wood to the temple, to keep * fire all the year long, they excluded the rebels from their worſhip. But while a party of the Jews were abroad upon this office, a band of cut-throats (known by the name of Sicarii, from the privy daggers they wore) fell in among theſe people; and ſo improv'd the advantage, that the king's troops being overborn, both with hardineſs and number, quitted the upper town, and the faction immediately took poſſeſſion of it. They broke after this, into the houſe of Ananias the high-prieſt, and burnt the palace of Agrippa and Berenice to aſhes: propoſing in the next place, to ſet fire to the offices of record, and to deſtroy both together, that creditors might have nothing to ſhew for their money: not doubting by this contrivance to draw over all the meaneſt part of the people, and debtors into their intereſt; and ſo to turn the quarrel into a direct war of the poor againſt the rich, under the colour of aſſerting their liberties. The keepers, in fine, that had theſe papers and ſecurities in charge, abandon'd their truſt, and ſhifted away for themſelves; and both records and offices were all burnt. After this maim to the ſtrength and credit of the city, they apply'd themſelves more particularly to the proſecution of the war.

The king's troops worſted.

The faction quits the upper town, and lays all in aſhes.

IN this deplorable confuſion, ſeveral of the nobility and high-prieſts were forced to fly for their ſafety into common ſewers and vaults; others got into the upper palace among the king's troops, bolting the doors after them, and making good the paſſage: Ananias the high-prieſt, Hezekias his brother, and Agrippa's deputies being of the number.

Men of the beſt quality creep into ſinks and vaults.

THE faction contented themſelves for the preſent with the victory they had gotten, and the miſchief they had done; and ſo lay ſtill a while and paus'd upon it. But the day following being the fifteenth of the month † Lous, they attack'd the caſtle of Antonia; and after two days they carry'd it by aſſault, cut the whole gariſon to pieces, and burnt the place; paſſing from thence to the palace, where Agrippa's troops had taken ſanctuary, they divided themſelves into four bodies, and attempted the undermining of the walls; but the defendants were fain to keep cloſe, as not being ſtrong enough to venture a ſally. The aggreſſors all this while ply'd their works, and ſeveral of the faction, as well as the Sicarii, periſh'd under the walls. In ſhort, they fought day and night without reſpite: the faction, in hope of making the defendants deſperate by ſtarving them; and the defendants propounding to tire out the faction with the fatigue of a continual duty.

Antonia taken by aſſault.

THERE was among theſe people, one Manahem, the ſon of Judas of Galilee, a crafty man, and an artificial orator: this was he that formerly upbraided the Jews, under Cyrenius, for profeſſing to worſhip one God, and yet at the ſame time owning the Romans for their maſters. This Manahem had a deſign upon Herod's arſenal at Maſſada; ſo he inveigled ſeveral men of quality into his party; took them along with him, and forc'd the place; arm'd a company of vagabonds and ſcoundrel fellows out of it; and, attended with them for his guard, he marched directly, like a little king, to Jeruſalem; ſets up for the head of the mutineers, and accordingly gave his orders in form, for the carrying on the ſiege of the palace.

Manahem heads the Jeruſalem rebels.

THE thing they moſt wanted was machines; for there was no working at the foot of the wall, within view of an enemy over their heads, to gall them from above: ſo that they began to break ground at a diſtance, and carry'd on a cover'd way to the foot of one of the towers, which they undermin'd at the foundation, and then propp'd it up with timbers to ſupport the weight. When they had finiſh'd the work, they ſet fire to thoſe timbers, and ſo withdrew: and thoſe pillars being conſum'd, the turret fell to the ground. But the king's troops were aware it ſeems of this ſtratagem, and ran up another wall immediately, behind the turret, to make the place good. This diſcovery, upon the fall of one of the towers, and when they reckon'd their work as good as done too, put the beſiegers into the greateſt aſtoniſhment and confuſion imaginable. But yet, for all this, the king's people in the palace ſent to Manahem, and the other leaders of the rebellion that were with him, for leave to depart: which was preſently granted; but only to the king's people, and others of his religion, who forthwith went their way.

A notable ſtratagem defeated.

The king's people get leave to depart.

THIS put the Romans who ſtay'd behind, quite out of heart, for they were neither able to deal with ſo vaſt a number, neither could they in honour deſcend to treat with rebels; beſide the hazard of lying at the mercy of men, who had neither honour nor faith. In this extremity they quitted the camp as not defenſible, and betook themſelves to the king's forts; as Hippon, Phaſael, and Mariamne. Manahem's people immediately breaking in as faſt as the ſoldiers quitted, killing all they could lay their hands on, ſtripping the places of all the furniture, and, in the concluſion, burning the camp. This action bore date the ſixth of the month ‡ Gorpieus.

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* Viz. The holy fire upon the altar, which originally deſcending from heaven, was to be religiouſly preſerv'd, and not ſuffer'd to go out, according to the precept given in Lev. vi. 12, 13. "And the fire upon the altar ſhall "be burning in it, it ſhall not be put out, &c. The fire ſhall ever be burning upon the altar, it ſhall never go out." Which the Jews tell us, never once happened from the times of Moſes, till the ſacking of Jeruſalem by Antiochus Epiphanes, who amongſt other prophanations of the temple, alſo put out this fire. Whoever has a mind to have any farther information herein may conſult Cuneus de Rep. Heb. 2. c. 12. and Doughtey's Analecta ſacra p. 79, 80, 81, of the ſecond Amſterdam edition.

† i. e. Auguſt. ‡ i. e. September.

CHAP. XVIII.

The death of Ananias and Hezekiah. Manahem, a mean ſcandalous wretch, ſets up for a prince. He is aſſaulted in the temple. The ſeizure and death of Manahem. The two parties but two factions one againſt the other. Metilius a Roman general treats upon terms with Eleazar. The agreement ratify'd upon oath and articles. The barbarous perfidy of Eleazar. The prologue to the ruin of the Jews. A ſabbath-day's execution.

The death of Ananias and Hezekiah.

Manahem, a mean ſcandalous wretch, ſets up for a prince. | He is aſſaulted in the temple.

The ſeizure and death of Manahem.

ON the day following, Ananias the high-prieſt was taken up out of one of the ſinks about the court, where he had hid himſelf, and his brother Hezekiah with him; and both put to death by ſome of the Sicarii. The faction ſet ſtrict guards alſo about the forts; inſomuch that none of the ſoldiers could make their eſcapes. Now, what with the ravaging of ſo many fortify'd places, and the death of Ananias the high-prieſt, Manahem was puff'd up into ſo vain and over-weaning a conceit of himſelf, that he became the moſt inhuman and inſupportable tyrant upon the face of the earth; as if no man living had the ſpirit of government but himſelf. Theſe outragious inſolencies gave occaſion to Eleazar, and ſome few of his confidents, to enter into a diſcourſe one with another upon this ſubject. "It is inſufferable, (ſays one of them) that any man "who has lifted up his hand againſt the Romans in vindication of his liberty, ſhould "betray that liberty again to a private man; "and truckle to ſuch a maſter too, as even, "if he were not unqualify'd for government "by his cruelty, were yet a ſcandal to the "function by the very meanneſs of his extraction. If there be an abſolute neceſſity of "ſetting up one man above all the reſt, Manahem certainly of all men living is not to "be choſen." Having form'd this reſolution they went together up into the temple, where they found Manahem attending his devotions, in the pomp of a prince, both for his dreſs and train, in his royal robes, with his armed guards about him. While he was priding himſelf there in the oſtentation of his glory, ſome of Eleazar's people made a violent aſſault upon his perſon; which ſet the people preſently a ſtoning him, upon a fancy that all tumults would ceaſe if he were but diſpatch'd. His guards made a ſhew of ſome ſlight reſiſtance, till they ſaw that the whole multitude were againſt him: and then every man ſhifted away the beſt he could. They kill'd as many as they could take, and after that hunted the reſt out of their skulking holes. Some few got privately into Maſſada; as Eleazar the ſon of Jairus for one, who was Manahem's near kinſman: who afterwards exerciſed a tyrannical government in that place. As for Manahem himſelf, he was taken pitifully lurking in a place call'd Ophlas; dragg'd out of his hidin ghole, expos'd, miſerably tortur'd, and then put to death. His deputies and aſſiſtants were ſerv'd likewiſe after the ſame manner, and amongſt the reſt Abſalom, who was the chief promoter of the tyranny.

The two parties but two factions one againſt the other.

Metilius a Roman general, treats upon terms with Eleazar.

The treaty ratify'd upon oath and articles.

The barbarous perfidy of Eleazar.

THE people ſtruck in all this while with the oppoſers of Manahem; fanſying to themſelves (as I have ſaid already) that this would be a ready way to the working of an accommodation; whereas that party, in truth, was only an anti-faction to Manahem, that were ſetting up for themſelves; not ſo much deſigning to ſuppreſs one tyranny, as to erect another. The multitude were at this time very earneſt with the commanding men of the faction not to bear ſo hard upon the Romans, but rather to raiſe the ſiege and let them go; but the more they preſs'd it on the one ſide, the more were they againſt it on the other. When Metilius the Roman general, and the people about him had done all that was to be done for the defence of the place, and were now brought to the laſt extremity, they offer'd to capitulate with Eleazar, and to deliver it up with all that was in it, upon condition only of quarter for their lives. The terms were readily accepted, and Gorion the ſon of Nicodemus, Ananias the ſon of Saddaca, and Judas the ſon of Jonathas, were all three employ'd to ratify the treaty upon oath, and ſo to ſign and ſeal the articles. So ſoon as the agreement was confirm'd, and the formalities over, Metilius drew off his ſoldiers without any manner of trouble or interruption, or the leaſt ſuſpicion of any; ſo long as the Romans were under their arms. But when, according to oath and compact, they came to deliver up their ſwords and ſhields, Eleazar's guards broke in upon them, ſeiz'd them, and barbarouſly aſſaſſinated them, without either reſiſtance or ſupplication on the Romans part, or ſo much as any other reproach in their mouths than the bare ſyllables of oaths and articles. Metilius at laſt was the only man that eſcap'd with his life, and the only man that begg'd it too; which was however granted him upon a promiſe of judaizing, and ſubmitting to be circumciſed.

The prologue to the ruin of the Jews.

A ſabbath-day's execution.

THIS outrage was no mortal blow yet to the Romans; for what ſignify'd the loſs of ſo many troops out of the vaſt armies they were maſters of? But it was evidently a prologue to the deſtruction of the Jews. For here was in ſight a war inevitable, on a juſt ground too, and a city (the principal in the quarrel) ſo polluted with perfidy and rebellion, that even if it ſhould eſcape the vengeance of the Romans, divine juſtice would moſt certainly find it out. Never ſo mournful, ſo univerſally ſad, and ſo deſpairing a face of things; and the innocent ſo involv'd in the dread of the common fate, as if they themſelves were to be anſwerable for the guilty: and the butchery was ſo much the more afflicting and grievous, for being executed on a ſabbath-day; upon which day we are not allow'd to do any work whatſoever, let it be never ſo holy.

CHAP. XIX.

Twenty thouſand Jews maſſacred at Ceſarea in one day. Florus ſends others in chains to the galleys. A miſerable ravage made in Syria and thereabouts. The deplorable ſtate of Syria. Jews againſt Jews. Thirteen thouſand Jews put to death at Scythopolis. Simon's exploits: a man of force and courage. Simon's confeſſion and recantation. He puts his father, mother, wife and children to death with his own hand; and finally himſelf, rather than ſubmit to the enemy.

Twenty thouſands Jews maſſacred at Ceſarea, on the very day and hour above. Florus ſends others in chains to the galleys. Miſerable havock made in Syria and thereabouts.

UPON the very ſame day and hour, as divine providence would have it, there was a maſſacre of the Jews at Ceſarea, to the number of above twenty thouſand in one day; inſomuch, that not a Jew was left in the town: for Florus pick'd up thoſe few that fled, and ſent them in chains to the galleys. This butchery made the whole nation run diſtracted; ſo the Jews divided into ſeveral bodies, and diſpers'd themſelves. They began with ſome villages of Syria, and then laid waſte ſeveral of the bordering cities: as Philadelphia, Gebonitis, Geraſſa, Pella and Scythopolis. After this, they brake in upon Gadara, Hippon, and Gaulonitis; laying ſome places in rubbiſh, and burning others; and ſo they advanced to the Tyrian Cedaſa, Ptolemais, Gaba, and Ceſarea. They over-run Sebaſte alſo and Askalon, without any oppoſition: and when they had reduced theſe places to aſhes, they deſtroy'd Anthedon and Gaza; they rifled alſo, and laid waſte ſeveral villages upon the frontiers, and put to death as many of the men as they could catch. The Syrians, on the other hand, made their repriſals upon the Jews, not only in the vaſt numbers of them that were put to the ſword, but the perſecution extended to the very inhabitants of their cities. And they did this partly out of an inveterate hatred they bare them, and in part by way of prevention, in the weakening of an enemy. The ſtate of Syria, was at this time moſt deplorable; for every city had effectually two armies in it, and no way to preſerve either of them, but by deſtroying the other. The days were ſpent actually in blood-ſhed, and the viſionary fears of worſe, made the nights yet more uneaſy. The Syrians pretence was only to remove the Jews; but then they were ſo divided about others, whom they only ſuſpected to be Jewiſh, that as they thought it hard to put them to death upon a jealouſy; ſo they were afraid to let them alone on the other hand, for fear they ſhould be Jews.

The deplorable ſtate of Syria.

Mere avarice makes people hard and cruel.

THERE were ſome again that, of moderate and good-natur'd men before, were now become hard and cruel, out of mere avarice, and the hope of lucre; for they rifled all they kill'd, and had the booty for their pains, as the reward for their virtue; reputing him the braveſt man that got moſt by his trade, for robbery was call'd victory. It was a horrid ſpectacle to ſee the ſtreets peſter'd with the dead bodies of men, women and children, that lay there, not only unbury'd, but uncover'd, without having ſo much as a rag over their nakedneſs. It was the ſame caſe with the reſt of the provinces too; beſide the dreadful proſpect of worſe calamities yet to come.

Jews againſt Jews.

THE Jews had hitherto made war only upon ſtrangers, but drawing toward the borders of Scythopolis, they found the very Jews of that quarter their enemies: ſo much did they prefer their intereſt and convenience, above either king or country. For the Scythopolitan Jews joined with the inhabitants of Scythopolis againſt the other Jews. But this agreement was manag'd with ſo much heat, that the very eagerneſs created a jealouſy of their good faith. For what, ſaid they, if theſe people ſhould jointly conſpire againſt them with the other Jews; ſurprize the town in the night, and then throw all at laſt either upon a revenge for their ſufferings, or the neceſſity of their condition? The citizens upon this occaſion, told the confederate Jews, that if they would prove themſelves to be men of integrity and juſtice towards ſtrangers, they ſhould withdraw for the preſent with their families into a certain grove there at hand. This they did accordingly, and for the two next days all was quiet at Scythopolis: but upon the third night, their ſcouts bringing them intelligence how looſe they lay, ſome faſt aſleep, others careleſs, and all off their guard, the men of Scythopolis fell upon them in this poſture, cut them all off to the number of thirteen thouſand, and ſeiz'd the pillage of their camp.

Thirteen thouſand Jews put to death at Scythopolis.

Simon's exploits. A man of force and courage.

AFTER this general account, I muſt not paſs over the death of one Simon, that periſh'd in this barbarous action. He was the ſon of one Saul; a perſon of condition, and a man famous in his time, as well for the ſtrength of his body, as for the greatneſs of his mind; both which faculties he had employ'd in the favour of the Scythopolitans, and to the wronging of his own country. He did daily executions upon ſeveral of the Jews living near that place, and would frequently put whole troops to the rout; inſomuch, that his ſingle perſon was almoſt equivalent to an army: but in the end, a vengeance overtook him anſwerable to his crime. For when he ſaw how the Jews were ſurrounded with the Scythopolitans, and ſtuck with arrows and darts all over the grove, Simon drew his ſword, and without aſſailing the enemy (for it would have been to no purpoſe to have attacked ſuch a multitude) he addreſs'd himſelf with outcries and exclamations to the men of Scythopolis. "How juſtly am I puniſh'd " here, ſays he, for the ills I have done, with " and for purchaſing your truſt and good will " the lives of ſo many of my fellow citizens! " Why ſhould ſtrangers be truer to me than I " have been to my friends and country? But I " am now to die, and it will not become a " man of honour to fall by the hand of an " enemy, but rather to do juſtice upon myſelf: " which will be an end and a puniſhment wor" thy of me, and agreeable to the reputation " of a hero; that is to ſay, I will not put it " into the power of an enemy to glory in my " ruin, and to triumph over me in my cala" mity." Upon the ſpeaking of theſe words, he took a view of his wife, his children, his ancient parents, and his whole family that were then about him, with both tenderneſs and rage in his eyes. While he was thus gazing as in ſuſpence, he took his father by the hair, ſet his foot upon him, and ſo ran him through. His mother's turn was next, and he kill'd her too; who ſeem'd willing enough to receive the ſtroke. After the father and the mother, he did execution likewiſe upon his wife, and his ſons; who appear'd rather to meet the weapon than

Simon's confeſſion and recantation.

He puts his father, mother, wife and children to death with his own hand.

And finally himſelf, to prevent the ſtroke of the enemy.

than to avoid it; and by that means they prevented the enemy. But when he had put all his kindred to death, he heap'd them one upon another; and then advancing himſelf upon their bodies, he ſtretch'd out his right hand for all the people to take notice of it, and ſo plunged the ſword into his own bowels. This young man, for the force of his body and the firmneſs of his mind, deſerves to be remember'd with compaſſion: but whoever conſiders his fidelity to ſtrangers, and his unnatural inhumanity to his own brethren, cannot but confeſs, that in the end he was rewarded according to his works.

CHAP. XX.

Several other maſſacres of the Jews. Agrippa takes a journey to Antioch, and leaves Varus his deputy. Batanea ſends ſeventy deputies to ſolicit for a gariſon. Varus cuts them all off upon the way. Agrippa removes him from his government. The rebels make themſelves maſters of Cypros. The Romans deliver up Macherus to the Jews.

Several other maſſacres of the Jews.

THIS maſſacre at Scythopolis was follow'd with ſeveral in other places after that example: two thouſand five hundred in Askalon; two thouſand in Ptolemais; a great number of the Jews put to death at Tyre, and more ty'd in chains: in Hippon and Gadara they cur off all that were ſtirring and active, impriſoning the reſt: and at this rate they were dealt with elſewhere, in proportion as they were hated or fear'd. But in Antioch, Sidon and Apamia, they were ſafe and quiet in the enjoyment of their lives and liberties: whether it was that they were not ſtrong enough to be dangerous, or out of compaſſion to a people that did not ſeem to have any deſign upon the ſtate, which ſeems to have been the more probable opinion of the two. As for the Geraſenes, they ſuffer'd the Jews that had a mind to ſtay with them, without any moleſtation; and thoſe who choſe rather to depart, they gave them a ſafe conduct to their own borders.

Agrippa takes a journey, and leaves Varus his deputy. Batanea ſends ſeventy deputies to ſolicit for a gariſon. Varus cuts them all off upon the way.

There fell out at the ſame time a very unhappy buſineſs for the Jews in the kingdom of Agrippa. This prince having occaſion to give Ceſtius Gallus a viſit at Antioch, left one Varus, a friend of his and a kinſman of king Sohemus's, to adminiſter in his abſence. At that time, the province of Batanea ſent ſeventy of the beſt men they had, for wiſdom and quality, to deſire the favour of a gariſon; to the end that, in caſe of any commotion or tumult, they might be in condition to ſuppreſs it. Varus preſently ſends out a party of the king's troops to cut them all off upon the way. This he had the confidence to do, not only without the privity of king Agrippa, but much againſt his liking. It was his extreme avarice, that tranſported him to this impious outrage upon his countrymen: and after ſo flagitious a beginning, he ſtopp'd at no manner of tyranny or iniquity, but went on abuſing his power in every thing he did. When Agrippa came to underſtand, and to conſider the havock Varus had made he was loth, for Sohemus's ſake, to put him to death, but however remov'd him immediately from his government.

Agrippa removes him from his government.

The rebels make themſelves maſters of Cypros. The Romans deliver up Macherus to the Jews.

The rebels in the mean while, got poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Cypros, upon the frontiers of Jericho; put the gariſon to the ſword, and demoliſh'd the place. At the ſame time another great body of Jews treated with the Romans in Macherus to deliver up the garriſon; who chuſing rather to part with it by agreement, than ſtay to be beaten out of it, render'd upon compoſition.

CHAP. XXI.

The Jews much in favour formerly with Alexander the Great; and no leſs afterwards with the Ceſars. A deſperate tumult in Alexandria betwixt the Jews and the Greeks; and they had laid all in aſhes, if Tiberius had not compoſed it. Tiberius turns his army looſe upon them, with a commiſſion to kill, burn, and pillage at pleaſure. Fifty thouſand Jews kill'd upon the place, and the reſt beg their lives. The implacable rage of the Alexandrians.

The Jews much in favour formerly with Alexander the Great.

THE natives of Alexandria bore a mortal antipathy to the Jews there, from the days of Alexander the Great; who in acknowledgment of the ſervices they had done him againſt the Egyptians, made them free of the city; granting them all manner of privileges in common with the Greeks themſelves: and thoſe privileges were continu'd to them by Alexander's ſucceſſors, and a peculiar quarter aſſign'd them apart to themſelves; where they liv'd in a manner ſequeſter'd from the converſation of other people: being likewiſe entitled to the honour of calling themſelves Macedonians. When Egypt came afterward to fall into the hands of the Romans, the Jews had their old privileges ſtill continu'd by Ceſar and his ſucceſſors; but the Jews and the Greeks were perpetually claſhing; and though they ſuffer'd juſtice on both ſides for their miſdemeanours, all this had no other effect yet than to inflame the ſedition.

And no leſs afterward with the Ceſars, when Egypt fell into the hands of the Romans.

A deſperate tumult in Alexandria betwixt the Jews and the Greeks.

They had laid all in aſhes, if Tiberius had not brought them to ſome degree of reaſon.

Things were now at this time in extreme diſorder and confuſion every where; but nothing yet to what they were at Alexandria. The Greeks being met in an aſſembly, about an embaſſy to Nero, upon ſome extraordinary occaſion, there came ruſhing into the amphitheatre a mixed croud of Jews and Greeks. The Greeks ſet up an outcry that the Jews were enemies and ſpies; and in the ſame inſtant leapt at them in a rage, and fell upon them. They took three of the company, and the reſt got away; but thoſe three they dragg'd along, with a deſign to burn them alive. This commotion brought in the whole body of the Jews to their reſcue; who began with caſting ſtones at them at firſt, and, after that, they ran with flambeaux in their hands up to the amphitheatre, threatening the whole multitude to burn them all to aſhes. This they had certainly done, if Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, had not a little pacify'd the fury. And he did not effect this by violent ways neither, but by employing ſome of the moſt popular men among themſelves, to try if they could bring them to reaſon by gentle means and perſuaſion; adviſing them to moderation, and to have a care how they provok'd the Roman ſoldiers: the Jews all the while turning this formal gravity into ridicule, and venting their conceits and reproaches upon Tiberius himſelf.

Tiberius turns his army looſe upon him.

WHEN Tiberius found that this uproar was not to be laid without miſchief, he preſently let looſe upon them two Roman legions that were then in the city, and five thouſand Libyan ſoldiers, that came by providence in that nick of time to plague the mutineers. Their orders were not only to kill all oppoſers, but to ſeize their goods alſo; pillage their houſes, and then ſet fire to them. The word was no ſooner given, but they march'd away to a quarter of the town that is called Delta: (where the Jews were then gotten together in a body) and there put their orders in execution to the uttermoſt extremity. The Jews plac'd their beſt arm'd men in the front; who for a while made a ſtout reſiſtance: but upon the firſt diſorder, they were ſcatter'd and cut to pieces; though in the mean time it prov'd a bloody victory. Death and deſtruction, in fine, never appear'd in ſo many ſeveral ſhapes: fire, ſword, pillage, without either tenderneſs for infants, or reverence for gray hairs, or any diſtinction of age or ſex; and the whole place overflowing with blood. There were fifty thouſand dead bodies pil'd up in a heap; and the reſt would have under-gone the ſame fate, if their ſtomachs had not been brought down to beg their lives. Hereupon Alexander in pity, bid the ſoldiers hold their hands; which they did at firſt word, out of the deference they paid to order and diſcipline. But the hatred of the Alexandrians was ſo implacable, that they had much ado to reſtrain them, even from inſulting upon the very carcaſes. This happen'd at Alexandria.

With a commiſſion, to kill, burn, and pillage at pleaſure.

The Jews ſcatter'd.

Fifty thouſand dead upon the place; and the reſt beg their lives.

The implacable rage of the Alexandrians.

CHAP. XXII.

The vaſt power of the Romans. The country comes in to Ceſtius, upon his march to Ptolemais: Agrippa joins him. Zabulon deſerted, plunder'd and burnt. Ceſtius returns to Ptolemais. Two thouſand ſtragglers of the Syrians cut off by the Jews. Ceſtius removes to Ceſarea. Joppa deſtroy'd; man, woman and child.

The vaſt power of the Romans.

CESTIUS finding the Jews every where poſſeſs'd with a ſpirit of rebellion, made his advantage of it in a vigorous proſecution of the war. He drew out his troops, and marched for Ptolemais. He took along with him the twelfth legion entire, which he had at Antioch; two thouſand choſen men out of the other legions, four wings of horſe, beſide the king's auxiliaries: that is to ſay, two thouſand horſe, and three thouſand foot of Antiochus, arm'd all with bows and arrows; a thouſand horſe, and three thouſand foot of king Agrippa's; a body of four thouſand men of king Sohemus's; a third part horſe, and the remainder of them foot, moſt of them archers. The people came trooping in to Ceſtius, out of the cities all the way as he paſs'd to Ptolemais: not ſo good ſoldiers as his own perhaps; but what they wanted in conduct and experience, was ſupply'd with zeal to the cauſe, and ſpite to the Jews.

The country comes in to Ceſtius upon his march to Ptolemais.

Agrippa joins him with his troops and perſon.

AGRIPPA aſſiſted Ceſtius both with his troops and counſel, and ſo the general march'd away with part of his army to Zabulon, the ſtrongeſt city of Galilee, (otherwiſe called * Andron) which divides Judea from Ptolemais. When he came up to the place, he found all ſorts of proviſions there in abundance, but not one man to be ſeen in the town; for the people were all fled up to the mountains; whereupon Ceſtius gave his ſoldiers the pillage of the city. The general ſtood in admiration at the beauty and curioſity of the buildings; which were built much after the manner of Tyre, Sidon and Berytus; but notwithſtanding this, he burnt and raz'd them to the ground. From thence he over-ran the whole country, deſtroying whatever fell in his way. When he had laid waſte the territory, and ſet all the neighbouring villages in a flame, he left them in aſhes, which done, he returned back again to Ptolemais. The Syrians hearts were ſo ſet upon booty, eſpecially thoſe of Berytus, that there was no getting them away; but a great many of their ſtragglers ſtay'd behind. The Jews took courage upon the retreat of Ceſtius; and falling upon the plunderers by ſurprize, cut them off to the number of near two thouſand.

Zabulon deſerted, pillag'd and burnt.

Ceſtius returns to Ptolemais.

Two thouſand ſtragglers of the Syrians cut off by the Jews.

Ceſtius removes to Ceſarea.

FROM Ptolemais, Ceſtius marched to Ceſarea, and from thence ſent a detachment out of his army to Joppa, with orders to preſerve the place, if they could quietly get poſſeſſion of it; but in caſe the inhabitants ſhould put themſelves in poſture to defend it, they ſhould then wait for the bringing up the reſt of the army. The Romans, in fine, aſſaulted the place both by ſea and land, and maſter'd it without much difficulty. For the people were ſo far from attempting to diſpute it by force, that they had not room left ſo much as for an eſcape; but they were all put to the ſword, men, women and children; maſters and ſervants, without diſtinction; the city plunder'd and burnt, and the number of the ſlain computed to be about eight thouſand and four hundred perſons. They made the like havock with a body of horſe in the neighbouring toparchy of † Narbatene near ‡ Ceſarea; where they laid the country waſte, put great numbers of the inhabitants to the ſword, ſeized their goods and eſtates, and bury'd their cities in aſhes.

Joppa deſtroy'd; man, woman and child, without diſtinction.

CHAP.

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* Or the city of men.

† Nabartine, Ruf.

‡ Samaria, Ruf.

CHAP. XXIII.

Ceſennius Gallus commands in Galilee under Ceſtius. Sepphoris and that neighbourhood ſide with the Romans. The Romans too hard for the free-booters upon even terms. Gallus moves from Galilee to Ceſarea; and Ceſtius with the army to Antipatris. Lydda burnt and deſtroy'd. Ceſtius incamps within fifty furlongs of Jeruſalem. The Jews make a furious ſally upon the ſabbath-day. Ceſtius and his whole army in danger. The Jews put to a retreat. The Romans draw off, and the Jews fall upon their rear.

Ceſennius Gallus commands in Galilee, under Ceſtius. Sepphoris and the neighbourhood ſide with the Romans.

CESTIUS ſent the twelfth legion alſo into Galilee, under the command of Ceſennius Gallus, with a conjunction of as many other troops as he judg'd ſufficient for the ſubduing of that province. Sepphoris, which is the ſtrongeſt city they had, open'd their gates to him, and the reſt of the towns had the prudence to follow their example: but for the mutineers and free-booters, they withdrew themſelves to the mountain of Aſamon, that croſſes Galilee, and lies juſt oppoſite to Sepphoris. Gallus advanc'd upon them in their own poſt; but ſo long as the vagabond party kept the upper ground, they were too hard for the Romans, and kill'd upward of two hundred of them upon the encounter. But when the Romans came to take compaſs, and by little and little to gain the top of the mountain, and to deal with them upon even terms, the fugitives were preſently routed: for neither were their ill-arm'd men able to ſtand the ſhock, nor they that fled, to eſcape the purſuit of the horſe. Some few there were that ſav'd themſelves by creeping into faſtneſſes and crags; but there were above two thouſand of them cut to pieces.

The Romans too hard for the free-booters, upon even terms.

GALLUS finding by this time that there was no more occaſion for him in Galilee, drew off his troops to Ceſarea; and Ceſtius with the whole army went to Antipatris. He was there given to underſtand, that a very conſiderable body of the Jews was gotten into the tower of Aphec, and he ſent a party thither to diſlodge them. But the Jews not being in condition to ſtand the attack, abandon'd it to the Romans, who rifled it, and then ſet fire to all the adjoining villages.

Gallus moves from Galilee to Ceſarea; and Ceſtius with the army to Antipatris.

CESTIUS remov'd from Antipatris to Lydda; where he found only fifty men in the city; the reſt were gone up to Jeruſalem to the feaſt of tabernacles. He put thoſe fifty to the ſword, burnt the town, and ſo advanced by the way of Bethoron to a certain place called Gabaon, about fifty * furlongs from Jeruſalem, and there he pitch'd his camp.

Lydda burnt and deſtroy'd. Ceſtius encamps within fifty furlongs of Jeruſalem.

THE Jews finding now that the war was brought home to their own door, even to Jeruſalem their metropolis, laid aſide the ſtrictneſs of a feſtival, and ſtood to their arms. They reckon'd upon it that they had men enow; and in that confidence they ſally'd out upon the Romans, with hideous clamours, and in a furious confuſion, without ſcruple or any regard to the ſanction of the ſeventh-day, (for it was now their ſabbath, which among them is moſt religiouſly obſerv'd.) But the ſame rage that made them forget the conſcience of the action, prov'd an advantage to them upon the execution of their extravagancies: for they repuls'd the Romans upon the firſt charge, diſorder'd their front, and made ſo furious an impreſſion into their main body, that if they had not been ſupported by a ſtand of foot that was yet entire, and a party of horſe that came in to their ſuccour in the very critical minute, Ceſtius and his whole army had been in danger of being loſt. There fell five hundred and fifteen of the Roman ſoldiers in this skirmiſh: four hundred of them horſe, the reſt foot. There were kill'd upon the place two and twenty of the Jews. The two cavaliers that ſignaliz'd themſelves in this action to the higheſt degree, were Monobaſus and Cenedeus, two kinſmen of Monobazus the king of the Adiabenians. The next in reputation to theſe two worthies, were Niger of Perea, and Silas the Babylonian, who went over from king Agrippa, whom he had formerly ſerv'd, into the intereſt of the Jews.

The Jews make a furious ſally upon the ſabbath-day. The ſeventh-day's ſcruple laid aſide.

Ceſtius and his whole army in danger.

THE Jews being now forced to a retreat, retired back again into the city; while the Romans drawing off alſo to Bethoron, were preſs'd upon the rear by Gloras, the ſon of Simon; who cut off ſeveral of them, ſeiz'd their carriages and baggage that they found upon the way; and carry'd them off to Jeruſalem. Ceſtius continu'd three days after this in the field; for the Jews lay watching for his remove, upon the hills that overlook'd him: and if the Romans had but ſtirr'd, the enemy, in all probability, would have fallen upon them.

The Jews put to a retreat. The Romans draw off, and the Jews fall upon their rear.

CHAP. XXIV.

Agrippa propounds an alliance with the Romans, and ſends Borceus and Phebus to manage the treaty. The people riſe upon it, &c. Ceſtius falls upon them, and purſues them to the walls of Jeruſalem, bringing the whole army up to the city, &c. The Jews repair to the defenſe of the walls. The Romans repuls'd upon ſeveral aſſaults. An invention to ſecure the pioneers, &c. Ceſtius quits the ſiege, and the rebels fall upon his rear. A dreadful blow to the Romans, who are not in condition either to fight or to fly. Ceſtius had been loſt, but that the Jews wanted day-light. The Romans ſteal away to Bethoron, and are beſet by the Jews. Ceſtius ſaves himſelf by a ſtratagem. The Jews purſue them to Antipatris, and ſo give over the chaſe.

WHEN Agrippa ſaw what prodigious numbers of Jews there were upon the hills and eminent places, he could not think the very Romans themſelves altogether ſafe within reach of ſo formidable an enemy. So that he reſolved to try, if there were any good to be done upon them by fair words; flattering himſelf that they might be reaſon'd perhaps into a better underſtanding one of another: or however, if he could not perfectly reconcile them, he might poſſibly be able to divide them, and abate ſomething of the rancour of the quarrel. Agrippa, in purſuance of this reſolution, ſent two of his friends and officers, Borceus and Phebus, who were men of known fame and integrity, to offer them a league of

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* Fifty furlongs amounted to ſix Engliſh miles and a quarter, and ſeventy five geometrical paces.

Agrippa propoſes an alliance with the Romans. He ſends Borceus and Phebus to manage the reaty. This makes the people jealous. They kill Phebus, and the other gets off wounded.

alliance with the people of Rome, with an aſſurance of pardon and indemnity for all that was paſt, upon condition only of taking up other thoughts, and laying down arms. The faction, upon the hearing of this propoſal, were ſo deſperately afraid of the people's going over to Agrippa, in hope of this amneſty, that they reſolv'd to take off the heads of the embaſſadors. They kill'd Phebus before he could ſo much as open his mouth. Borceus was wounded and got off: but the multitude were ſo enrag'd at the baſeneſs of ſo wicked an action, that they forc'd the mutineers with ſtones and cudgels into the town.

Ceſtius charges, routs, and purſues them to the walls of Jeruſalem.

This inteſtine diviſion gave Ceſtius the faireſt opportunity in the world to break in upon the faction: ſo that he advanced up to them with his whole army; charg'd and routed them; following the purſuit up to the very walls of Jeruſalem, and then march'd off again to a place call'd Scopus, about ſeven * furlongs from the city; and there he pitch'd his camp; where he lay three whole days, without attempting any thing upon the place; hoping perchance, that, upon ſecond thoughts, the people within might come to themſelves again. He ſent into the neighbourhood indeed for corn and neceſſaries, and that was all he did.

Ceſtius advances with his whole army up to the city.

On the fourth day, being the thirtieth of the month † Hyperberetæus, he advanced with his whole army in very good order up to the city; where the multitude durſt not ſo much as ſtir for fear of the faction: nay, and the very heads of the ſedition were ſo ſtartled at the Roman conduct and diſcipline in their march, that they themſelves quitted the ſkirts and out-works of the city, and withdrew into the temple. Ceſtius took his way by Bezetha; and in his paſſage forward burnt Cenopolis, and a place called the Wood-market; whence, advancing to the upper town, he pitch'd his camp near the palace. Now if he had but puſh'd it to an aſſault upon that nick of time, how eaſily might he have carry'd the place, and put an end to the war! But Tyrannus and Priſcus, two of their generals, and ſeveral other great officers, corrupted with Florus's money, diverted him from his purpoſe: and this falſe ſtep prov'd the abſolute ruin of the Jews, and the ſource of all the calamities that afterward befel them.

And pitches his camp near the palace.

A mortal overſight occaſion'd by bribery.

The gates offer'd to Ceſtius, who ſlips his opportunity.

Under theſe circumſtances, Ananus the ſon of Jonathas, and divers of the principal Jews, call'd out to Ceſtius, and offer'd to open him the gates; but he delay'd his reſolution ſo long, either out of indignation, or of diffidence, that the plot was diſcover'd, and Ananus with his companions forced by ſtones from the walls, to fly for ſanctuary to their own houſes.

The Jews repair upon this to the defence of the walls.

The Jews diſpers'd themſelves, upon this, into the turrets, to the defenſe of the walls, which for five days they made good againſt the utmoſt efforts of the Romans, though preſs'd with a moſt impetuous violence. On the ſixth day, Ceſtius with the choiceſt of his troops and archers, gave an aſſault to the north-ſide of the temple; but was ſo bloodily gall'd with ſhot and ſtones from the porch and galleries, that the Romans were ſeveral times forc'd, not only to ſhrink and give way, but in the end directly beaten off. After theſe repulſes, the Romans at laſt bethought themſelves of this invention. The front clapp'd their bucklers cloſe to the wall; and ſo covering their heads and ſhoulders with them, one after another, they join'd them in order, buckler to buckler, till altogether they made up a cover like the figure of a tortoiſe; which being proof againſt all the enemy's darts and arrows, the Romans were now at liberty to ſap, and work upon the foundation of the walls, without any further danger: and the next thing they did was to attempt the firing of the temple gates. This put the faction into ſuch an aſtoniſhment, that they gave all for loſt; and a great many of them quitted the town upon it. The honeſt party were as much elevated on the one hand, as the rebels were caſt down on the other; inſomuch, that they called out to open the gates to Ceſtius, whom they look'd upon as their friend and preſerver. Thus far it went; and if the general had but continued the ſiege never ſo little a while longer, the town had certainly been their own; but God in his juſt diſpleaſure would not ſuffer this wicked and dreadful war to go off ſo. For Ceſtius, without ever heeding, either the good diſpoſition of the people in general, or the deſperation of the rebels in the town, by a kind of judicial infatuation, drew off his men all on a ſudden, even when their hopes were at the faireſt; and ſo, againſt all juſtice and reaſon, quitted the ſiege. This unexpected departure of Ceſtius put the revolters in ſuch heart again, that they fell upon his rear, and cut off ſeveral of his people both horſe and foot. He reſted that night in a camp that he had fortify'd at a place call'd Scopus. The next day he continued his march with the enemy ſtill at the back of him, as upon a purſuit, and killing him a great many men. The Romans had thrown up a trench with paliſadoes on both ſides of the way; where the Jews with their darts and arrows annoy'd the Romans extremely, in their march acroſs the paſſage, without any revenge, or ſo much as turning their heads to look the enemy in the face. This they did, as not being in condition to ſecure their flanks; partly out of an apprehenſion of their mighty numbers, and partly for fear of breaking the order of their march, being heavy-arm'd themſelves, and the Jews on the other hand light, and at liberty for excurſions and ſurprizes, upon any occaſion. Upon the whole matter, it was a terrible blow to the Romans, and coſt the Jews nothing. The ways, in fine, were cover'd with dead and wounded bodies upon this retreat. Among the ſlain was Priſcus that commanded the ſixth legion; Longinus the tribune, and Emilius Jucundus major of the horſe, beſide common ſoldiers in abundance; but got at laſt, with the loſs of a great part of their baggage to Gabaoh; where they had encamped before.

The Romans beaten off upon ſeveral aſſaults. The Romans invention to cover their pioneers.

Another groſs miſtake.

Ceſtius quits the ſiege. The rebels take heart upon it, and fall upon his rear.

A dreadful blow to the Romans.

Ceſtius in a miſerable diſtreſs.

Cestius was now at his wits end, and took two days time to conſider what to do next. Upon the third day, he found the numbers of the Jews mightily encreas'd, and the whole country up in arms, and ready to fall upon him. He was ſenſible by this time that his delay had not only hinder'd but endanger'd

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* Seven furlongs were eight hundred ſeventy five geometrical paces, or ſeven eighths of a mile.

† i. e. October.

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him; and that the longer he ſtay'd, the greater ſtill would be the number of enemies he ſhould have to deal with.

The general, upon this, order'd the army to be forthwith diſcharg'd of all encumbrances, for the eaſe and expedition of the march. The mules, aſſes, and other beaſts of burden he cauſ'd to be all kill'd, ſaving only enough to carry arms and machines; which he thought he might have further occaſion for; beſide the miſchief of their being employ'd againſt him, if they ſhould fall into the hands of the enemy. This was the ſtate and poſture of the army in their advance to Bethoron, and himſelf at the head of them. The Jews gave them no manner of interruption, ſo long as they continued in an open country; but when they came into hollow ways and defilees, they charg'd them front and rear to divide them from the army, and to force them further into the valley. The Jews in the mean time, from the rocks and the crags, pouring down their ſhot upon the heads of the Romans. While the foot was in this miſerable diſtreſs; and conſidering which way to turn themſelves, the condition of the horſe was much more deſperate; for they could neither advance up to the Jews to attack them upon the mountains, nor ſecure themſelves againſt them in the vallies; neither could they keep their troops in order againſt that ſhower of arrows that was poured down among them. To ſay nothing of thoſe that periſh'd by precipices and other miſadventures. They were in ſuch a ſtreight, in ſhort, that they could neither fight nor fly; and in this deſponding extremity, the Romans had recourſe to all the paſſionate extravagances of tears, groans and outcries, that are uſual in ſuch caſes; while the rocks and the vallies rung on the other ſide with tranſports of encouragement, joy, inſolence and triumph. So it was, in fine, that if the Jews had had day-light, the whole army of Ceſtius had been totally deſtroy'd; but night coming on, the Romans made a ſhift to ſteal away to Bethoron; where the Jews immediately ſecur'd all paſſes thereabouts, to cut off Ceſtius's retreat.

The Romans not in condition either to fight or fly.

Ceſtius had been utterly loſt if the Jews had but had day-light
The Romans ſteal away to Bethoron
They are beſet by the Jews.
Ceſtius makes his eſcape by a ſtratagem.

When Ceſtius found how he was beſet, and the impoſſibility of his getting off in the face of the enemy, he bethought himſelf of a ſtratagem to aſſiſt him in his eſcape; that is to ſay, he poſted betwixt three and four hundred of his braveſt men upon the tops of the houſes, with orders to call out as loud as they could bawl, to the watches and the guards, like ſo many centinels, as if the army were not as yet decamped. While this was a doing, Ceſtius ſhrunk away ſilently with the reſt of his people, and marched about thirty * furlongs that night. But when the Jews came the next morning to find the place quitted, and the groſs of the army withdrawn, they fell immediately upon the four hundred Romans that had betray'd them into that miſtake, kill'd every man of them, and then put themſelves upon the purſuit of Ceſtius; but Ceſtius having gotten a long night's march before them, and loſing no time the next day neither, to get off, there was no overtaking them. The ſoldiers however fled in ſuch haſte and confuſion, that they dropt all their machines, their ſlings, and other inſtruments for battery and attack, by the way; which the Jews took up and made uſe of afterwards againſt the Romans. They follow'd the chaſe as far as Antipatris: but finding that they were got out of their reach, they took care of their engines, ſtripp'd the dead, gather'd their booty together, and ſo return'd to Jeruſalem with ſongs of triumph in their mouths for ſo great a victory, with ſo very inconſiderable a loſs. There were kill'd of the Romans, and their auxiliaries † four thouſand foot and three hundred eighty horſe. This happen'd on the eight day of the month ‡ Dius, and in the twelfth year of Nero.

The Jews purſue them to Antipatris, and ſo give over the chace.

CHAP. XXV.

The Jews quit Jeruſalem. Ceſtius ſends Nero word of the miſcarriage, and lays the blame upon Florus. A conſpiracy at Damaſcus againſt the Jews. Ten thouſand of their throats cut in one hour. The Jews ſettle their officers civil and military. Eleazar ingratiates himſelf with the people. Joſephus the hiſtorian governor of both Galilees. His principles and inclinations. His method and form of government. A council of ſeventy. The defenſible cities to be wall'd in. The Roman order and diſcipline to be eſtabliſh'd. Joſephus maſter of an army to his own wiſh.

UPON this diſaſter happening to Ceſtius, the moſt conſiderable of the Jews in Jeruſalem quitted the city as a ſhip ſinking in a ſtorm. Coſtobarus and Saul, two brothers, and Philip the ſon of Jacimus, formerly Agrippa's general, ſtole away and withdrew to Ceſtius; but Antipas their fellow-priſoner in the palace, ſcorning to ſave himſelf by flight, was put to death by the faction. The manner of it we ſhall ſhew hereafter. Now Ceſtius ſent Saul and his companions to Nero in Achaia, with an account of his misfortunes; but caſting the blame of the whole miſcarriage upon Florus. Ceſtius took this method, in hopes thereby of exempting himſelf from blame, and diverting the ſtorm upon the other.

The Jews quit Jeruſalem like a ſinking veſſel in a ſtorm.

Ceſtius ſends Nero word of the miſcarriage, and lays the fault upon Florus.

So ſoon as the news of this defeat came to Damaſcus, the inhabitants enter'd into a confederacy to deſtroy all the Jews of that place, computing with themſelves, that if they could but take them together in the baths, or ſome other publick place, the deſign might be eaſily put in execution. All their fear was, leſt their wives, who were moſt of them attach'd to the Jewiſh religion, ſhould come to get notice of it. The people, in fine, took their opportunity, when the Jews were at ſuch a meeting; the place narrow, and themſelves without arms; and falling upon them, cut the throats of ten thouſand of them in one hour, without any difficulty.

A conſpiracy at Damaſcus againſt the Jews.

Ten thouſand of their throats cut in one hour.

The Jews that had chas'd away Ceſtius, being by this time come back to Jeruſalem, made it their buſineſs, both by menaces and flatteries, to draw over as many of the Romans as they could engage into their party. Upon this, they had a meeting in the temple about

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* Thirty furlongs (as has been before obſerved) amounted to three Engliſh miles and three quarters, and forty five geometrical paces.

† In Ruf. five thouſand three hundred foot, nine hundred and eighty horſe.

‡ i.e. November.

The Jews ſettle their officers civil and military.

the election of officers for the government of the war. So they declar'd Joſeph the ſon of Gorion, and Ananus the high-prieſt, their governors in civil matters, and the affairs of the city; recommending to their care, in a more eſpecial manner, the rebuilding of their walls. As for Eleazar the ſon of Simon, though he had in his poſſeſſion a mighty booty that was taken from the Romans, a conſiderable ſum of money from Ceſtius, and a maſs of publick treaſure to a great value over and above, they did not think fit yet to confer upon him any commiſſion at all; looking upon him as a man of an imperious and tyrannical humour, and upon his friends and confidents alſo, rather as guards than companions. But this did not hinder Eleazar however from inſinuating himſelf, by little and little, into the affections and eſteem of the people: and he ſo far wrought upon them by popular arts, money and addreſs, that they thought no man ſo well qualify'd for a governor as himſelf.

Eleazar makes himſelf popular.

The commanders that they ſent into Idumea, were Jeſus the ſon of Sapphas, one of the high-prieſts, and Eleazar the ſon of the new high-prieſt; therewithal commanding Niger, the preſent governor of that province, to obey their orders. This Niger came from beyond Jordan, from whence he was call'd Peraites.

They took the ſame care likewiſe elſewhere. As they ſent Joſeph the ſon of Simon to Jericho, Manaſſes beyond the river, and John the Eſſene to Thamna. And to theſe were added Lydda, Joppa, and Emmaus, to be adminiſter'd in the form of toparchies. John the ſon of Ananias was made governor of Gophnitis and Acrabatene, and Joſeph the ſon of Matthias, governor of both the Galilees; caſting Gamala alſo into his command, the ſtrongeſt place in the whole country.

Joſeph the author of this hiſtory.

These governors diſcharg'd their parts with chearfulneſs and prudence, every man according to his commiſſion. As for Joſeph, upon his coming into Galilee, the firſt thing that he propoſed to himſelf was to make ſure of the hearts of the people; an intereſt, which he knew, even in caſe of the worſt, would attone for ſmall miſtakes. He conſider'd farther, that the certain way to make great men his friends, was to admit great men into a ſhare of the government; and that the way then to oblige the whole multitude, would be to employ natives and popular inſtruments in popular caſes. Now Joſeph's method was this: he choſe a council of ſeventy, out of the elders, men for prudence and wiſdom the ableſt of the nation. To this council of ſeventy, he committed the whole government of Galilee, under ſome few reſtrictions. He diſpos'd of theſe ſeventy judges, ſeven into every city, with a commiſſion to hear and determine all common cauſes, in ſuch manner and form as he had preſcrib'd; reſerving to himſelf the judgment of capital cauſes, and matters of greater importance.

His principles and inclinations.

His method and form of government. A council of ſeventy.

The ſeventy being thus diſtributed, and affairs regulated at home, Joſeph took alſo into conſideration what was to be done to ſecure them from abroad. He made no manner of queſtion but that the Romans would moſt certainly break into Galilee; and therefore he took care in the firſt place, to wall in all the defenſible cities; as Jotapata, Berſabee, Selamis, Pereccho, Japha and Sigoh, Tarichee and Tiberias, with the mountain Itabyr. He fortify'd alſo the caves about the lake of Genezareth, in the lower Galilee. And in the upper Galilee, Petra, of the Achabarians; Seph, Jamnith and Mero, Seleucia, Soganes and Gamala, in Gaulanitis. Only the Sepphorites, being a wealthy, and naturally a martial people, had liberty to build their own walls. John the ſon of Levi, by Joſeph's order, wall'd in Giſchala too. As to the reſt of the caſtles, they were fortify'd by the direction and aſſiſtance of Joſeph himſelf.

The defenſible cities to be wall'd in.

He got upward of a hundred thouſand men out of Galilee, and furniſh'd them all with old arms that he had pick'd up here and there. He fell to bethinking himſelf in the next place of the mighty power of Rome, and what it might be that made the Romans ſo invincible; aſcribing it in the concluſion to their obedience to the word of command and diſcipline. But precept muſt give way to neceſſity, and in regard that he had no time at preſent to train his people up to the latter, he would at leaſt endeavour to inure them to the former. And no better method could he think of, than the Roman way of multiplying officers; dividing and ſubdividing offices of command into ſeveral ſubordinations, one under another; and that was the courſe he took. He had his officers over tens, hundreds and thouſands; and all theſe ſubjected ſtill to other ſuperiors. He taught them the myſtery and diſcipline of all ſignals, the points of war in the voice of the trumpet, to diſtinguiſh an alarum, a charge, a retreat, and one ſounding from another; the manner of fighting, and the forms of battles; the order of bringing off or on, or ſeconding the weak, or relieving the weary'd. He read lectures to them upon the virtues of fortitude, both of body and mind; arming and fortifying them at the ſame time, againſt both dangers and fatigue. In all his leſſons of war, he ſtill made uſe of the Roman diſcipline, as an inſtance of authority and example. He told his ſoldiers farther, that if they would have him hope well of them upon the point of obedience in time of war, they ſhould renounce all manner of unlawful violences, and promiſe him beforehand that they would abſtain from robberies, fraud, pilferings and the like; that they would do juſtice to all people without exception, and not reckon any thing as a gain to themſelves, that accrues from the damage of a neighbour. How is it poſſible, ſays he, for any war againſt conſcience to proſper, when it is ſure to have both God and man for declared enemies! Joſeph went on with his admonitions after this manner; having gotten by this time the complement of an army to his own wiſh. He had ſixty thouſand foot, two hundred and fifty horſe; and beſide theſe, four thouſand five hundred mercenaries, which he much depended upon, and ſix hundred ſelect men likewiſe for the guard of his perſon. Theſe men were no great charge to the country; for all but the mercenaries were maintain'd by the cities; who ſtill as they ſent out one half of them into the war, employ'd the other half to provide neceſſaries for their fellows; ſo that one part of them wrought for the other, and thoſe that were in arms ſerv'd for a protection to their purveyors.

The Roman order and diſcipline to be eſtabliſh'd.

Joſeph's army.

CHAP. XXVI.

John of Giſchala, an extravagant impoſtor. His character. He makes Joſeph his friend, and then abuſes his kindneſs. He tampers the rabble againſt Joſeph. The honour and juſtice of Joſeph. A ſcandalous uproar rais'd againſt him. Joſeph ſtands all trials with a wonderful preſence of mind. An artificial inſinuation of his to the Tarichæans. Joſeph gains upon the multitude. He is hard put to it; but brings himſelf off by a wile. The people come about, and this diſappointment puts John upon other treacherous practices. Silas gives Joſeph notice of this. Joſeph poſts away to Tiberias. John counterfeits ſickneſs. Joſeph ſet upon, and eſcapes narrowly. His moderation. This treaſon ſets all people againſt John, and brings Galilee wholly over to Joſeph. Joſeph propoſes terms of accommodation. The conditions accepted and executed. Secret plots and practices carried on againſt Joſeph. Sepphoris, Gamala, Giſchala, and Tiberias go over to the enemy.

John of Giſchala an extravagant impoſtor. His character

WHILE Joſeph was in the courſe of his adminiſtration in Galilee, (as you have heard) there ſtarted up an extravagant kind of impoſtor. He came out of Giſchala, the ſon of one Levi, and his name John: a fellow falſe and crafty to the higheſt degree, and ſo poor formerly, that he had not wherewithal to be ſo wicked as he had a mind to be; never without a lie in his mouth, and he was as good at believing falſe ſtories as at ſpreading of them. Fraud paſs'd for a virtue with him, and he would cozen his beſt friends to chuſe. He was a great pretender to good nature, and moſt unmercifully bloody, where there was any thing to be gotten by it. His ambition had no bounds, and the foundation of his hopes was laid in his crimes. He was ſo naturally addicted to thievery, that he taught himſelf the trade: for he began ſingle, and ſo went on, gathering companions by degrees one after another, till he came at laſt to a train of four hundred men; in which number there was neither a coward, nor a man that did not underſtand the uſe of his arms; ſo ſcrupulouſly careful he was of his choice, both for body and mind. The greateſt part of his troop was drawn out of the borders and villages of the Tyrians. With this body of men he laid Galilee waſte, and put a great many of thoſe to the ſword that had withdrawn upon the apprehenſion of a war. He had far greater things yet in his thought, and nothing hinder'd him but want of money, from putting himſelf at the head of a form'd army.

He makes Joſeph his friend, and abuſes his favour.

WHEN he found that Joſeph had a good opinion of him for a man of induſtry and buſineſs, he employ'd his credit with him, in getting him to commit the rebuilding of the walls of Giſchala to his care: upon which account he drew large ſums of money in contributions, from men of ſubſtance and eſtate. And then he had another invention, which was in truth his maſter-piece. He got an order from Joſeph to all the Jews in Syria, forbidding them expreſly to ſend any oil out into the bordering neighbourhood, but of the compoſition of their own nation. Upon this prohibition, John engroſs'd the oil, and ſold it again at eight times the value it coſt him. Now this being a plentiful year, and Galilee a great oil country, the monopoly of getting it to himſelf, and ſending ſo much of it abroad, where there was great ſcarcity of it, brought an incredible ſum of money into his coffers; which treaſure he converted afterwards to the miſchief of his benefactor. And then, computing within himſelf how fair he ſtood for next governor, in caſe Joſeph ſhould come to be remov'd, he gave it in charge to the ruffians under his command, to harraſs and teize the inhabitants ſtill more and more; which would either exaſperate the people into practices upon his perſon, if he offer'd to controul them; or elſe expoſe him to accuſations and complaints, if he let them alone. For an introduction to his deſign, he had already ſpread a report, that Joſeph was in a plot to betray the province to the Romans; with a great many more malicious and miſchievous falſities that he had muſter'd up, toward the inflaming of the rabble againſt Joſeph.

A monopoly of oil.

He tampers the rabble againſt Joſeph.

THERE was at that time a parcel of young men of Dabarith, that kept guard in the great plain; and as Ptolemy (king Agrippa's, and queen Berenice's ſteward) was travelling that way, theſe men ſet upon him, took away all his boxes and baggage, to a great value, in rich robes and ſilver plate, and ſix hundred pieces of gold. This was a prize not to be conceal'd, ſo that they carry'd the purchaſe, whole as it was, to Joſeph at Tarichee; who check'd them for the violence they had offer'd to the king's people, and order'd the booty to be depoſited in the charge of one Eneas, an eminent man in the city, ready to be reſtor'd upon demand. This punctilio of honour and juſtice had like to have coſt Joſeph his life: for when the pillagers came to underſtand that they were like to have no ſhare in the prey themſelves; and taking it for granted withal, that Joſeph reſerv'd it entire for the king's uſe, (as in truth he did) they ran raging up and down through all the neighbouring cities and villages, from place to place, with clamous and exclamations, that Joſeph had betray'd them. This outcry raiſed ſuch an uproar, that by day-light next morning, there was a multitude of an hundred thouſand people aſſembled together, at the Circus at Tarichee, raging and raving againſt Joſeph; ſome to have him depos'd or ſton'd, others to have him burnt as a traytor; John, and Jeſus the ſon of Sapphas, who were at that time magiſtrates of Tiberias, all this while encouraging the tumult. Joſeph's friends and guards were in ſuch a fright, upon this monſtrous fury and concourſe of people, that they all abandon'd him but four perſons. He was at that time faſt aſleep, and as they were juſt a ſetting fire to the houſe, his four friends awak'd him. Joſeph was ſtill preſent to himſelf through all this hurry, and not one jot ſurpriz'd, either at the number of his enemies, or at the deſertion of his friends; but frankly preſented himſelf to the view of the people, in rags and aſhes, his hands behind him, and his ſword about his neck. This generous conſtancy moved his friends, and eſpecially thoſe of Tarichee, to the higheſt degree of tenderneſs and compaſſion; but the brutiſh multitude and the borderers, that thought themſelves over-tax'd, ply'd him with curſes and reproaches for his treachery and oppreſſion; and calling upon him over and over to reſtore the money, and confeſs the fact. They gathered, in fine,

The honour and juſtice of Joſeph.

A ſcandalous uproar rais'd againſt him.

Joſeph abandon'd, and but four perſons ſtick to him.

Joſeph ſtands all trials with a wonderful preſence of mind.

from his behaviour, that he was now in a diſpoſition to tell the truth; and by ſo doing, in a fair way to acquire both pardon and pity. Under theſe circumſtances, he could not do better, he thought, than to divide his enemies, and ſet them at variance one with another. With this deſign in his head, he promis'd them a frank confeſſion of the whole matter: ſo they gave him the hearing, and what he ſaid was to this effect. "It never could enter into my thought, ſays he, either to deliver up this treaſure to Agrippa, or to make any benefit of it to myſelf. No, no, good people; far be it from me to court the friendſhip of any prince that is your enemy, or to propound the reaping of any advantage to your prejudice. But, ſays he to the Taricheans, conſidering how naked your city looks without walls, and how little able you yourſelves are to rebuild them; and then conſidering again, how the people of Tiberias and ſeveral other cities have ſet their hearts upon this prize, I thought I could not do better than to reſerve it for the raiſing of your walls. If you are of the ſame mind, you are bound in honour to juſtify me in what I have done: but if otherwiſe, I am ready to lay all that I have taken at your feet, to be diſpos'd of at your pleaſure."

An artificial inſinuation to the Taricheans.

The Taricheans were highly pleas'd with what he ſaid: the Tiberians as much the contrary; as appear'd by their calumnies, menaces, and reproaches: inſomuch, that their rage and animoſity was now fiercer than ever. For in the heat of this diviſion, the people let fall their joint-quarrel againſt Joſeph; while the two parties enter'd into as hot a conteſt the one with the other.

Joſeph gains upon the multitude.

When Joſeph found that he had got the multitude on his ſide (as there were near forty thouſand Taricheans) he took the liberty to tell them plainly how much they were to blame; and that for his part, he was abſolutely for employing the ready money they had, toward the fortifying of the town. "Leave it to me, ſays he, to take care of the other cities too, and to ſee that you want nothing toward the charge of the work: if you will but follow my direction, agree one among another, and take it where it is to be had, without falling foul upon him that provides it for you." This look'd ſo fair, that part of the mutineers, though uneaſy enough, withdrew upon it: but at the ſame time, another party of two thouſand armed men advanced furiouſly toward Joſeph; who preſently ſlipt into the houſe, and made good the paſſage, while the rioters ſtood preſſing and menacing on the outſide of the door. Joſeph was now put to his wits once again for another invention, and ſo he went up ſtairs to the top of the houſe, and thence made a ſign to the people below for ſilence: and when the uproar was a little laid, he ſpake ſomewhat to them to this purpoſe: "Good people, ſays he, what you would have me do I know not, neither is it poſſible for us to underſtand one another in this confuſion of noiſes. But this I am ſure of, that I am here ready to do whatever you ſhall command me, if you will but ſend any body to me, that we may diſcourſe the buſineſs cooly together." Upon this propoſal, ſome of the chief magiſtrates repair'd to Joſeph; where they were preſently taken into the houſe; the doors ſhut after them, and ſo carry'd into a remote quarter; where they were torn with rods, till their very ribs and guts were ſeen. The rabble thought the time long enough, to wait all this while at the door for the iſſue of the debate, imputing the delay to ſome difficulties in the caſe: when all on a ſudden, the doors were thrown open, and the commiſſioners diſmiſs'd all bloody as they were; which ſtruck the people with ſuch a terror, that thoſe that were higheſt in their menaces before, were the firſt now to caſt down their arms, and ſhift for themſelves.

Joſeph hard put to it.

And brings himſelf off by a wile.

This diſappointment puts John upon other treacherous practices.

This diſappointment went ſo to the heart of John, that it exaſperated his envy againſt Joſeph ſtill more and more, and put him upon other practices. He counterfeited himſelf ſick, and deſired Joſeph's leave to make uſe of the hot waters at Tiberias for his health. Joſeph, upon this, gave him recommendatory letters to the governors of the city, that they would be aſſiſtant to him in what he wanted; not entertaining the leaſt ſuſpicion of any treachery from him that way. He was no ſooner poſſeſs'd of the advantages he deſir'd, but within two days he was tampering with ſome, and corrupting others with money and fair words, to abandon Joſeph. This practice coming to Silas's ear, who had at that time the charge of the city, he ſent advice of it immediately to Joſeph; who, upon the very inſtant of receiving the letter (though late in the night) haſten'd away for Tiberias, and got thither early the next morning; all the people receiving him with great deference and reſpect, ſave only John, who ſuſpected the matter, and the faction which he had debauch'd. But John however ſent him a complimental excuſe by a friend, for not doing himſelf the honour to wait upon him; being at that time ſick in bed, and in no condition to attend him. The people of Tiberias were now drawn together in the great * place by Joſeph's order, with an intent to acquaint them with the advice he had receiv'd. John got notice of it, and ſent a band of bravo's arm'd to deſtroy him; but in the inſtant of their drawing their ſwords (being planted ready for the execution) the people gave a ſhrieck: and Joſeph taking the alarum, when their weapons were juſt at his throat, leapt down from a ſtanding of ſix † cubits high, that he had mounted for his harangue, and ſo made his eſcape to a little boat upon the lake, and only two of his guards along with him.

Silas gives Joſeph notice of this. Joſeph poſts away to Tiberias.

John counterfeits himſelf ſick.

Joſeph ſet upon, and ſcapes narrowly.

Joſeph's moderation.

The ſoldiers preſently betook themſelves to their arms, to avenge their general upon theſe traitors. But Joſeph was ſo afraid of a civil war and the conſequences of it, in the expoſure of the city upon a private quarrel; that he ſent a meſſenger to his people, with a poſitive command not to do any manner of miſchief to the traitors, but what was of abſolute neceſſity to their own preſervation: wherein they follow'd their orders to a tittle.

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* He means a place which conſiſted of a large plot of ground, which was appointed for public exerciſes, ſuch as running, wreſtling, horſe-races, &c.

† Six Jewiſh cubits amounted to ſomething upwards of three Engliſh yards and an half.

This treaſon turns all people's hearts againſt John.

So ſoon as the rumour of this treachery came to be noiſ'd in the country, with the manner of its contrivance, and the author of it, the neighbourhood gather'd together, and put themſelves upon the march to find out John; but he was got into Giſchala, his own country, before they could come up to him. There was not a city in Galilee that did not go over to Joſeph upon this occaſion, and many thouſands of armed men along with them, who did all offer their ſervices againſt John, whom they upbraided with the title of traytor, and common enemy of mankind; undertaking to deliver up that treacherous wretch to the flames, with the city that protected him. Joſeph's anſwer was, "That he was highly ſenſible of "their kindneſs and good-will; but was however for moderate counſels, where the caſe "would bear it; and that he had rather ſave "an enemy by temperance and prudence, than "deſtroy him by force. But, ſays Joſeph, "I ſhould be well enough content to ſee every man by name, out of the ſeveral cities, "excepted from pardon, that ever join'd with "John in the rebellion; his goods to be confiſcated, his houſe burnt, and his family "deſtroy'd: unleſs he ſhould in five days after the publication of ſuch a decree, quit "the party and intereſt of John, and return to "his allegiance." The heads of the ſeveral cities were unanimouſly forward in the promoting of theſe conditions; a proclamation formally publiſh'd, and all things in purſuance of it duly executed. This declaration brought over three thouſand of the rebels from John; who caſt themſelves and their arms at the feet of Joſeph. But John, with the remainder, which were about a thouſand Syrian fugitives, betook himſelf to ſecret plots and practices, when he found he could carry his point no further above board. He had his informers privately at work up and down in Jeruſalem, to calumniate Joſeph for extravagant levies, upon a deſign to make himſelf maſter of the place, if he were not reſtrained by a ſtronger power. They that knew any thing of the matter gave no heed at all to the ſtory: but there was yet an invidious and ſpiteful party, even of the magiſtrates themſelves, and other principal members of the town, that ſupply'd John with money towards the maintaining of a war with Joſeph; nay, they went ſo far as to draw up an act in readineſs, for the removal of him from his command. And they did not think that enough neither, but ſent a detachment of five and twenty hundred arm'd men, and four other perſons famous both for law and eloquence: whoſe buſineſs was to try if they could ſupplant Joſeph in the credit he had with the people; and with order if they could get him to come away by fair means, to offer him no violence; but in caſe of his refuſal, to treat him as an enemy. Theſe commiſſioners were Joazar, a lawyer's ſon; Ananias the ſon of Sadduc; Simon and Judas, the ſons of Jonathas.

And brings Galilee wholly over to Joſeph.

Joſeph propoſes terms of accommodation.

The conditions accepted and executed.

Secret plots and practices carry'd on againſt Joſeph.

Joſeph's friends gave him a general intelligence of a party of ſoldiers ſent toward him; but the enemy's counſels were kept ſo cloſe, that they could not inform him with what deſign; ſo that there was no place for a particular precaution. Four cities went immediately over to the enemy: that is to ſay, Sepphoris, Gamala, Giſchala and Tiberias; but he was quickly maſter of them again without blood. Four of the chief men that he had taken, both for arms and counſel, he ſent back to Jeruſalem; which tranſported the people to ſo violent a rage againſt them, that if they had not made their eſcapes in time, they would have been all certainly cut to pieces, as well they themſelves that were ſent, as thoſe that ſent them.

Sepphoris, Gamala, Giſchala, and Tiberias, go over to the enemy.

CHAP. XXVII.

Tiberias revolts, and is recover'd by a notable ſtratagem. Joſeph, with only ſeven unarm'd men, does the work. The Tiberians render themſelves and ſubmit. Tiberias ſends hoſtages for the performance of articles. The blame of all is laid upon Clitus, and they call for juſtice upon him. Clitus is ſentenc'd to do juſtice upon himſelf, and to cut off one hand with the other.

JOHN was all this while in ſuch a dread of Joſeph, that he durſt not ſo much as ſhew his head out of the walls of Giſchala. Some few days after this, Tiberias revolted; and inviting Agrippa to take poſſeſſion of the town, acknowledg'd him for their king. The day being appointed, Agrippa fail'd of his time; and only ſome Roman horſemen appearing, they fell off from Joſeph. When the news of this deſertion came to Tarichee, Joſeph, that had ſent his troops out a foraging, was at a nonplus what to do. For he durſt not venture himſelf alone among the whole body of the deſerters, and he durſt not ſtay in the town neither, for fear of being ſurpriz'd by the king's ſoldiers; beſides that the next day being their ſabbath, there was nothing more to be done.

Tiberias revolts.

JOSEPH had no way now to manage the revolters, but by putting a trick upon them; and he happen'd upon a ſtratagem that ſucceeded to his wiſh. He cauſed the gates of Tarichee to be all ſhut and guarded, to prevent giving any intelligence to Tiberias of what he was doing. Upon this, he order'd all the boats in the lake to be gotten together, to the number of two hundred and thirty in the whole, and four men to every boat. With theſe veſſels he ſet ſail early in the morning for Tiberias; and when he was advanc'd within ſuch a diſtance of the town, that they might eaſily diſcern the body of the fleet, without diſtinguiſhing what men they had a-board, he order'd all his empty veſſels to come to an anchor and ſtay behind; while he himſelf, with only ſeven of his guards, and thoſe unarm'd too, row'd up towards the town within ſight of the place. The people were at this inſtant railing and reviling him from the walls, after their uſual manner; but upon ſight of him under thoſe circumſtances, and taking for granted, that all the ſhips they ſaw were full of ſoldiers, they preſently caſt down their arms in a fright; and with all the actions and expreſſions of ſubmiſſion imaginable, begg'd of him to be merciful to a miſerable city and people. Joſeph gave them all the hearing, but with many a bitter menace and reproach at the end of it. "What! ſays he, are you engag'd in a

Tiberias recover'd by a notable ſtratagem.

Joſeph, with only ſeven unarmed men, does the work.

The Tiberians render themſelves, and ſubmit.

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* Al. Joſander.

“ war againſt the Romans, and at the ſame inſtant in a civil war, endeavour the deſtruction of one another? The very wiſh of your enemies is fallen upon you; and nothing will ſerve ye neither, but the deſtroying of your preſerver. Are ye not aſham'd to employ your walls to the ruin of him that erected them for your ſecurity and defenſe? but this ſhall not hinder me yet from paſſing over, and forgiving all you have done amiſs, and ſtill entertaining a firm and ſacred friendſhip with you; if you ſhall only think fit to ſend ſuch commiſſioners as I like, to deſire it of me.”

Tiberias' ſends hoſtages for the performance of articles.

UPON this they immediately diſpatch'd away to him ten of the principal men of the town, as their deputies to treat with him; whom Joſeph preſently order'd to be put aboard a fiſhing-veſſel there at hand, and carry'd a little out of the way. He ſent afterward for fifty of the chief ſenators, as a further ſecurity, for performance of conditions, and ſo inventing one excuſe after another, he ſtill demanded more and more, till he had got the whole ſenate into his hands, to the number of ſix hundred perſons, beſides two thouſand of the inhabitants; whom as faſt as the boats fill'd, he ordered to be convey'd to Tarichee, and there kept in cuſtody.

The people lay all the blame upon Clitus, and preſs for juſtice upon him.

UPON this, the multitude ſet up an outcry againſt Clitus; loudly exclaiming againſt him, as the ſole author and ring-leader of the revolt; deſiring Joſeph, in fine, to make him exemplary, and to accept of his puniſhment for ſatisfaction. Joſeph was not for putting any man to death; but however, upon the people's ſupplication, he order'd Levi, one of the guards, to go and cut off both Clitus's hands. The ſoldier durſt not venture upon the execution, among ſuch a multitude of his enemies; which Joſeph took ſuch offence at, that he was juſt about to go aſhore, and do it himſelf. Clitus perceiving this, made his ſuit to Joſeph to content himſelf with one of his hands. Joſeph granted the requeſt, upon condition, that he himſelf ſhould cut it off; whereupon, Clitus drew out his ſword with his right hand, and cut off his left: ſuch was the awe Joſeph had over him. Thus was Tiberias recover'd, with only Joſeph himſelf, and ſeven ſoldiers, and a parcel of empty boats.

Clitus does juſtice upon himſelf; and cuts off the one hand with the other, according to the ſentence.

NOT many days after this, upon the revolt of Sepphoris, and ſome other cities, Joſeph gave his ſoldiers the pillage of Giſchala and Sepphoris: but upon the application of the inhabitants, he cauſed reſtitution to be made of all they could diſcover, and the like at Tiberias: Joſeph propoſing both to chaſtiſe them for their inſolence, and at the ſame time regain their affections by returning their goods.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Galilee at peace, and Jeruſalem preparing for a war. The horrible ravages and cruelties of Simon the ſon of Gioras.

Galilee at peace and Jeruſalem preparing for a war.

GALILEE was now quiet; and the Jews were no ſooner at peace one with another, but they were preparing to embroil themſelves in war with the Romans. Ananus the high-prieſt, and the great men in Jeruſalem who ſtood in oppoſition to the Romans, haſten'd all that was poſſible the rebuilding of their walls; the providing of military inſtruments and machines; weapons of all ſorts, as darts, arrows, and the like: and all hands at work upon warlike preparations; training up the youth alſo to the exerciſe of their arms. All things were in ſtrange confuſion at that time; men of ſobriety and foreſight, with heavineſs of heart, could not forbear weeping at the proſpect of imminent calamities. The countenance of things was afflicting to any man that wiſh'd for peace; and for publick incendiaries, the worſe the better. The city, in ſhort, had death and deſolation in the very face of it before ever the Romans came thither. Ananus was altogether againſt the formality of theſe preparatories for a war; in hope to reclaim the madneſs of the mutineers, call'd in thoſe days by the name of zelots, and to bring them to reaſon: but he miſcarry'd in the attempt, as will be ſeen hereafter. Simon the ſon of Gioras was at this time at the head of a band of freebooters, that liv'd upon the ſpoil in the toparchy of Acrabatane: where they not only plunder'd and pillag'd great mens houſes; but fell foul upon their bodies too, and treated the maſters themſelves with blows and baſtinadoes. At this rate publickly exerciſing a bare-fac'd tyranny. He went on making this havock, till he was forced by the troops of Ananus and the magiſtrates, to ſhift for himſelf, with the ſmall party he had among the thieves of Maſſada; and there he continu'd till Ananus and ſome of his other enemies were cut off. He committed ſuch outrages at Idumea, and the adjacent places, that, for the ſecurity of the country, the government was oblig'd to garriſon the very villages. This was the ſtate of affairs in Judea at that juncture.

The horrible ravages and cruelties of Simon the ſon of Gioras.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
Wars of the *JEWS.*

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Nero's vanity and oſtentation. The diſtracted ſtate of the Roman affairs. Nero gives Veſpaſian the government of Syria. Veſpaſian's fitneſs for ſuch a truſt. Veſpaſian and Titus advance a mighty army. The defeat of Ceſtius makes the Jews raſh and bold. They advance towards Aſcalon. The bodies engage, and the Jews totally routed. Ten thouſand kill'd upon the place. The Jews not a match for the Romans. Eight thouſand Jews more ſlain upon a ſecond overthrow. Niger the general preſerv'd by a wonderful providence. Veſpaſian haſtens away to Ptolemais: and the Sepphorites are very friendly to the Romans.

Nero, with a faint heart, ſets up for a man of courage.

His vanity and oſtentation.

The diſtracted ſtate of the Roman affairs.

Nero gives Veſpaſian the government of Syria.

Veſpaſian's fitneſs for ſuch a truſt.

Veſpaſian and Titus draw together a mighty army.

THE news of Ceſtius's diſaſter in Judea ſtruck Nero with fear and confuſion; but he look'd big upon it however and cover'd the faintneſs of his heart with an affectation of dignity and diſdain. "This, ſays he, was the fault of my own "officer, not the bravery of the enemy." And ſo he carry'd it on with an air of haughtineſs and contempt, as if it were not for the honour of the empire, or of his ſovereign ſtation above all other princes, to be ſo much as touch'd with the common accidents of human life, or the iniquities of fortune. But after all this oſtentation of an invincible courage, the cares he had in his head betray'd the weakneſs of his mind, by the uneaſineſs he was in for want of a general equal to the mighty neceſſities of the empire. For the eaſt was at this time wavering and falling off; the Jews deep in a rebellion already; other nations ſtaggering, and the empire all over ſick of the ſame diſeaſe. Now how to keep the one quiet; reduce the other, and to prevent the ill humour in the third, from tainting the whole body? This was the queſtion, and the great work that was now neceſſary to be attended. Veſpaſian, in fine, was the inſtrument pitch'd upon, as the only perſon that Nero could think competent for the diſcharge of ſuch a truſt. He was now pretty well advanced in years, and had ſpent the whole courſe of his life in arms, from firſt to laſt. He was the man that ſettled the peace of the empire in the weſt, upon the revolt of the Germans. It was he that finiſh'd the conqueſt of Britain; which before that, was neither perfectly ſubdu'd, nor known: and he preſented his father Claudius alſo with the honour of a triumph for it, though he had taken no pains, nor been preſent in the action. Now conſidering Veſpaſian under all theſe circumſtances; his years, reſolution, faith and conduct; ſo many children as he had, ſo many hoſtages for his fidelity; and in a vigour of youth to execute their father's orders: beſide the concurrence of God's ſecret providence, with other incidents for the good of the empire. All this together mov'd Nero to make Veſpaſian general of his forces in Syria. And for his further encouragement, his commiſſion was accompany'd with a great many fair words, after the practice of the world, when they have need of a man. Veſpaſian had no ſooner receiv'd his commiſſion from Nero, in Achaia, but he preſently diſpatch'd away his ſon Titus for Alexandria, to draw off the fifth and the tenth legions there; while he himſelf croſs'd the Helleſpont, and ſo took his way by land into Syria: where he came to a rendezvous with all the Roman troops, and the auxiliaries that were ſent in by the princes bordering upon that province.

The defeat of Ceſtius makes the Jews raſh and inſolent.

They advance towards Aſcalon.

The Jews in the mean time, were ſo tranſported with the unexpected advantage they had got over the Romans under Ceſtius, that they behav'd themſelves like ſo many madmen; puſhing on the war beyond all bounds of moderation and prudence. They drew up what ſtrength they were able to make out of the beſt troops they had, and with that body marched towards Aſcalon; an ancient city, about five hundred * and twenty furlongs from Jeruſalem. The Jews had ever an averſion to theſe people; and for that reaſon, they made choice of that place for their firſt attack. They had for their leaders three famous captains: Niger, of Peraita; Silas, a Babylonian; and John, an Eſſene; men eminent for ſtrength of body, reſolution, and good government.

The bodies engage, and the Jews totally routed. The Jews not a match for the Romans.

Ascalon had a wall of a prodigious ſtrength, if there had but been men enow to defend it: the whole gariſon conſiſting only of one company of foot and a troop of horſe, under the command of Anthony. The Jews thought it long till they could come to blows with the Romans; and ſo made a too haſty march of it to fall upon them by ſurprize: but Anthony having intelligence of their approach, without being ſhock'd either at their courage or their numbers, had drawn his horſe out of the town beforehand, to be in readineſs for the encounter. Upon their advance, he received their charge with great bravery; and ſo put a ſtop to their progreſs toward the walls of the town. Now the Romans, by the advantage of veterans againſt raw ſoldiers; horſe to foot, order to confuſion; troops well appointed, to people but lightly arm'd; counſel and conduct, againſt rage and paſſion; and men, in fine, under diſcipline and command, againſt a looſe head-ſtrong multitude: the Romans, I ſay, by theſe advantages, made no difficulty of putting the Jews to the rout; for their firſt ranks were no ſooner broken by the Roman horſe, but they fled ſeveral ways; ſome toward the town, where they were cruſh'd to death by crouds of their own people; and needed no worſe enemy; others ſcatter'd all over the plain, with the Roman cavalry at their back, and field-room enough for the horſe to roam in. Upon this confuſion they were all at mercy; ſome one way, ſome another; for which way ſoever they fled, the Romans were upon them; overtaking ſome, croſſing upon others: and ſome again they ſurrounded, and diſpatch'd with their darts. In this calamitous ſtate of deſperation, their vaſt multitudes were no more than ſo many ſingle men; and the Romans, at the ſame time, fluſh'd with victory, out of their ſmall number, had enow and to ſpare. The Jews, on the other hand, as they were aſhamed of having turn'd their backs, ſo they did all that was poſſible toward the recovery of their honour; but the Romans, in the courſe of their ſucceſs, without either wearineſs or intermiſſion, purſu'd their victory the greateſt part of the day, kill'd ten thouſand of them upon the ſpot; two of their generals, John and Silas, being of the number; the reſt, moſt of them being wounded, made their eſcape with Niger (the only ſurvivor of the three generals) to Salis, a town in Idumea. On the Roman ſide there were only ſome few wounded.

Ten thouſand Jews kill'd upon the place.

This was a terrible loſs; but ſo far were the Jews yet from ſinking under the burden, that on the contrary, betwixt a deſponding ſorrow, and the thirſt of revenge, their ſpirits were rais'd upon it; inſomuch, that inſtead of a diſcouragement drawn from the laſt defeat, they gather'd matter of hope and comfort from the remembrance of former ſucceſſes. This confidence drew after it a ſecond overthrow. When they had paus'd a ſhort time, ſcarce long enough to cure their wounds, the Jews in a moſt outragious indignation, got together all the power they were able to make, and in a much greater body attempted Aſcalon once again, under the ſame diſadvantages of want of skill and diſcipline, and with the ſame fortune as before; for they fell at unawares into an ambuſh of Anthony's by the way they were to paſs; where they were beſet, charg'd, and routed by Anthony's troops before they could put themſelves in order of battle: they loſt eight thouſand upon the place; the reſt eſcaping with their general Niger, who acquitted himſelf ſeveral times upon that occaſion like a great captain, and a man of honour. But the enemy cloſely purſuing them, they were driven for ſanctuary into a ſtrong caſtle belonging to a village call'd Bezedel. This caſtle was look'd upon to be impregnable; ſo that Anthony, to make ſhort work of it, ſet fire to the fort, as the only way to deſtroy the caſtle and the general both at once. Upon this exploit, the Romans went their way triumphing and rejoicing, making no doubt but Niger was deſtroy'd in the flames. But he, it ſeems, to avoid the fire, leap'd down from the top of the caſtle into a deep vault; and as ſome of his friends were ſearching for his body three days after, to give it funeral rites, he preſented himſelf before them yet living; which tranſported the Jews, out of an affliction almoſt inconſolable, into the moſt ſurprizing exceſs of joy imaginable, to find ſo neceſſary an inſtrument of their well-being deliver'd by ſo ſignal a providence.

Eight thouſand Jews more ſlain upon a ſecond overthrow.

Niger preſerv'd by a wonderful providence.

Vespasian being now come with his army to Antioch (the capital of Syria) and without all diſpute, for beauty and ſituation, the third city in the Roman empire; he found in this city king Agrippa, with all his own troops, expecting him. He paſs'd from thence to Ptolemais, and there were the inhabitants of Sepphoris, a town of Galilee, waiting to receive him. Theſe were a well affected people, but ſo well underſtanding their own intereſt too, and the formidable power of Rome, that, without ſtaying for the coming of Veſpaſian, to ſhew their good affections to the government, they had by anticipation promis'd and proteſted as much to Ceſtius Gallus; receiving a gariſon from him, and acknowledging him for their governor, and binding themſelves to ſerve him chearfully, even againſt their own countrymen.

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* Five hundred and twenty furlongs amounted to ſixty five Engliſh miles and an half; and an hundred and eighty geometrical paces.

Veſpaſian did likewiſe grant them, at their requeſt, ſuch a body of horſe and foot for a gariſon as might be a ſufficient ſecurity againſt incurſions, if the Jews ſhould make any ſuch attempt. Now Sepphoris being both the largeſt and the ſtrongeſt city of all Galilee, Veſpaſian judg'd it a matter of high importance to have it in good hands.

CHAP. II.

The two Galilees, with a deſcription of them. A deſcription of Samaria. Jeruſalem ſtands in the middle of Judea. A diviſion or diſtribution of Judea.

The two Galilees, with the ſituation and deſcription of them.

THERE are two Galilees, known by the names of the Upper and the Lower Galilee, which are encompaſs'd by Phenicia and Syria. They are bounded on the weſt by the city and territory of Ptolemais, and by mount Carmel; formerly belonging to the Galileans, at preſent to the Tyrians; and next adjoining to * Gaba, or the city of the horſemen, ſo call'd, from the plantation of Herod's horſemen that were there ſettled, upon their diſmiſſion. On the ſouth, with Samaria and Scythopolis, as far as the river Jordan. On the eaſt, with Hippene, Gadaris and Gaulanitis, together with the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa; and on the north, with Tyre, and the frontiers of the Tyrians.

The Lower Galilee.

THE Lower Galilee ſtretcheth length-ways from Tiberias to Zabulon, near Ptolemais on the ſea-coaſt. It reaches in breadth from Xaloth on the great plain as far as Berſabe; and there begins the breadth of the Upper Galilee, and ſo goes up to the village of Baca, which divides it from the territory of the Syrians. And as to the length of it, they reckon it from Thella, a village near Jordan, to Meroth.

THESE two provinces are of a large extent, and ſurrounded with neighbouring princes of ſeveral diſtinct nations; whom upon all occaſions of controverſy, they have ſtill made head againſt: for, over and above their being very populous, the inhabitants are bold and warlike, and train'd up from children to exerciſes of arms; the men neither wanted courage, nor the country good ſtore of proviſions. Their lands are fruitful to admiration, and ſuch nurſeries of all manner of fruit trees and plants, that it would make any man in love with husbandry. The grounds are all over well ſtock'd with people and cultivated, and not one foot that lies idle. There are cities and villages in abundance; which muſt needs be populous in ſo plentiful a country; for the number of inhabitants is computed to be above fifteen thouſand in the leaſt of them. So that though Galilee falls ſhort of the country beyond Jordan, in the compaſs of ground, it is yet much ſuperior to it in ſtrength and value: for over and above the fertility of the ſoil, every ſpot of it is ſo improv'd, that there's no ground loſt: whereas in that vaſt tract of land beyond Jordan, the greater part of it is dry and barren, and not ſo proper for corn, and ſeveral other neceſſaries for the life and ſervice of man. Not but that in ſome particular places, as Perea for one, the ſoil is richer, and as well ſtored with excellent fruits as any other place; witneſs the vines, olive-trees, palm-trees, and other plants that we find up and down in the fields, in great abundance and perfection; and they are all water'd and refreſh'd with torrents from the mountains, and with quick ſprings in the exceſſive heats. The length of this country lies from Macherus to Pella; the breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan; with Pella on the north, the river Jordan on the weſt; the land of the Moabites on the ſouth; and Arabia † Silbonitis, Philadelphene, and ‡ Geraſa on the eaſt.

A deſcription of Samaria.

Samaria, is ſituate betwixt Judea and Galilee; beginning at a village call'd Ginea, upon the plain, and extending to the toparchy of Acrabatane. The country is much of the nature with that of Judea; full of mountains and plains; of an excellent ſoil, and which plentifully rewards the labour of tillage and manure; it abounding with great ſtore of fruits, both wild and meliorated or domeſtick; and though it is naturally dry, yet it is abundantly ſupply'd with ſhowers: beſide the beſt water in the world; incomparable paſtures, and milk no where ſo plentiful. But the ſuperlative excellency and advantage of theſe two provinces is yet behind: that is to ſay, the incredible number of inhabitants. And to conclude, the boundary to them both is Anuath, otherwiſe call'd the village of Borceus.

Jeruſalem ſtands in the middle of Judea.

THE ſame village bounds Judea likewiſe on the north. And the length of it runs from the ſouth ſide to a village upon the borders of Arabia, call'd Jardan: the breadth from the river Jordan to Joppa. In the middle of it ſtands Jeruſalem; which has been call'd, aptly enough by ſome the navel, or the centre of the province. Judea, in fine, wants nothing either by ſea or land to make it as delicious as it is fruitful, having the advantage of ſea ports all the way to Ptolomais.

A diviſion or diſtribution of Judea.

It is divided into eleven parts; Jeruſalem the firſt, as the ſovereign head of all the reſt: the other ten are diſtributed into as many toparchies; Gophna, the ſecond, and ſo Acrabatane, Tamna, Lydda, Ammaus, Pella, Idumea, Engadi, Herodion and Jericho. The neighbouring countries are under the juriſdiction of Jamnia and Joppe; as Gamalitis, Gaulanitis, Batanea and Trachonitis, are comprized in the kingdom of Agrippa, but excepted out of the parts firſt before ſpoken of. This country, is inhabited by the Syrians and the Jews promiſcuouſly, extends itſelf in breadth from mount Libanus and the ſources of Jordan, to the lake of Tiberias; and in length, from the village of Arphas to Julias.

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* Gr. Γάμαλα.

† Gr. Σιρωνῖτις. But ſhould be Semechonitis. See Bocharts Hieroſ. part 1. l. 1. c. 6.

‡ Gr. Gerara.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Veſpaſian ſends Placidus with relief to the Sepphorites. Galilee at the mercy of fire and ſword. Titus comes up to Veſpaſian at Ptolemais with a vaſt army. The order and policy of the Roman diſcipline. The Roman way of incamping. The trumpet gives every man his orders. The manner of giving the word for a battle. The Roman way of marching. The extent of the Roman empire.

We have been as brief upon Judea, with the boundaries and confines of it, as the matter would bear.

Veſpaſian ſends relief to the Sepphorites, under the command of Placidus.

The ſupplies that Veſpaſian ſent to the Sepphorites, being a thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot, under the command of Placidus the tribune, were diſtributed after the drawing of them up in the great plain, into two diviſions. The horſe continu'd in the camp, and the foot were quarter'd within the walls, for the ſecurity of the city; but not without making daily excurſions up and down into the neighbourhood; which gave no ſmall uneaſineſs to Joſeph and his companions, though they continued quiet, without attempting any act of hoſtility, either by aſſault or ſurprize: beſide that they pillag'd both city and country of whatever they could come at, and fell ſo ſeverely upon the inhabitants at every ſally they made, that they durſt not ſo much as ſhew their heads any more out of their gates.

Joseph, for all this, ventur'd to make a bold attempt upon the city, in hopes of carrying his point; but finding to his coſt that he himſelf, before his going off from the Galileans, had made the place in a manner impregnable againſt himſelf to the Roman power, and that it was not to be gain'd from the Sepphorites either by force or policy, he let fall his enterprize. This practice however (out of a natural averſion the Romans have to treachery) made the war ten times fiercer, and the enemy much more outragious than before: depopulating the country night and day with fire and ſword, pillaging whatever they could lay their hands on, putting all to death without mercy, where they found reſiſtance, and making ſlaves of the reſt. Galilee, in fine, was all cover'd with fire and blood; and not a ſoul but had their part in this calamity, and nothing left them to truſt to, but the towns that Joſeph himſelf had fortify'd.

Galilee at the mercy of fire and ſword.

Titus comes up to Veſpaſian at Ptolemais with a vaſt army.

Titus was by this time come up to Veſpaſian at Ptolemais, with the troops he brought from Alexandria; and his arrival was much ſooner than upon a winter's march could have been expected. And there he join'd the fifteenth legions which he had brought with him to the fifth and the tenth which were with his father, and were reputed the braveſt troops of the empire. They were follow'd alſo with eighteen companies, and five more to them out of Ceſarea; with one troop of horſe, and five troops of Syrian horſe. Ten of theſe cohorts had a thouſand men each, and the reſt ſix hundred and thirteen foot, and ſixſcore horſe, beſide a very conſiderable enforcement of auxiliaries from the neighbouring princes, as Antiochus, Agrippa and Sohemus, who ſent their two thouſand foot apiece, and a thouſand horſe; and Malchus, the king of Arabia, five thouſand horſe. Theſe troops all together made up a body of ſixty thouſand horſe and foot, beſide the train of baggage, and ſervants that followed the camp; who, for experience, courage, military skill and application (for the moſt part) were not much inferior to their maſters themſelves.

The order and policy of the Roman diſcipline.

The policy and wiſdom of the Romans, in this way of ordering their ſervants, can never be ſufficiently admir'd: for it makes them at the ſame time not only ſerviceable to private families, but to the common-wealth alſo in offices of war and government. And then whoever conſiders the excellency of the Roman diſcipline and conduct, in the matter of military order and execution, will find that fortune had the leaſt ſhare in the ſucceſs of their arms; and that they advanced themſelves to the command of the world upon the foundations of their own honour and virtue. They were not then to learn the art of war, when they came to fall under the neceſſity of uſing it: but they made it their exerciſe and practice in times of peace, and handled their arms as naturally as if they had been born with them: ſo that peace or war was, in that reſpect, all a caſe to them; and they were ever in readineſs, without troubling their heads about times or ſeaſons. Their very trials of skill look'd like real combats; and not a day paſs'd, but every man went through all his exerciſes, which render'd military duty familiar to them. By this means they were always in order, without feeling the inconveniencies either of fear or fatigue. Now for men that keep themſelves upon the guard of this habit and diſcipline, an enemy under leſs regular conduct is not able to deal with them. But, as I was a ſaying, their exerciſes are effectually but combats, without drawing blood; as their fierceſt encounters are but bloody exerciſes. To ſecure themſelves from ſurprize, upon entring into an enemy's country, the firſt thing they do is to pitch and fortify their camp, not ſlightly or diſorderly, but with a regard to the condition of the place: levelling the ground where it is uneven, and for the figure of it, in the form of a quadrangle. In order to the diſpatch and the execution of all this, they have their ſmiths, carpenters, pioneers, and other workmen for fortifications, to attend the army. The inner part of the camp is diſtributed into quarters, or lodgments, for the officers and ſoldiers; and the outſide carries the reſemblance of a wall, where they raiſe turrets at an equal diſtance one from another: and in the intervals, they have all ſorts of weapons to be us'd at a diſtance, as darts, arrows, ſtones, &c. and inſtruments or machines alſo for the caſting of them. This camp hath four large gates for horſe and man to paſs and repaſs at pleaſure, as there ſhall be occaſion. On the inſide of it there are ſeveral ſtreets orderly diſpos'd, with lodgments in the middle, for the head officers: and within them again, a tent erected for the general, after the form of a little temple; a market-place, with ſhops and ſtandings for artificers and tradeſmen; courts of juſtice and tribunals, for the hearing of cauſes as well military as civil: and, taking it all together, it looks like a city of a matter of one night's growth; ſo wonderful is the diſpatch, where there are great maſters to direct, and many hands to

The Roman way of incamping.

execute. And if this, in fine, be not enough for the ſecuring of the quarter, 'tis but running a line of circumvallation about it at laſt, with a trench of about four * cubits deep, and as many over to finiſh the work. The ſoldiers have their arms ſtill about them, and live in a military kind of brotherhood, orderly and peaceably one with another. Upon any occaſion of fetching wood, water, forage, &c. they go out in parties: and ſo for their times of repaſt, they do not eat now and then ſeparately, when, and as every man pleaſes, but all together; and the trumpet directs them when to ſleep, when to riſe, when to ſet the watch, &c. So it is, in fine, that they do nothing but by rule and command. In the morning the ſoldiers wait upon their captains, the captains upon the tribunes, and then both captains and tribunes upon the general; from whom they receive the word or ſignal, and ſuch other orders to be communicated to their ſubordinates as the occaſion requires: to the end that every man may be inſtructed in his duty, and how to behave himſelf upon action; how and when to ſally out, or to retreat, and to do all things in order whatever they do. The trumpet tells them when they are to decamp; and then they take up their tents, pack up their baggage, and prepare to be gone. Upon the ſecond ſounding, they load their carriages and their ſumpters, and ſtand ready to move; watching for the word of command, as people do for the ſign at a horſe race when to ſtart; and at the ſame time ſetting fire to the camp, which may be eaſily repair'd by throwing up another; beſide that the enemy ſhall make no benefit of it. Upon the third ſounding, the army marches, and all poſſible care is taken to prevent ſtragglers, and to move every man in his rank.

The trumpet gives every man his orders.
The Roman way of decamping.

On the right-hand of the general ſtands the herald, who with a loud voice puts this queſtion thrice over to the army: Are you ready for a battle? The ſoldiers in a martial tone and action, return him this anſwer as often over: We are ready for a battle. Nay, many times they prevent the very demand, by ſtretching forth their right-hands, and other ſigns of joy and ſatisfaction, in hope of coming to that iſſue. After this, the army advances with as much manly gravity and compoſure as if it were in the face of an enemy.

The word given for a battle.

The Roman way of marching.

THE foot are arm'd with helmets and breaſtplates; two ſwords, one on each ſide, and that on the left much longer than the other; which is about the ſize of a dagger. The general's guards carry javelins and targets, and all the reſt pikes and long bucklers, a ſaw, a basket, a pick-ax, a hatchet, a rein, a ſcythe, a chain, and bread for three days: ſo that the men carry'd little leſs burden than the beaſts. The horſemen wear long ſwords girt to their right-ſides. They carry a launce in their hand, a buckler in a ſcarf hanging a-croſs the horſe-ſide, a quiver with three darts or more in it, broad-pointed, and about the length of a ſhort javelin; their helmets and corſlets like thoſe of the foot. And for the cavaliers that attend the perſon of the general, their arms are the very ſame with the reſt, only being choſen by lot, the troop that has the luck to be ſo pitch'd upon has a right of precedence.

THIS is the Roman way of marching and encamping, with the various manner of their arming. They do nothing in their military enterprizes and combats that is raſh and inconſiderate; but their actions are the reſult of deliberate counſels: by which means, either their failings will be fewer, or thoſe that happen will be more eaſily redreſs'd; for, provided that matters be well-weigh'd and digeſted, they had rather ſuffer a diſappointment by the ill ſucceſs of a well grounded enterprize, than become indebted to fortune for an advantage contrary to reaſon. For theſe blind events give people an ill habit of abandoning all to chance, without any precaution or foreſight; whereas men are the wiſer and the better for inſtructive examples, though in caſes of miſcarriage; beſide the comfort of falling with honour and a good conſcience, by a calamity which human prudence could not prevent.

THIS continual uſe and exerciſe of arms does not only harden and ſtrengthen the bodies of men, but elevates their very minds alſo into reſolutions more couragious and firm: beſide that people are kept in awe under the apprehenſion of penalties and rigour. It is death by the martial law, for a ſoldier, not only to deſert his ſtation or betray his truſt, but for the very leaſt neglect of his duty. Now this is a terrible rigour, and yet the officers are ſtill more inexorable than the laws themſelves; for they make amends, they think, in the honours and rewards that they confer upon men of merit for the cruelty of puniſhing criminals. And ſuch is the reverence they have for the authority of military order and diſcipline, that a Roman army is certainly the moſt glorious ſpectacle under the ſun, in a time of peace; and in a ſtate of war, the moſt dreadful: for every individual of the whole army moves but as a member of the ſame body, and at the ſame time in ſuch a harmony of motion, as if they were all govern'd by the ſame mind. Their ears are always open to attend the word of command, their eyes watching to receive the ſignal, and their hands ever in readineſs to execute the orders of their ſuperiors, in contempt of all difficulties and dangers. When they come to the encounter, and that the battle is once reſolved upon, they never trouble their heads with the enemies numbers, or conduct; the difficulties or dangers of paſſes; nay, nor with the malice of fortune itſelf; but break through all obſtacles, and make themſelves as good as ſure of the victory before they ſtrike a ſtroke. Now if their counſels and deliberations be govern'd altogether by political prudence, and ſound advice, and follow'd with an anſwerable vigour of execution; what wonder is it to ſee the Roman empire miſtreſs of the univerſe, and ſtretching itſelf as far as the Euphrates on the eaſt, the ocean on the weſt, the fruitful country of Africa on the ſouth, and the Rhine and Danube on the north? And yet, when all is ſaid, the dominion ſeems ſtill too narrow for the great ſouls of the poſſeſſors of it.

The extent of the Roman empire.

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* Four cubits were equivalent to two Engliſh yards, one foot three inches and an half.

It is not my purpoſe in what I have here deliver'd, to write a panegyrick to the honour of the Romans; but rather for the comfort of thoſe that are overcome, to ſhew they have no reaſon to be aſhamed of their maſters, and to divert raſh innovators and malecontents from attempting impoſſibilities. Beſide that this diſcourſe may perhaps be of ſome ſervice to the curious, in the light it will give them toward a better underſtanding of the Roman methods of government and diſcipline: but I ſhall return from whence I digreſs'd.

CHAP. IV.

Placidus breaks into Galilee. He aſſaults Jotapata, and is beaten off.

Placidus breaks into Galilee.

He aſſaults Jotapata.

Placidus is beaten off.

WHILE Veſpaſian was with his ſon Titus at Ptolemais, he gave all neceſſary orders for the ſupply and government of the army; and in this interim, Placidus made an inroad into Galilee, over-ran the whole country, took prodigious numbers of priſoners, and put the greater part of them to the ſword. Now theſe were only a timorous faint-hearted ſort of people; but the more reſolute part of the Galileans were obſerv'd to take ſanctuary ſtill in cities, and other ſtrong holds that Joſeph had fortify'd; which when Placidus took notice of, he reſolv'd to ſet upon them by aſſault, and to begin with Jotapata; which was the moſt defenſible place they had, making no doubt at all of carrying it upon the firſt attack by ſurprize, and thereby opening a way to the taking of other places; which would acquire him a reputation among the other generals: for the very example of Jotapata, being the ſtrongeſt and moſt defenſible place in all Galilee, would probably draw the remainder after it. But Placidus was much miſtaken in his conjecture; for the inhabitants being precaution'd of his deſign, and that he was already upon his march, went out of the city to encounter him; and falling upon the Romans at unawares, with a conſiderable body, and in good heart, (their country, wives and children, being all at ſtake) they put them to the rout, wounded a great many of his men, but kill'd only ſeven of them, being well-arm'd, and making an orderly retreat. Of the Jews there were only three ſlain, and ſome few wounded; for being ill-arm'd, they were fain to content themſelves to fight with darts and lances at a diſtance, without venturing on a cloſe engagement. Upon this repulſe, Placidus left the place.

CHAP. V.

Veſpaſian marches from Ptolemais into Galilee. The order of his march. Upon Veſpaſian's advance, Joſeph's people deſert. Joſeph gives over the war, and withdraws to Tiberias.

Veſpaſian marches from Ptolemais into Galilee.

The order of his march.

VESPASIAN, being now reſolv'd upon an incurſion into Galilee, leaves Ptolemais, and gives the army their marching orders, according to the inſtitution of the Roman diſcipline; the auxiliaries being light-arm'd, and the archers advancing before the reſt, to keep the enemy at a diſtance; and, by ſcouting out into the woods, and other ſuſpected paſſages, for diſcovery of their ambuſhes, to prevent ſurprizes. Theſe were follow'd with a party of Roman horſe and foot; and after them, a detachment of ten men out of every company, with their arms and neceſſary proviſions for the forming of a camp. The next in courſe were the pioneers, to level and mend the ways, and cut down the trees and buſhes that incommoded them in their march. After theſe came the general's baggage, with that of his great officers, and a ſtong party of horſe for their convoy. Veſpaſian himſelf marching next, with a ſelect body of horſe and foot, ſome troops of lances, and ſix-ſcore of his own men drawn out of ſo many groſs ſquadrons. The engineers, with their machines and inſtruments for battery and aſſault took their place next, and then follow'd the tribunes and other officers, with a choice body of troops about them. Next came the imperial eagle, at the head of all the reſt of the Roman enſigns, as the prince of the birds for authority and power; an emblem of government, and a good omen of ſucceſs in arms. After the ſacred enſigns follow'd the trumpets, and after the trumpets the body of the army, ſix in front, with the proper officers to keep them in rank and file, according to order and good diſcipline. The ſervants of every legion march'd along with the infantry, and took care of the carriage and baggage. In the laſt place were the pourveyors, and other mercenaries, for the ſervice of the army, under a convoy of horſe and foot.

In this order Veſpaſian advanc'd to the frontiers of Galilee, and there encamp'd with his ſoldiers about him, earneſtly preſſing for action; but partly in confidence that the enemy's hearts would fail them upon the very approach of the army, or otherwiſe, that they might change their minds yet before it came to a battle, he gave them time to bethink themſelves; and in the interim, went in hand with his preparations for a ſiege.

Upon Veſpaſian's advance. Joſeph's people deſert.

Joſeph gives over the war, and withdraws to Tiberias.

This great general was ſo far in the right, that the Jews fell into ſuch a conſternation with dread and terror upon the very report of his coming, that Joſeph's people, who were then encamped near Sepphoris, abandon'd their captain, not only without a blow ſtriking, but without ſo much as a ſight of the enemy. Joſeph finding himſelf thus deſerted, and out of condition to encounter the Romans, the hearts of the Jews quite ſunk, the greater part of them gone over to the enemy, and the remainder in all appearance ready to follow, he quite gave over any farther thought of the war, and ſo, coſulting his own ſecurity, with ſome few that ſtood by him, he withdrew to Tiberias.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Veſpaſian takes Gadara by aſſault. The Romans put all to the ſword. Joſeph puts it to the council of Jeruſalem, whether to fight or treat.

Veſpaſian takes Gadara by aſſault. The Romans put all to the ſword.

THE firſt place that Veſpaſian attack'd, was Gadara; and he carry'd it, without any difficulty, there being no men in it to make a conſiderable defence. The Romans, upon forcing the town, put all to death without diſtinction, betwixt hatred to the Jews, and revenge for the overthrow of Ceſtius. They ſet fire not only to the city itſelf, but to the little towns and villages about it: laying them utterly waſte, and making the inhabitants ſlaves.

JOSEPH's retiring for ſanctuary put the Tiberians all to their wit's end, to conſider, that if the caſe had not been deſperate, he would never have fled for it. Nor were they miſtaken in their opinion; for Joſeph was by this time ſenſible of the hopeleſs ſtate of the war, and that the Jews had no way in the world to ſave themſelves but by ſubmiſſion and repentance. As for his own part, he made no doubt of obtaining fair quarter from the Romans if he ſhould deſire it: but rather than betray his country and his truſt, he would ſuffer a thouſand deaths, without endeavouring to make a particular friend of a publick enemy. Upon this he wrote to the principal and leading men of Jeruſalem, a naked ſtate of the caſe; without making the Romans either greater or leſs than in truth they were, for fear of puffing them up into inſolence upon the Jews for cowardice one way, or provoking the Jews to be raſh and inconſiderate in the oſtentation of their power, in another. Joſeph, in fine, remitted the matter to the council to conſider of; deſiring them either to ſend him word immediately, if they had a mind to treat; or, if they were reſolv'd to proſecute the war, that they would be pleaſed without delay to ſend him an army able to give battle to the Romans. This was Joſeph's letter, which he ſent forthwith by an expreſs to Jeruſalem.

Joſeph puts it to the council of Jeruſalem, whether to fight or treat.

CHAP. VII.

Joſeph ſlips away out of Tiberias into Jotapata. A deſerter gives Veſpaſian notice of it, and that Joſeph was in a trap. The ſiege of Jotapata. A deſperate fight all day till night parts them. A combat of five days ſucceſſively. The ſituation of Jotapata. Veſpaſian plies the ſiege with all poſſible vigour. The manner of the attack and defenſe. Joſeph's invention to keep off ſtones and fire. The Romans under a great diſappointment.

JOTAPATA was generally look'd upon as the ſtrongeſt place in all Galilee; and Veſpaſian taking notice of it, and finding how the Jews in all their difficulties fled thither for ſanctuary, he reſolved the next thing he did to attempt the place; and ſo ſent horſe, foot, and pioneers, acroſs the mountains to clear the ways; which were at that time craggy, and extreme difficult even for foot; but for horſe utterly impaſſable. Theſe pioneers, in four days, cut out a paſſage for the whole army to march without any trouble.

Joſeph ſlips away out of Tiberias into Jotapata. A deſerter gives Veſpaſian notice of it, and that Joſeph was in a trap.

ON the fifth day, being the twenty firſt of the month * Artemiſius, Joſeph ſlipt out of Tiberias, and convey'd himſelf into Jotapata; which, in ſome meaſure, reviv'd the ſpirits of the Jews. A certain deſerter preſently carry'd away the news to Veſpaſian of Joſeph's being come into the town; adviſing him by all means to make haſte and fall on; for Joſeph was now in a trap, and if he were but once ſecured, the war with the Jews would quickly be at an end. Veſpaſian was ſo tranſported at the tidings, that he look'd upon it as an immediate providence from heaven, ſo far to blind and infatuate the moſt conſiderable enemy they had, as to inveigle him into the nooſe of a voluntary bondage. Veſpaſian, upon this, detach'd Placidus with a thouſand horſe, in commiſſion with Ebutius (one of the greateſt captains for counſel and execution in the whole army) giving them orders, without delay, to inveſt the city, and to take all poſſible care that Joſeph ſhould not make his eſcape.

The ſiege of Jotapata.

VESPASIAN follow'd the next morning with the whole army, and got up to Jotapata in the afternoon: where he drew up his army on the north-ſide of the city, about ſeven † furlongs from the town; encamping upon a hill within view of the enemy, on purpoſe to terrify them with ſo dreadful a ſight. This was done accordingly, and the people all ſeized with ſuch an aſtoniſhment, that not a ſoul durſt ſo much as look out of the walls. The Romans had had ſo hard a march that day, that they attempted nothing farther at preſent. But Veſpaſian however order'd the begirting of the town with two great bodies, and a third troop of horſe to be poſted at a diſtance to cut off all communication with the place. When the Jews ſaw how they were ſtreighten'd and coop'd up, their very deſpairs enflam'd their courage; as there's no daring like that which ariſes from neceſſity.

THE next morning the Romans began to batter the walls; and the Jews at firſt made a vigorous reſiſtance: but when Veſpaſian let looſe his bowmen and ſlingers upon them, with all other weapons of the ſame kind, to force them from the walls; and when he himſelf at the ſame time, with a body of foot, aſſaulted the wall upon a hill over againſt the other, which lay more expoſed to the danger of a battery; this put Joſeph into ſuch a fright for fear of the town, that he himſelf, at the head of the whole body of the Jews, fell outragiouſly upon the Romans; beat them from the walls, and follow'd the advantage with a deſperate reſolution. And yet the miſchief they ſuffer'd was not inferior to what they did; being both ſides equally provok'd and enflam'd: the Jews by deſperation, and the Romans by indignation and ſhame, to find the others ſo near their match. There was skill and valour on the one ſide, againſt a brutal rage on the other. The fight was maintain'd all the day till night parted them. Of the Romans there

A deſperate fight all day, till night parts them.

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* i. e. May.

† Seven furlongs were eight hundred and ſeventy five geometrical paces; that is, three quarters and half a quarter of a mile.

were ſeveral wounded and thirteen ſlain: and a matter of ſix hundred of the Jews wounded, and ſeventeen kill'd upon the place.

A combat of five days ſucceſſively.

THE beſiegers fell on next day again; and in this encounter, they did both ſides outdo themſelves: the Jews took courage from the repulſe they had given the enemy already beyond all expectation, and the Romans from the ſhame of being held ſo long in play: for the very delay of a victory was little leſs to them than an overthrow. They fought it out five days at this rate; the beſiegers preſſing ſtill harder and harder upon them, and the Jews on the other hand, not only ſupporting the defenſe, but at the ſame time making ſallies over and above, without ſo much as minding the prodigious numbers they were to encounter. Neither did the Romans abate any thing of the vigour of their attacks, for the difficulty and hazard of the enterprize.

The ſituation of Jotapata.

As to the ſituation of Jotapata, it ſtands upon a rock utterly inacceſſible; ſaving only upon one quarter: it is encompaſs'd on three ſides of it with ſuch precipices of ſteep and profound vallies, that it is enough to turn a man's brain and make him giddy, but to look down from top to bottom. There is no coming at it but upon the north; where part of the city is built upon the brow of the mountain: and that way it might be approach'd. But then Joſeph had cauſed this place to be fortify'd and taken into the town, to ſecure a mountain that overlooks and commands it; which, with other mountains there about, kept the place ſo cloſe, that there was no ſeeing of it till a body was juſt upon it. This was the ſituation and ſtrength of Jotapata.

Veſpaſian plies the ſiege, with all poſſible vigour. The manner of the attack, and defenſe.

VESPASIAN, finding that he had the natural difficulties of the place, and the rugged ſtubborneſs of the people to contend withal, took up a reſolution of puſhing the ſiege forward with more vigour, and call'd a council of his officers together, to adviſe in what manner to carry on his attack. The debate came to this iſſue, that there ſhould be erected a huge terraſs on the weakeſt part of the town. The reſolve being taken, Veſpaſian preſently ſet his whole army at work, to provide neceſſaries and materials for the raiſing of ſuch a mount; as vaſt quantities of ſtone and timber from the neighbouring mountains, with proviſions for hurdles to ſhelter the beſiegers againſt darts and ſhot from the town. Under the covert of thoſe defenſes they advanced their deſign, it being impoſſible for any ſhot from the town to do execution upon them. As for the earth they made uſe of, they had it out of the neighbourhood; and ſo handed it from one to another: inſomuch that, what with the vaſt number of hands to aſſiſt them, (for the whole army was engag'd) and the attempt going on ſtill without intermiſſion, the work could not but advance exceedingly. The Jews in the mean while did all that was poſſible, by darts and arrows from the walls, and by heavy ſtones upon their wattles, to divert them from their buſineſs: but all they were able to do, was only to make a noiſe and interrupt the proceeding, but no way to defeat or diſappoint it.

VESPASIAN had by this time an hundred and ſixty engines at work, caſting lances at the defendants; beſide larger machines to throw ſtones and javelins, artificial fires, arrows, &c. which were all manag'd by Arabians archers, and other maſters of ſhooting; and made not only the wall itſelf, but the whole ſpace alſo betwixt that and the terraſs, too hot for the defendants to approach. This did not hinder the Jews yet from ſallying out upon the Romans in troops, like thieves; ſtripping them of all their defenſes, and then falling upon them as ſo many naked men, and ſetting fire to every thing about them that was combuſtible, and by this means undoing all they had done. Veſpaſian finding the miſchief of the Jews breaking in upon them; and that there was no way to prevent it, but by making their work all of a piece, and filling up the intervals, that there might be no room for them to paſs, he went that way to work; and joining his troops in a cloſe body, put a final end to their excurſions.

Joſeph's invention to keep off ſtone and fire.

The Romans under a great diſappointment.

The mount being now brought up almoſt to the height of the town-wall, Joſeph did not think it honourable, to have more done on the one ſide to deſtroy the town, than on the other to defend it. So that he call'd the workmen together, and gave order for the raiſing of the wall, and keeping it up ſtill above the height of the terraſs. But they excuſing themſelves, upon the impoſſibility of advancing any work under all that ſhot, Joſeph bethought himſelf of a contrivance to guard both againſt ſtones and fire: which was by driving ſeveral great ſtakes faſt into the ground, and ſtretching up ſo many raw hides againſt them; and theſe to be interpoſed betwixt the enemy and the bodies of the beſieged: the moiſture of the ſkins would reſiſt and damp the flame, and the yielding diſpoſition of them would enfeeble the violence of ſtones or lances, and render them in a manner ineffectual. Under the protection of this covert, the work-men follow'd it ſo hard day and night, without either fear or danger, that in a ſhort time they rais'd a wall of twenty * cubits, and fortify'd it with turrets and ſtrong embattlements. The Romans look'd upon themſelves by this time to be as good as maſters of the town; and it was therefore the greater ſurprize to meet with ſo confounding a policy, and ſo invincible an obſtinacy at the ſame time.

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* Twenty cubits amounted to thirty-ſix Engliſh feet, that is twelve yards.

CHAP. VIII.

Veſpaſian attempts by ſtarving, what he could not get by force. No proviſions wanting in Jotapata but water. The gariſon ſtinted. The pit-water near ſpent. An invention to conceal their want of it. Veſpaſian betakes himſelf to his arms again. Joſeph finds out a way for a ſupply. He propounds an eſcape: the Jews beg of him to ſtand by them. Joſeph reaſons the matter with them. The Jews continue their importunities. Joſeph deliberates, and enters into action. Veſpaſian bids his men give over the aſſault. The invincible courage and reſolution of the Jews.

Veſpaſian attempts by ſtarving, what he could not compaſs by force.

THE Jews took ſuch heart upon this ſtratagem and the ſucceſs of it, that they paſs'd not a day without incurſions, ſkirmiſhes, and all ſorts of violences, by fire, ſword and pillage. Veſpaſian was equally troubled at the diſgrace, and at the diſappointment: And therefore, upon ſecond thoughts, gave over the aſſault, and contented himſelf to endeavour the ſtarving of the place inſtead of ſtorming it; reaſoning the matter with himſelf, either that want would bring them to ſubmiſſion, or if they ſtood it out, that famine in the mean time would do the buſineſs of the ſword; either by weakening or by waſting them, and putting them out of condition of defence, whereby he might obtain the eaſier conqueſt. Veſpaſian, upon this, blockt them up ſo cloſe, that there was no paſſing in or out.

No proviſion wanting in Jotapata but water.

The gariſon ſtinted.

The pit-water near ſpent.

An invention to conceal the want of water.

Veſpaſian returns to his arms again.

Joſeph finds out a way for relief.

THEY had in the town, corn, and all manner of neceſſaries in abundance, ſave only ſalt. As for water, 'tis true, they had not ſo much as one fountain about the city, and only rain water for their common uſe: which, in that hot and dry country, was very ſcarce, eſpecially in ſummer; and this was their preſent caſe. It was a great affliction to them, the very thought of a drought, and the diſtreſs they were already fallen into for want of water. The place being plentifully ſtor'd with all other proviſions, and the men in good heart, Joſeph, in order to protract the ſiege, put the gariſon to their allowance, to husband the little water they had, and make the ſtock hold out ſo much the longer. This order for the ſtinting of their drink, put the people out of all patience; for it looked as if they were almoſt drawn dry; and they began to be froward upon it, and would work no longer. This peeviſh humour of the Jews could not be well kept from the knowledge of the Romans; who were within diſtance of obſerving from another hill near hand there, whatever paſs'd among the Jews: as the tumultuary thronging together, the meaſuring of their portions, and their uneaſineſs about it: ſeveral of the Jews being cut off too, upon the place, at that very inſtant, by ſhot from the Roman engines. The pit-water being by this time well nigh ſpent, and Veſpaſian in an hourly expectance of the town's falling into his hands, Joſeph put this amuſement upon him. He cauſ'd a great many parcels of cloaths to be hung up dropping-wet, upon the battlements of the walls within view of the Romans; wherein he gain'd his end of inducing them to believe that there could not be ſuch a ſcarcity of water, in a place where they were ſo laviſh of it: and upon that preſumption, they fell into a direct deſpondency of ever taking the place for want of water. Nay, Veſpaſian himſelf gave over all hope of carrying it by a ſiege; and ſo had recourſe once again to arms. The Jews, on the other ſide, were heartily glad of it; for they themſelves, and their city, were both brought to the laſt extremity, and deſir'd nothing more than to exchange a ſtarving calamity, for want of bread and water, for an honourable death in the field. While Joſeph was pondering about an expedient to remedy this inconvenience, it came into his head, that, on the weſt ſide of the town, there was a forlorn hollow gutter, that lay quite out of the way, ſo as no body minded it. Joſeph propounded by the convenience of this paſſage to get relief into the town, as water, and whatever elſe they wanted; and to that end he wrote to ſome of the out-lying Jews, that liv'd toward that quarter, to ſend him from time to time what ſupplies he had occaſion for; together with expreſs inſtructions to cover the meſſengers with hair-ſkins, and then to have them creep upon all-fours: ſo that if the watch ſhould get any glimpſe of them, they might paſs for dogs, or ſome other four-footed animals. This had effect till the correſpondence was diſcover'd, and the communication cut off.

Joſeph propounds an eſcape.

The Jews beg of him to ſtand by them.

JOSEPH ſaw by this time, that it was a thing utterly impoſſible to defend the city, and that it would be certain death to him if he ſtay'd: ſo that he himſelf and ſeveral other great men, met preſently in council upon it, and conſulted how to make their eſcape. The people had already a jealouſy of what they were about; and ſo came to Joſeph in throngs, and begged of him above all things in this world to take care of them, for they had no other friend to truſt to but himſelf. They could never be loſt, they ſaid, ſo long as he was ſafe; nor their lives better ſpent than at his feet: or, if they ſhould be all ſeiz'd upon, it would be recorded to his eternal honour, that he was too brave either to fly from his enemies, or to abandon his friends: which would be much the caſe they ſaid, as if a man ſhould leap out of a ſhip in a ſtorm, which he had taken charge of in a calm: telling him that this caſe of a veſſel was the very ſame with that of their city; for, ſaid they, who ſhall ſtand up to defend us and our country, when we have loſt the ſingle man, whom we look upon as the only means and hope of our ſafety?

Joſeph reaſons the matter with them in a plauſible diſcourſe.

JOSEPH was not willing to have it thought, that he conſulted altogether his particular ſecurity; and ſo gave them to underſtand in a plauſible diſcourſe, that it was more for their ſakes than his own, that he had any thought of withdrawing; for either you will be made priſoners, ſays he, or you will not: and now take it which way you will. If the latter, what will you be the better for my ſtaying with you? If the other, what will you be the better for my dying with you? Whereas, if I were then at liberty and abroad, I might bring an army into the field out of Galilee time enough to raiſe the ſiege: now ſo long as I lie coop'd up here in the town, I ſhall certainly do you a great deal of miſchief without any ſort of good; for it will irritate the Romans to a more vigorous proſecution of the ſiege, ſo long as they are ſure of Joſeph for a prize; but if I were out of the way once, they would look no farther after you perhaps.

The Jews continue their importunities.

THE people were ſo far from coming over to him upon this diſcourſe, that they came ſtill preſſing upon him with more and more importunity: men, women and children; mothers with their infants at their breaſts all in tears, embracing his knees, and caſting themſelves at his feet; begging of him with outcries and ſupplications, not to forſake them in their diſtreſs. And this they did not, I preſume, out of envy to his being at eaſe; but upon ſome ſecret impulſe, as if the very preſence of Joſeph would be a kind of protection to his friends.

JOSEPH's heart was ſo far ſoften'd toward theſe people, betwixt gratitude and compaſſion, that he put it to a queſtion within himſelf, whether to ſtay or go. “If I appear to ſtay “willingly, ſays he, it will be taken as the “power of the aſcendant they have over me. “But what if I ſhould refuſe, and then be “forc'd to do it at laſt by being made a pri“ſoner”? Upon this deliberation, Joſeph reſolv'd to ſtand it out with them, and bear his part in the common deſperation of the city. “This, my good friends and countrymen, ſays “he, is the true time to ſhew ourſelves brave “in, when there's no hope of ſafety but in our “arms; when we are ſure to receive honour “in exchange for our lives, and for acting “like good patriots, to have our memories cele“brated to poſterity for our country's devo“tees”.

Joſeph deliberates and enters into action.

FROM theſe words Joſeph advanc'd to action, and putting himſelf at the head of the braveſt men he had, charg'd the enemy's guards, beat them from their trenches, and puſh'd them up to the very camp: one while tearing their skins to pieces that cover'd them in their works; another while ſetting fire to the works themſelves: and this they did time after time, for three or four days and nights ſucceſſively, with an inſuperable boldneſs, and an indefatigable labour.

Veſpaſian bids his men give over the aſſault.

WHEN Veſpaſian ſaw how hard it went with the Romans upon theſe encounters; for when they were worſted, they were aſham'd to turn their backs; and when they got the better of it at any time, they were too heavy arm'd to purſue the advantage: ſo that the Jews never ſally'd but they did ſome miſchief or other before they retreated: when Veſpaſian, I ſay, found upon what terms they were, he commanded his troops to give over the attack, and not caſt away their lives againſt men that did but deſire to die, under the provocation of an incurable deſpair. Their rage, he ſaid, was but like a blaze that would go out of itſelf, if it wanted but matter to entertain it: beſide, that the caſe of the Romans was quite a different thing from that of the Jews; the former fought only for dominion, the other, for life and liberty; and the one had a great deal more need of victory than the other. But in the mean time the Arabian and the Syrian ſlingers, archers, engineers, &c. were all at work with their ſtones, arrows and lances: and nothing, in fine, of that kind ceaſed, as the Jews found to their coſt. But all this was ſo far from ſtaggering the Jews, that on the contrary, they preſs'd through all difficulties to ſingle out the Romans, body to body; and there fought it out, without quarter on either hand; and the living on both ſides, ſtepping up to ſupply the place of the dead.

The invincible courage and reſolution of the Jews.

CHAP. IX.

A deſcription of the battering engine the ram. The manner of ordering it. A contrivance to defeat the force of it. The Jews have recourſe to fire. A brave action of one Eleazar. Two glorious heroes. Veſpaſian receives a ſlight wound on the ancle. The ſtrange force of battery. A bloody night, for the loſs of brave men. The Jews ſtand firm to the laſt.

BETWIXT the length of the ſiege, and the perpetual excurſions of the beſieged, Veſpaſian was as good as beſieg'd himſelf: but having now carry'd up his works near the height of the walls, he reſolved to bring it then to an iſſue by the dint of battery, and order'd the battering ram to be brought up to the place of action. This ram is a machine of a prodigious bulk and ſize, like the maſt of a ſhip, fortify'd with a ſtrong piece of iron at the top of it, like the head of a ram: from whence, and from the manner of puſhing in the uſe of it, like the butting of that creature, it took the name. This engine is hung up by the middle, with great cables or ropes, faſten'd to croſs timbers, well cramp'd together and ſtrongly ſupported. There it lies upon a poiſe, like the beam of a pair of ſcales: and as it hangs balancing thus in the air, it is mov'd backward and forward by the force of many hands, and falls with ſuch a violence upon the place, where it is to batter, that no fortreſs or wall is able to ſtand the continu'd repetitions of its attack.

A deſcription of the ram.

VESPASIAN grew impatient with delay, and the ſiege ſeem'd a kind of idleneſs to the Romans; whereas the Jews at the ſame time were ſtill doing of miſchief; ſo that the general's heart was now ſet altogether upon diſpatch. The firſt thing he did in order to it, was to bring his ſlingers, archers and ordinary machines cloſer up to the town, to beat the defendants from the walls, and to make way for the ram; which was then immediately brought on: that is to ſay, ſo ſoon as the archers and ſlingers had repuls'd the Jews from the walls. It was cover'd with hurdles, and wrapt up in hair skins, for the ſecurity both of the managers, and of the machine. The very firſt ſtroke of it put the people into an uproar, as if the town had been taken; and Joſeph finding that their battering ſtill in the ſame place, would bring down the wall over their heads in a very ſhort time, he order'd ſeveral ſacks of chaff to be provided, and let down by ropes from the battlement againſt the place where the engine play'd: and ſtill as the Romans chang'd their battery, the Jews encounter'd them with their ſacks; by which means they did generally either miſs their mark, or fail of the effect.

The manner of ordering the ram.

A contrivance to defeat the force of the ram.

THIS invention was a mighty hindrance to the Romans; for which way ſoever they pointed the engine, the Jews would be ſure to meet them with their chaff-bags, which ſcreen'd the wall from receiving damage from the blow; till the Romans found out another way to defeat the contrivance. That is to ſay, they got a proviſion of long poles, with ſharp iron hooks faſten'd to the ends of them, like paring knives; and with theſe they immediately cut the ſtrings of the bags; and upon this diſappointment, the machine did its office again; and the wall

The Jews have recourſe to fire.

being but newly repair'd and not yet ſettled, could not poſſibly withſtand its force. Joſeph and his companions had now nothing left them to truſt to but fire, ſo that getting together all the combuſtible matter they could lay hands on, beſide pitch, ſulphur, and the like; they divided it ſeverally into three parcels, and ſet fire to the Roman machines, huts, and all materials that would take it, in three ſeveral places at the ſame time. The rage of the flames and of the Jews was ſo terrible, that there was no place for relief, and the danger equal of periſhing both ways. The conflagration, in fine, was ſo dreadful, that it deſtroy'd all in a moment that the Romans had been ſo long a doing, and with ſo much labour and hazard.

The bravery of one Eleazar.

There was one Eleazar of Paab in Galilee, the ſon of Sameas, who ſignaliz'd himſelf upon this occaſion by an action never to be forgotten, and hath conſequently a right to a part in this hiſtory. He took up a mighty ſtone and caſt it down from the wall upon the machine, with ſo prodigious a force, that he broke off the iron head of it: and then leaping down into the middle of his enemies, carry'd it off without any apprehenſion of danger, to the foot of the wall; where he ſtood a while, unarmed as he was, a common mark for the enemy, till he had five arrows ſtuck in his body. In this condition, he remounted the wall; where he ſtood for a ſhort time a glorious ſpectacle, without any change either of countenance or behaviour, till at laſt he dropp'd down dead with the anguiſh of his wounds, and the head of the machine in his arms, which he would never quit to the laſt.

Two glorious heroes,

There were alſo two brothers of Ruma in Galilee, *Netiras and Philip, that were as brave as it was poſſible for men to be. They fell once upon the ſoldiers of the tenth legion, with ſuch an impetuous fury, that they broke into the Roman army, and drove all before them that made head againſt them; while Joſeph at the head of a troop of men, with firebrands, burnt the machines, huts, and works of the fifth, and likewiſe of the tenth legion; and thoſe that follow'd made the ſame havock with what was left.

Veſpaſian receives a ſlight wound on the ankle.

By the evening of the ſame day, the Romans were at work with the ſame engine again, upon that part of the wall that had been ſhatter'd and broken before: Veſpaſian at the ſame time receiving a ſhot upon the ankle by an arrow out of the town; but it prov'd a ſlight wound however, for the arrow was ſpent. They that were within diſtance of ſeeing their general's blood, put the whole army into ſuch a fright with the alarum, that the very commanders themſelves quitted their poſts, and came thronging to the head quarter to learn the truth of the matter; Titus himſelf, in the firſt place, out of an impatient tenderneſs for his father: but this generous zeal caſt the multitude into a conſternation. Veſpaſian however quickly eas'd both Titus and the army of their fears, by ſhewing himſelf openly, and upon the main making little or nothing of the diſaſter. So that the anxiety and ſorrow they labour'd under before, for fear of a mortal calamity, was now turn'd only into the tranſport of an honourable revenge: Veſpaſian encouraging the ſoldiers, and they one another, to fall on and renew the aſſault, in defiance of all oppoſition. The enemies ſtones and arrows deſtroy'd great numbers of the Jews; but Joſeph and his people made good the wall ſtill; and with fire, ſword, and other inſtruments of miſchief, lay galling the managers of the battering engine. The Jews now, with all their bravery, advanc'd little yet, in regard that they were forced to fight in ſight of the enemy; and the fire they made uſe of againſt the Romans, gave the enemy light againſt themſelves: ſo that they ſtood ſo fair a mark, that there was no miſſing it on the one ſide, and no avoiding it on the other; for they could not ſo much as ſee the very machines from whence the weapons came. By the force of ſtones from thoſe engines, the very battlements and the corners of the towers were broken down; and where they fell into a body, they carry'd away whole files before them. But whoever would be inform'd of the wonderful effect of theſe machines, needs never look farther than into the hiſtory of that night.

The ſtrange force of theſe battering engines.

There was one of Joſeph's friends, who, as he was upon the walls of Jotapata with him, had his head ſtruck off with a ſtone from one of theſe engines; which was carry'd three † furlongs from the place, as if it had been thrown out of a ſling. And another, coming croſs a big-belly'd woman, carry'd the child within her half a ‡ furlong from the body. Now taking all this together; the prodigious violence and the terrible clattering of theſe machines, and of the weapons they caſt; the frequent noiſes of the dead and wounded falling from the walls; the ſhreicks and cries of women within the town, anſwer'd by the groans of dying perſons from without; the town-ditch flowing with blood and fill'd with piles of carcaſſes, ſufficient to mount an enemy to the aſſault; and the echoes from the mountains, after all this, redoubling the miſerable ſtory: there was nothing wanting that ſorrowful night, in fine, that might ſtrike the eye or the ear with an inexpreſſible horror. There was a prodigious ſlaughter of brave men in that night's action, in a moſt heroical defenſe of the liberty of their country; which they maintain'd all night againſt the uttermoſt efforts of the enemy's machines, till break of day; and then the wall fell to pieces. But the Jews even in this diſmal extremity made the breach good yet, with their bodies and their arms, before the Romans could paſs their men over the ditch to the attack.

A bloody night of brave men.

The Jews ſtand firm to the laſt.

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* Or Neritas.

† One furlong conſiſting of one hundred and twenty five geometrical paces, three muſt amount to three hundred and ſeventy five, which were equivalent to two thouſand and two Engliſh feet and an half, that is, to ſix hundred and ſixty ſeven yards, one foot and an half.

‡ Half a furlong was ſomething upwards of an hundred and eleven yards.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Veſpaſian makes ready to renew the aſſault. Joſeph prepares for the encounter, and gives his people their leſſon. A horrid confuſion of outcries upon the approach of the army. Joſeph's men keep to their orders. A bloody conflict. The Romans advance up to the wall under covert of their bucklers. The Jews pour ſcalding oil among them. The ſtrange courage and conſtancy of the Romans. Veſpaſian orders the raiſing of his platforms. The Jews are forced to quit the breach.

Veſpaſian makes ready to renew the aſſault.

WHEN the Roman army had a little refreſh'd themſelves next morning after the fatigue of ſo ſevere a night, Veſpaſian put every thing in a readineſs for an aſſault, taking care in the firſt place to keep the Jews from daring to ſhew themſelves in the breach. To this end, he diſmounted a party of the beſt horſe he had; armed them at all points, and ſo ranged them in three diviſions, with pikes in their hands, to make good the breach; and they themſelves, upon the advance of the bridges, to be the firſt to enter the town. Theſe horſe were to be ſeconded by a body of choice foot, and the remainder of the horſe to be diſtributed quite round the mountainous parts of the city, to make ſure that, upon the taking of it, no perſon ſhould eſcape. The next in order were the archers, ready prepar'd with their bows and arrows; as alſo the ſlingers and engineers. Others were employ'd with ladders, to attempt the ſcaling of ſome parts of the wall that were entire; which was intended only for an amuſement, and to draw off aſſiſtance from other places that more needed it, and to force them by this diverſion to abandon the attack.

Joſeph prepares for the encounter.

JOSEPH was ſo well informed of the Roman's purpoſes and deſigns, that he employ'd only men that were either over-much fatigu'd, or ſuperannuated, for the guard of thoſe parts of the wall that were ſound; well knowing there was little or no danger from that quarter. But wherever there was the leaſt crack or flaw, not a man was made uſe of for that duty but of approv'd courage and reſolution; and he himſelf with ſix more at the head of them, to receive the firſt ſhock of the enemy; giving them in charge not to mind the outcries of inſulting clamours, but rather to ſhut their ears againſt them; for they were all but noiſe. As for their archers, the ſhields over their heads were the beſt defence againſt their arrows: or they might retreat a little till they had empty'd their quivers. "But, ſays Joſeph, if they come once to lay over their bridges, there's nothing then to be thought of but fighting; and not as people in defence of a country that is to be preſerved, but for the honour and vindication of a country that is already loſt, and to make the authors of your ruin pay dear for their purchace. For what can you expect, upon the ſubduing of your city, but that your adverſaries will gratify their cruelty, with the blood of your fathers, your wives and your children?" After this manner Joſeph divided himſelf.

And gives his people their leſſon.

WHEN the common people, the women and the children, ſaw the town ſurrounded by three armies, (and no force ſent out to encounter them) the enemy marching up with their drawn ſwords towards the demoliſh'd ſide of the wall, the mountains round about glittering with arms, and the Arabians prepar'd with their arrows, they ſet up ſuch an howl, as if the city were not only in danger of ruin, but already taken. Theſe clamours were ſo moving, that Joſeph preſently order'd the women to their houſes, and to ſilence at their peril, for fear of diſheartening the ſoldiers; while he himſelf haſten'd to that part of the town that fell to his lot, paſſing by the ſcalling ladders without ſo much as minding them; his thoughts being altogether taken up with the enemy's way of attack by their darts and their arrows.

A horrid confuſion of outcries on the approach of the army.

UPON the ſounding of their trumpets, the giving of the ſignal, and the military ſhout of of the army, the very sky was darken'd with a cloud of arrows. Joſeph's companions did not forget their inſtructions, but ſtopp'd their ears againſt the clamours, and covered themſelves with their ſhields againſt their ſhot. But upon the leaſt advance of the bridges, they flew upon the Romans like lightening, to put a ſtop to the deſign, either by keeping them from approaching, or by beating them off and diſputing every inch of the poſſeſſion. For as faſt as the Romans endeavour'd to mount the bridge, the Jews violently puſh'd them down again, with ſignal inſtances both of their skill and courage, in the conduct and execution; ſhewing themſelves as bold and intrepid in the extremity of danger, as the Romans were where there was none at all; nay, the greater hazard, the firmer was their reſolution; and when they were once engag'd, there was no parting them without the death of the one or the other. But the Jews being kept upon perpetual duty, and no enforcements to relieve them, whereas the Romans had a continual ſupply of freſh men, and as one party was weary'd, or worſted, another at hand ready to take the place, numbers muſt of neceſſity carry it at the long run. The Romans were ſenſible of the advantage they had; and ſo preſſing as cloſe together as one could ſtand to another, they threw their long bucklers over their backs, and making an impenetrable figure, they drove the Jews before them, as if the ſtrength of the whole army had been united into one entire body; and ſo they advanced up to the very wall.

Joſeph's men keep to their orders.
A bloody conflict betwixt the Jews and the Romans.

The Romans advance up to the wall, under covert of their bucklers.

IN this diſtreſs, Joſeph, upon advice with his neceſſities and deſpairs, reſolved upon a trial of this experiment. The Jews having a great deal of oil by them, Joſeph ordered the boiling a conſiderable quantity of it; and ſo to caſt it down ſcalding hot upon the ſoldiers under the wall, together with the very pots and veſſels it was boil'd in. This was done accordingly, and paſſing between the bucklers, and over the bodies of the Romans, it utterly broke their order, and deſtroy'd the men, by forcing them down from the wall in extreme torture: for the oil flowing under their arms from head to foot, and ſo all over the body, conſum'd the fleſh like fire itſelf; being naturally apt to take heat, and long a cooling. And then their armour being brac'd and buckl'd to their bodies, there was no getting clear of the torment: ſome of them leaping and ſpringing in their pains; others drawn double, and all falling from the bridge down to the ground.

The Jews pour down ſcalding oil among them.

And for thoſe that attempted to get off to their own people, they were eaſily maſter'd by the Jews at their backs.

The ſtrange courage and conſtancy of the Romans.

In the whole courſe of theſe calamitous circumſtances, there was no failing either of courage in the Romans, or of prudence in the Jews. For the Romans, notwithſtanding the miſery they endur'd by the ſcalding oil, had the heart yet to preſs upon thoſe that pour'd it among them, and not without a competition who ſhould be foremoſt. The Jews, after this, put another check to the progreſs of the Romans by caſting boil'd fenugreek upon the boards of the bridge; which made them ſo ſlippery that the Romans could not keep their feet upon them; ſo that they could neither fight nor fly. Some fell at their length upon the planks, where they were trampled upon by their own people; others fell lower, where they lay at the mercy of the Jews ſhot. Veſpaſian found his people ſo haraſs'd out by this way of fighting, that toward evening he call'd them off; having loſt ſeveral men, and more wounded. Of Jotapata there were only ſix men ſlain, and upwards of three hundred hurt. This action paſſed the twentieth of the month Deſius.

Veſpaſian orders the raiſing of his platforms.

The Jews are forc'd to quit the breach.

Veſpaſian was ſo ſenſible of the miſcarriage of this aſſault, that he treated the army with an excuſatory compliment upon that occaſion; but finding the ſoldiers ſo far from being dejected, that they were rather inflam'd, and that they had more mind to be fighting than talking, he order'd the raiſing of his platforms, and the erecting three wooden towers upon them, of fifty foot high a piece, cover'd all over with iron to keep them ſteady with the weight, and make them proof againſt fire. In theſe turrets were the choiceſt of his markſmen and engineers, with their machines, inſtruments and arms. The people in them had this advantage of the beſieged, that they were out of ſight and reach of the others: whereas thoſe upon the wall were eaſily ſeen and wounded from the turrets. So that the Jews, being neither able to avoid the arrows from above, nor ſo much as to ſee who hurt them, quitted the breach; but ſtill upon all attacks made a vigorous and a brave reſiſtance. At this rate did Jotapata defend itſelf, tho' with daily loſs of men, and with much more hazard and miſchief to themſelves than to the enemy.

CHAP. XI.

Trajan ſent to reduce Japha. The people meet him on the way to give him battle. The Jews put to flight, and driven into the firſt encloſure. The miſery of thoſe that were coopt up there. A prodigious ſlaughter. Trajan deſires Veſpaſian to ſend Titus to the finiſhing of the work. Titus brings his troops to Japha. The Romans mount the walls, and enter the town. A bloody ſtreet-fight of ſix hours. Not a ſoul ſpar'd but women and children.

Trajan ſent to reduce Japha.

The people meet him on the way to give him battle.

The Jews put to flight, and driven pell-mell into the firſt encloſure.

Vespasian being given to underſtand, that Japha, a neighbouring city to Jotapata, after the example of the other, was falling off from their duty, being encouraged thereto by the famous defence of that place, that held out beyond all expectation; he ſent Trajan the commander of the tenth legion, with two thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, to reduce them. But finding the town impregnably fortify'd, (for beſide the natural ſtrength of the ſituation, it was encompaſs'd with a double wall) he was encounter'd upon the way, by the inhabitants of the place, in a poſture to give him battle. The bodies join'd, and after a ſlight reſiſtance, Trajan put them to flight, and purſu'd them ſo cloſe to the outwall (which was the place they made to) that they fell in with them pell-mell into the firſt encloſure; but upon preſſing up to the ſecond wall, the townſmen ſhut the gates upon them, for fear of taking in both friend and foe, one with another. This extraordinary way of delivering up the Galileans into the hands of the Romans, was a moſt judicial providence of heaven; for theſe men to be ſhut out of their own gates by their own people, and given up for a ſacrifice to an enemy that thirſted for their blood. They crouded in throngs up to the gates, call'd to the officers by their names, and begg'd admittance; having their throats cut at the ſame time, with their very prayers betwixt their lips. The Romans kept one gate, and the citizens the other; and of thoſe that were coopt up in this encloſure, ſome laid violent hands upon themſelves, others fell by the ſwords of their companions; beſides an incredible number, that fell by the hands of the Romans; and not a man amongſt them that had the heart to lift up a hand, or ſo much as offer at a revenge: for over and above the dread of an enemy, their ſpirits were taken down with a ſenſe of treachery among themſelves. They dy'd, in fine, to the number of twelve thouſand perſons; and all curſing the Jews, not the Romans.

The miſery of thoſe that were coopt up.

A prodigious ſlaughter.

Trajan deſires Veſpaſian to ſend Titus to the finiſhing of the work.

Titus brings his troops to Japha.

The Romans mount the walls, and enter the town.

A bloody ſtreet-fight of ſix hours. Not a ſoul ſpar'd but women and children.

Trajan took it now for granted, that their martial men were in a manner all cut off; and for thoſe that were left, that they were ſo diſpirited as not to have the heart to reſiſt: ſo that he ſent away preſently to deſire Veſpaſian, that his ſon Titus might have the honour of finiſhing the work. Veſpaſian underſtood it of ſomething conſiderable that remain'd yet to be done; and ſo Titus was diſpatch'd away accordingly, with an enforcement of five hundred horſe and a thouſand foot; which he divided immediately, upon his arrival, into two attacks; that on the left-hand he gave to Trajan, and the right-hand diviſion he command-ed himſelf. The firſt thing that the Romans did, after this, was to plant ſcaling-ladders, and then to mount the wall upon all quarters at the ſame time. The Galileans made ſome faint reſiſtance for a while; but ſoon quitting the wall, Titus with his party preſently leap'd down after them and enter'd the town. It came now to a deſperate ſtreet-fight; which, betwixt ambuſhes, and ſallies from nooks and narrow paſſes, where a great number of ſturdy fellows were got together, and annoyances of all ſorts that they receiv'd from the very women upon the tops of the houſes, continued for ſix hours. But the ſoldiers being by this time all cut off, the remainder of the multitude, whether at home or in the field, young men and old, were all deſtroy'd indifferently, and not a male left alive but infants, who were carry'd away captives with the women. The number of the ſlain in the city, and in the firſt encounter, was fifteen thouſand, and two thouſand one hundred and thirty priſoners. This judgment befel the Galileans on the twentieth of the month * Deſius.

CHAP. XII.

The Samaritans upon mount Garizim meditate a rebellion. Veſpaſian ſends Cerealis to take care of it. The Samaritans in a formidable body. A mortal drought for want of water. An indemnity offer'd by Cerealis, and rejected. The people put to death every man of them.

The Samaritans upon mount Garizim meditate a rebellion.

THE Samaritans bore their part alſo in the publick calamity. They had their meeting upon mount Garizim; (the holy mountain, as they counted it) and there they waited in their places for the event of things: but in the mean time the very air of the aſſembly, and the manner of their behaviour, look'd with a ſeditious aſpect, and gave to underſtand what they would be at. For they were never the wiſer for example and experience: but, without conſidering either their own weakneſs, or the mighty and proſperous power of the Romans, they were at that time running headlong into a rebellion: but Veſpaſian took an early care to prevent the miſchief. For though the whole province of Samaria was in a manner beſet with gariſons, he was not yet without ſome apprehenſion of what ſuch a multitude of people, and ſuch a conſpiracy of ill affections, might produce; ſo that for fear of the worſt, he ſent away Cerealis, a tribune of the fifth legion, with ſix hundred horſe, and three thouſand foot, to take care of the publick.

Veſpaſian ſends Cerealis to take care of it.

The Samaritans in a formidable body.

WHEN Cerealis came up with his troops to this mountain, he found the Samaritans gather'd together there in ſo vaſt a body, that he did not think fit to attack them upon that poſt; but rather intrench'd himſelf round about them at the foot of it; where for that day they were as good as beſieg'd. It ſo fell out, that being now in the height of ſummer, and a very hot ſeaſon, the Samaritans were in great want of water (the country having made no proviſion to ſupply it) inſomuch, that there died ſome or other of them daily of a parching drought; others went over to the Romans, chuſing rather to ſuffer ſlavery, than ſo miſerable a death. Cerealis being informed by deſerters, that they that ſtood it out were as much broken and out of heart as their fellows, he advanced up the mountain, and beſetting the enemy round with his army, did not only offer them life and liberty, upon condition of laying down their arms, but intreated them, with all the courteſy imaginable, to accept of the indemnity that was offer'd, upon an aſſurance that it ſhould be made good. But they were not to be prevail'd upon; and ſo they were all put to the ſword, to the number of eleven thouſand and ſix hundred perſons. There eſcap'd not ſo much as one man of them: this happen'd on the twenty ſeventh of the month * Deſius. And thus were the Samaritans humbled.

A mortal drought for want of water.

An indemnity offer'd and rejected. The people put to death every man of them.

CHAP. XIII.

The Romans works are now finiſh'd. A deſerter gives Veſpaſian intelligence of the ſtate of the town; with advice to fall on about break of day. Veſpaſian conſiders of it, takes his time, and carries it. The particulars of the action. An inhuman cruelty. A baſe and a treacherous murder. Forty thouſand men kill'd in the ſiege; the city raſ'd, and the caſtles burnt.

The Romans works being now finiſh'd, a deſerter gives Veſpaſian notice of the ſtate of the town, and adviſes him to fall on about break of day.

THE people of Jotapata held out a long time, and ſtood firm againſt all extremities, with a conſtancy to admiration. But upon the forty ſeventh day, when the Romans had carry'd up their works above the heighth of the walls, Veſpaſian had an account brought him by a deſerter of the ſtate of the town; which was, that what with the loſs of men, watching, and hard duty, the gariſon was ſo weaken'd, that with one ſharp aſſault more, the Romans might certainly carry the place; or, which would be the eaſier way, it was but taking the right opportunity to ſurprize them. So the deſerter adviſ'd Veſpaſian to take his time about break of day; when he might be ſure to find them leſs watchful; and the guard ſo drowſy and tir'd, that he could hardly fail of carrying his point.

Veſpaſian conſiders of it, takes his time, and carries his point.

VESPASIAN was ſo well acquainted with the obſtinate fidelity of the Jews one to another, and with the greatneſs of their reſolution in caſe of force or torments, that he gave little or no credit to this fugitive, for the ſake of an inſtance he had ſeen of a wonderful conſtancy of mind in one of that city already. He was a priſoner of Jotapata; and being put to the queſtion about the condition of the town, he ſtood all manner of tortures, even to fire and the croſs itſelf, to the contempt of death in all forms, rather than make the leaſt diſcovery. But the thing not being very unlikely, Veſpaſian thought with himſelf that it might yet poſſibly be true; or, at the worſt, that he ſhould run no riſque at all in ſeeming to believe it. Upon this conſideration, he order'd the informer to be taken into cuſtody, and every thing to be made ready for the aſſault.

The particulars of the action.

AT the hour aſſign'd, the army made a ſilent march up to the walls; Titus at the head of it, with Domitius and Sabinus, and ſome choſen men out of the fifteenth legion. They kill'd the centinels, cut the throats of the guards, enter'd the city; and after them follow'd Sextus Cerealis the tribune, and Placidus, with the troops under their command. The Romans were now in poſſeſſion of the fort, maſters of the town; and though it was broad day-light, yet the gariſon were ſo ſpent with labour and overwatching, that to this inſtant they did not not ſo much as know the town was taken. Nay, thoſe that were awake, were almoſt as much to ſeek too as the reſt: for there fell ſuch a miſt at that very inſtant, that either they ſaw nothing at all, or they did not know what they ſaw. This fogg continu'd till the whole army were enter'd the place: the people never waking till they felt the danger, and till they were convinc'd by

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* i. e. June.

A mercileſs cruelty, without ſparing ſo much as one man,

dying that they were undone. The Romans had ſuffer'd too much in the ſiege, to have any ſenſe of mercy or tenderneſs upon the ſtorm. Some were thrown head-long down, in the heat of the action, from the top of the fort to the bottom; others, that wanted neither good-will nor reſolution to revenge themſelves, were preſs'd to death in crowds, or forced down precipices, or daſh'd to pieces with ruin from over their heads. This was the caſe of ſeveral of Joſeph's ſelect friends; who choſe rather to die by their own hands, than by the hand of an enemy; and to lay violent hands on themſelves, when they could not have the ſatisfaction of taking a Roman along with them. This was it that mov'd divers of them to withdraw together into a remote part of the city, and there to do the laſt office one for another.

A baſe and a treacherous murder.

THOSE of the guard that took the firſt notice of the town's being loſt, got into a certain turret toward the north; where they were aſſaulted, and for a while made reſiſtance: but being overborn with numbers, they offer'd to treat; and finding no terms would be allow'd them, they were cut to pieces upon the place, and fell like men of bravery and honour. This action clos'd the ſiege; and the day had paſs'd without one drop of Roman blood, if it had not been for the death of Anthony a centurion, who was baſely and treacherouſly kill'd. There were ſeveral of the Jews that fled into caves; and one of them call'd out to Anthony for quarter, and his right-hand upon it, as an obligation of honour for the performance of the condition. Anthony unwarily ſtretching forth his right-hand for the Jew's ſatisfaction, the other ſtabb'd him into the groin with a ſpear, and ſo deſtroy'd him.

Forty thouſand men kill'd in the ſiege; the city ras'd, and the caſtles burnt.

THE Romans kill'd all they met that day, without ſparing ſo much as one man: and for ſome days following, they ſearch'd all the hiding-places, vaults, and cellars they could hear of, for fugitives; putting all to death they could lay hands on, ſaving only women and children. The number of the priſoners was twelve hundred, and of the ſlain from the beginning of the ſiege to the end was forty thouſand. Veſpaſian order'd the city to be ras'd, and the caſtles to be all burnt. Jotapata, in fine, was taken the firſt of the month [*] Panemus, in the thirteenth year of Nero: and this was the manner of taking it.

CHAP. XIV.

A ſtrict ſearch for Joſeph, dead or alive. He and forty more found conceal'd in a vault. Joſeph betray'd by a woman. The general offers him quarter, &c. Joſeph delivers himſelf up to the Romans. A generous exclamation againſt Joſeph. The deſperate reſolution of the Jews. Joſeph deliberates with his companions. The horrid impiety of ſelf-murder. The Jews not to be reclaim'd. They draw lots for their lives. Joſeph, and one more ſubmit to live. Joſeph conducted by Nicanor to Veſpaſian: who orders him to be kept cloſe. Veſpaſian ſpeaks to Joſeph in private. Joſeph highly in favour with Titus. Joſeph foretels the ſucceſſion of Veſpaſian and Titus to the empire. Veſpaſian ſeems not to heed it at firſt, till the truth of the prediction comes afterward to be confirm'd. Veſpaſian returns to Ptolemais, and ſo to Ceſarea.

A ſtrict ſearch for Joſeph, dead or alive.

Joſeph and forty more conceal'd in a vault.

THE Romans every where made a moſt ſtrict and diligent ſearch after Joſeph; partly out of a perſonal animoſity to him, and in part out of an officious forwardneſs to oblige Veſpaſian, who look'd upon him as the main ſupport of the war. They ſearch'd for him both among the dead and living, and in all places where the body of a man might be conceal'd. But it was his good hap, upon the taking of the town, to make his eſcape through the very middle of his enemies, and to get at laſt into an old deep pit, with a paſſage that led out of it into a large cavern, which was not to be diſcern'd from above. In this cave, Joſeph found forty eminent perſons under his own circumſtances, with proviſions about them for ſeveral days. Now the enemy being maſter of the whole country thereabouts, Joſeph was fain to keep cloſe in the day-time; but went abroad ſtill in the night, to obſerve the enemies guards, and ſee what poſſibility there was of making an eſcape. The watches, it ſeems, were ſo ſtrict and vigilant, that there was no getting away; and that it was for his ſake too that they made this ſcrutiny. Upon this, he went back again to his retreat, and there lay ſtill a while. On the third day after this, he was betray'd by a woman that was taken up; and Veſpaſian, immediately upon this diſcovery, ſent two tribunes to him, Paulinus and Gallicanus, to invite him out of his hole; with an aſſurance, upon the general's word and honour, that he ſhould be fairly treated. Joſeph durſt not truſt ſo far to the Roman generoſity, as to venture himſelf upon the general's parole; but, being conſcious to himſelf of the miſchief he had done them, he had more reaſon, he thought, to expect a revenge than a favour; and ſo excuſed himſelf from complying with the propoſal. Veſpaſian, after this, ſent him a third tribune, one Nicanor, Joſeph's old friend and acquaintance. This Nicanor treated Joſeph at large, upon the generous humanity of the victorious Romans towards thoſe they had ſubdu'd: aſſuring him moreover, that they were ſo far from bearing him any ill-will for the hurt he had done them, by the bravery and gallantry of his conduct; that, on the contrary, they had a high eſteem of him for his virtues. "And beſides, ſays Nicanor, what ſhould Veſpaſian need to ſtand expoſtulating with Joſeph upon conditions, when he has it abſolutely in his power to do whatever he will with him already? Veſpaſian loves a worthy man, and he has a mind to oblige Joſeph, as a perſon of that character. Or can you imagine now, that if the general had any mean and diſhonourable view, he would ever have employ'd a friend to execute the office of a raſcal; or have wrapt up ſo black a villany under ſo illuſtrious a covert? Or do you think again, that even I myſelf, if I had been put upon it, would ever have ſubmitted to be an inſtrument in ſo foul a treachery?" Notwithſtanding the reaſonableneſs of Nicanor's arguments, Joſeph ſtill made difficulties

Joſeph betray'd by a woman.

The general invites him out of his hole, upon terms of fair quarter.

Joſeph pauſes upon it.

Nicanor, Joſeph's old friend, reaſons him into a compliance.

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[*] i. e. July.

The ſoldiers inrag'd at Joſeph's refuſal.

Joſeph calls to mind dreams and revelations of times paſt.

Joſeph delivers himſelf up to the Romans.

of coming over, and heſitated ſo long, that the Roman ſoldiers had certainly in a rage ſet fire to the cave, if Veſpaſian had not reſtrained them, by a ſuggeſtion that he was reſolved to get Joſeph alive into his hands. Nicanor all this while continued to preſs Joſeph into a compliance, with inſtances more and more: the rage and menaces alſo of the ſoldiers ſtill encreaſing with their number. This brought to Joſeph's mind certain dreams he had; wherein God had revealed to him the miſerable calamities that were to betide the Jews, and the proſperity and greatneſs of the Romans. For Joſeph had an extraordinary gift of expounding dreams, and the faculty of interpreting many of thoſe ſecrets that God had been pleaſed to couch under veil and myſtery. As he was a prieſt himſelf, and of the ſacerdotal race, he was a perſon perfectly well skill'd in the writings of the holy prophets: and in this very inſtant, as if the ſpirit of God had taken poſſeſſion of him, the whole courſe and order of his viſions recurr'd to his mind; and particularly thoſe horrid images that he had lately ſeen, as well as the reſt. And in this rapture, he addreſs'd himſelf in a prayer to almighty God to this effect. “ Great God! (ſays he) ſince it is thy bleſſed will to depreſs the Jews, and to exalt the Romans, and to make me the inſtrument to foretel thy purpoſe, I ſubmit myſelf to thy providence, and to the acceptance of my life upon condition of rendring myſelf to the Romans: but in the preſence of thy ſacred majeſty, I do likewiſe declare, that I do it as the miniſter of thy good pleaſure, and not as a betrayer of my country.”

A generous invective againſt Joſeph.

JOSEPH had no ſooner ſurrendered himſelf to Nicanor, but all his companions in the cave came up to him, and attack'd him with clamorous invectives and exclamations. “ What is become of the laws of our country, they cry'd, or of the honour of our profeſſion? The ſpirit of our anceſtors, and that primitive vigour of the Jews, that with the firſt breath of life drew in a contempt of death? and can Joſeph be ſo fond of that life too, as ever to think of looking the ſun in the face, and ſee himſelf a ſlave? why does he not act according to the doctrine and practiſe he has taught? He has hitherto preached and recommended liberty to others, and now renounces it himſelf. You were certainly very much miſtaken, they cry'd, in the meaſures you took of true wiſdom and courage; either if you could hope for quarter where you have ſo little deſerv'd it, or if you can ſink ſo low as to accept of life upon diſhonourable terms. But however the fortune of Rome may fright you into a forgetfulneſs of yourſelf, it ſhall never make us depart from the duty we owe to the good of our nation: and we have yet hearts and ſwords ready to ſtand by you in that quarrel. Or if you are otherwiſe reſolv'd, you have it now at your choice, whether you will die a general of the Jews, or the death of a coward and a traytor. Fall upon your own ſword, and you do the former; or leave it to us, and it will be the latter: for the work is to be done however.”

The deſperate reſolution of the Jews.

They had no ſooner utter'd theſe words, but they all drew upon him, and threaten'd to kill him that inſtant, if he ſubmitted to the Romans. Joſeph had ſo ſcrupulous a fear upon him, leſt he ſhould be taken off before he could acquit himſelf of what he had in charge from almighty God to communicate to the nation of the Jews, that he enter'd into a reaſoning of the caſe in words to this effect.

Joſeph expoſtulates the matter with his companions.

Againſt ſelf-murder.

“ WHAT can be the meaning, my good friends and companions, of this deſperate reſolution you have taken of laying violent hands upon yourſelves, and of ſetting the two deareſt friends in nature at variance, the ſoul and the body? But am I chang'd, do you ſay? Ask the Romans. Is it a glorious fate to die in war? It is ſo undoubtedly, if it be in a war that is manag'd according to the law of arms: that is to ſay, where a man falls by the hand of the conqueror. Neither ſhould I make any more conſcience of killing myſelf than of deſiring a Roman to do it; but yet if the Romans have a mind to ſpare an enemy, ſhall that enemy on the other hand be ſo cruel as not to ſpare himſelf? Or ſo fooliſh, as to be more rigorous in his own caſe, than he would have an enemy to be. No man dies ſo great, 'tis true, as he that ſacrifices his life to his liberty; but then it muſt be in arms, and in the act of contending for it; and that life taken away in the conteſt, by the competitor that would take away that liberty. But we have to do with an enemy at preſent that neither kills us, nor fights with us, for the quarrel is over. Now he is as faint-hearted a wretch that preſſes to die when he ſhould not, as he that is afraid to die, when his honour calls him to it. And pray what is it at laſt but the fear of death that keeps us from going to the Romans? and ſhall we caſt ourſelves into a certain death one way, for fear of an uncertain death another? But it is, you'll ſay perhaps, to avoid ſlavery: and do you reckon yourſelves now to be at liberty? But it is look'd upon as the part of a brave man to take away his own life with his own hand: and what would you think of the maſter of a veſſel now, that for fear of a ſtorm a coming, ſhould ſink his ſhip before it comes? would you account that man a brave captain? to ſay nothing of the affront that is offer'd to the common inſtinct of providence in the nature of things; for the deſire of ſelf-preſervation is a principle implanted in all living creatures; and for any thing to deſtroy itſelf, is contrary to nature, and conſequently a ſacrilegious wickedneſs againſt God himſelf. There is no creature that ſeeks or covets its own death, in oppoſition to the univerſal impulſe of a deſire to live: and therefore we pronounce thoſe people our enemies, that would take away our lives, and puniſh thoſe that lie in wait to deſtroy us. It is from God that we have receiv'd life, and it is to him again in his good time, that we are to render it: and what can be more provoking and ungrateful now, than the deſpiſing of his gifts? Our bodies are all mortal, and ſo are the materials of which they are compounded: but the ſoul is a divine particle, infuſed into the fleſh by God himſelf, and it can never die. If any man ſhall imbezzle or abuſe a depoſitum betwixt man and man, we can ſay nothing bad enough of him: now the ſoul is effectually but God's depoſitum: and ſhall “we preſume to rob the divine majeſty, and think to come off at laſt without either diſcovery or puniſhment? We find it reaſonable enough to puniſh run-away ſervants, though it be from the worſt of maſters: and ſhall we at the ſame time, that forſake a gracious and a righteous God, pretend to juſtify ourſelves? As for thoſe that govern themſelves according to the inſtinct of nature, and pay the debt of life back again to him that gave it, whenever he commands it; do not you know that everlaſting honours attend the memory of thoſe bleſſed ſouls from generation to generation; which, after a certain number of ages in the heavenly manſions provided for them, ſhall return and animate bodies, pure like themſelves? whereas the deepeſt pit of hell is reſerv'd for ſelf-murderers; and God will revenge the iniquities of the fathers upon the children in after ages. They are hateful to God, and the wiſdom of our great law-giver hath been ſo ſevere upon them, that the ſelf-murderer is not allow'd burial till after ſun-ſet; though a privilege never deny'd to an enemy. Amongſt the people of other nations, the right hands of them who kill themſelves are cut off from the bodies of the dead, as arm'd againſt themſelves: for it was reaſonable that the hand that parted the ſoul and the body, ſhould be divided from the body itſelf. It is a great bleſſing, my good friends, to make a right judgment of things, and not to render our condition worſe than it is, by blaſpheming and incenſing our maker. If we have a mind to live, what hinders us; for life can be no diſhonour to us, where we have given ſo many ſignal proofs of our virtue? But if nothing will ſerve us but dying, let us fall by the hands of thoſe that have conquered. I am not for going over to the enemy in ſuch a manner, as to fool myſelf out of my life, by doing the ſame thing to my deſtruction, that a deſerter does to ſave himſelf. If the Romans ſhould be treacherous and break faith with us, it would be no more in ſome reſpects, than what a body might honeſtly wiſh for; as it yields matter for a ſteddy and a generous mind to work upon; not only in the ſufferance, but in the contempt of death: for the very baſeneſs of the perfidy will be ſome ſort of comfort to us, when we conſider, that the authors of our ruin have made themſelves infamous and odious to eternity.”

The Jews not to be reclaim'd.

JOSEPH was in hope by this, and a great deal more that he ſaid to this purpoſe, to have diverted his companions from the impious reſolution of deſtroying themſelves: but he found them deaf to all ſober counſels, as men abſolutely devoted to deſtruction; and in ſuch a tranſport of rage, that they preſs'd upon him with their ſwords drawn one after another, and with menacing words and actions, accompany'd with the vileſt reproaches in nature. In this extremity, Joſeph behav'd with all the ſkill and addreſs imaginable, treating them one while in the ſtile and character of his commiſſion; (as authority carries a kind of reverence along with it) arguing with one man by his name, taking another by the hand, ſoliciting a third, reaſoning with another: ſo that in the concluſion, by this prudent application to the diſtracted variety of humours, he diverted the blow. It was much with him, in fine, as it is with a wild beaſt in the middle of a troop of huntſmen, that turns his head ſtill to him that is next. This did not hinder yet but that, when it came to the point of execution, ſeveral of the mutineers hearts fail'd them: and the veneration they had for their general made them drop their ſwords, even in the depth of his diſtreſs.

BUT Joſeph acted all this while, like a wiſe, as well as a good man; and caſting himſelf upon the providence of the Almighty, he determin'd at laſt to put his life to the hazard. “Well! ſays he, ſince death is the thing you are reſolv'd upon, what have we more to do now, than to caſt lots one after another for our lives? and he ſtill upon whom the lot falls to be kill'd by the next man; and ſo every man to take his fortune round after this method. This will prevent the ſelf-murder; for it would be unreaſonable, when part of us are dead, that any of the reſt ſhould repent and eſcape.” They were all pleas'd with the equity of the expedient; and ſo according to the propoſal they caſt lots; and the perſons upon whom they fell, were ſucceſſively put to death by the next men: not doubting but it would come to the general's turn at laſt, and pleaſing themſelves with the hope of dying in his company; which they valued more than life itſelf.

They draw lots for their lives.

IT came to this at laſt (whether by fortune or by providence) that there was only Joſeph, and one more, remaining of the whole number. Hereupon Joſeph enter'd into this deliberation. “If we caſt lots once again, ſays he, either my friend muſt kill me, or I muſt kill him, and dip my hand in the blood of my countryman.” So that Joſeph, in this difficulty, prevail'd with his companion to ſubmit to live, upon his engagement for his ſecurity.

Joſeph and one more ſubmit to live.

Joſeph ſet at liberty, and conducted by Nicanor to Veſpaſian. All the diſcourſe is of Joſeph.

WHEN Joſeph was now deliver'd out of all his troubles, as well from the Romans as from his own people, he gave himſelf up to Nicanor; who conducted him to Veſpaſian. There was a prodigious multitude of people aſſembled together, who preſs'd to ſee him; and a ſtrange confuſion of humours. Some were overjoy'd that he was taken; others threatening him: ſome crowding to get nearer him; and others, at a diſtance, crying out for juſtice upon him as a publick enemy. They that were gotten near enough to obſerve the perſon of the man, and at the ſame time reflecting upon the wonderful things he had done, and the ſtate of his preſent condition, were in amazement at the change. But, after all this, there was not any one of the generals, how much ſoever prepoſſeſs'd againſt him before, but, upon the very ſight of him, relented: Titus eſpecially; who was a perſon, above all the reſt, that had the greateſt eſteem for Joſeph's character and perſon, and the inſuperable dignity of his mind in the worſt of accidents; comparing alſo what he remember'd of him in the war, with what he ſaw of him now in the hands of his enemies, he could not but make his obſervation upon the power of fortune, the variable chance of war, and the uncertainty of human affairs. Theſe were Titus's thoughts of Joſeph: and he brought over all that heard him to be of the ſame opinion; not excepting his own father, with whom he was very inſtrumental towards Joſeph's preſervation.

Titus hath a high eſteem for Joſeph.

Joſeph kept a cloſe priſoner. Veſpaſian ſpeaks with Joſeph in private.

VESPASIAN commanded Joſeph to be kept in cloſe cuſtody, as if he intended to ſend him to Nero; who thereupon deſired private conference with him. Veſpaſian, upon this intimation, ordered all out of the room but himſelf, Titus, and two friends, and then gave him his audience; Joſeph delivering himſelf in terms to this effect. "Sir, ſays he, you have "now in your hand Joſeph, a priſoner; and "your preſent thought perhaps looks no farther: but I am here a meſſenger ſent by God "himſelf, about a matter that much more "concerns you: and if it had not been for "this commiſſion, I could not have been here "at preſent, contrary to the duty of a Jewiſh "general, alive, in the hand of an enemy. "But what am I to be ſent to Nero for, when "Veſpaſian himſelf is ſo near the empire, that "I can hardly diſtinguiſh betwixt Veſpaſian "and the emperor, or Ceſar? beſide that his "ſon Titus is to ſucceed him. Keep me as "cloſe as you pleaſe, provided I may be Veſpaſian's priſoner; who is not only my maſter, but in effect the lord of the univerſe. "This is the truth of what I have in charge to "deliver: and whenever I ſhall be found ſo "ſacrilegious an impoſtor, as to make uſe of "God's name to a lye, make an example of "me.

Joſeph foretels the ſucceſſion of Veſpaſian and Titus to the empire.

Veſpaſian gives little heed to it.

THIS diſcourſe of Joſeph's look'd ſo like an invention to ſave himſelf, that Veſpaſian did not ſeem to give much heed to it at firſt; till upon laying together certain impulſes that he had himſelf, with other tokens and predictions that ſeem'd to favour what Joſeph had propheſy'd; and then comparing this ſtory with Joſeph's exactneſs in other caſes, he came by degrees to give entire credit to the preſage. Upon which, a friend and confident of Veſpaſian's (one of the two above-mention'd in preſence) expoſtulated with Joſeph about the credibility of what he had declar'd. "If you "are ſo good at divining, ſays he, how came "you to know nothing of the deſtruction of "Jotapata, and of your own impriſonment; "which would have ſav'd you a great deal of "trouble? Well! ſays Joſeph, I foretold the "inhabitants very particularly what was to "befal the town and myſelf; that the "former was to be deſtroy'd upon the forty "ſeventh day, and that I myſelf was to be taken "priſoner by the Romans." Veſpaſian cauſed a ſtrict enquiry to be made in private, of the truth of this relation; which he found verify'd by the priſoners; and ſo came to have a better opinion of the reſt. But Joſeph was not at all eas'd yet in the ſtrictneſs of his reſtraint; but, to all other purpoſes of accommodation and convenience, treated with great courteſy and reſpect, by Titus in a more peculiar manner.

The truth of Joſeph's predictions confirmed.

Veſpaſian returns to Ptolemais, and ſo to Ceſarea.

ON the fourth of the month * Panemus, Veſpaſian return'd to Ptolemais, and thence went to Ceſarea on the ſea-coaſt, which is the faireſt city of Judea. The greater part of the inhabitants were Greeks: ſo that Veſpaſian and his army were welcome upon a double account; partly out of the love they had for the Romans, and partly out of the averſion they had for the Jews. The latter were ſo violent, that they preſs'd Veſpaſian with clamorous importunities to put Joſeph to death. The general conſider'd this tumultuary addreſs, only as the act of a raſh multitude; and ſo diſmiſs'd the petitioners without an anſwer. He look'd upon it as a commodious winter-quarter, and ſo lodg'd two legions in it; ſending the tenth and the fifth legions to Scythopolis, out of a tenderneſs not to overcharge Ceſarea. This town is ſituate upon a plain near the ſea, extremely hot in the ſummer, and temperate in the winter.

CHAP. XV.

Joppe a den of thieves and mutineers. Veſpaſian takes the town by ſurprize. The inhabitants put themſelves aboard their ſhipping. The deſcription of Joppe. A furious ſtorm. Joppe taken the ſecond time by the Romans. The caſtle fortify'd and gariſon'd. Not a man left alive upon the place. Joſeph ſaid to be ſlain, and univerſally lamented: but when they found him living, and in credit with the Romans, he was as much envy'd and deteſted, as he was before eſteem'd.

Joppe a neſt of rovers and and mutineers.

THERE was now a prodigious multitude of people got together, part of them revolters from the Romans, and part fugitives out of ſome conquer'd cities of the Jews. This rabble fell to work upon the rebuilding of Joppe, which Ceſtius had demoliſh'd; and for want of ſubſiſtence in the country, which he had laid waſte, they reſolv'd to try their fortunes at ſea, and put out with a fleet of privateers; ſcouring Syria, Phenicia, and the coaſts of Egypt; pillaging all traders in thoſe ſeas, and wholly obſtructing the commerce. Veſpaſian, being well inform'd what they were a doing, ſent a body of horſe and foot to Joppe; which being looſely guarded, they enter'd the town in the night with much eaſe. The inhabitants were ſo diſorder'd upon this ſurprize, that, without daring to attempt any thing upon the Romans, they went all aboard in a hurry, and lay that night off at ſea, ſomewhat more than a bow-ſhot from the town.

Veſpaſian takes the town by ſurprize.

The inhabitants put themſelves aboard their ſhipping.

The deſcription of Joppe

AS to the deſcription of the place, it is a ſea-town without any manner of port; the ſhore ſteep and craggy, with two pointed rocks, one on each ſide, ſtretching out a good way into the ſea, and a little bending, in the form of a half-moon; which makes a very tempeſtuous ſea there in foul weather. Here are the marks ſtill to be ſeen of Andromeda's chains, for the credit of the old fable. A croſs wind upon that quarter daſhes the waves and the rocks together in ſo dreadful a manner, that nothing can be more hideous or dangerous.

A furious ſtorm.

WHILE the men of Joppe were riding in this ſtation, there aroſe a furious ſtorm by break of day; which is known to the people of the place by the name of the Black-north. This wind batter'd their veſſels to pieces; ſome againſt one another, others againſt the rocks: and then there were great numbers of them, that, labouring againſt the tide to put to ſea, were over-turn'd and ſwallow'd up. So that their choice was certain death, either to fly of ſtay: the one for the rocks, the other for the enemy. This was their condition, betwixt the winds at ſea, and the Romans a-ſhore. The ſhrieks and outcries of the people, and the clattering of the veſſels, was a moſt diſmal hearing: but upon the whole, ſome were drown'd; others dy'd a-board the wrecks: ſome fell upon their ſwords, as if it had been to prevent the ſea; ſeveral were waſh'd away by the billows, and beaten to pieces againſt the rocks; till the water was diſcolour'd with the blood, and the whole coaſt cover'd with dead bodies: the ſoldiers waiting all this while upon the land, to diſpatch thoſe that were driven a-ſhore. They reckon'd, in fine, upon four thouſand two hundred bodies caſt up with the tide.

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* i. e. July.

Joppe taken the ſecond time by the Romans. The caſtle fortify'd and garriſon'd.

The Romans being now maſters of Joppe, without being at the expence of a battle, they ras'd it to the ground: and this was the ſecond time of their taking it in a very ſhort time. But Veſpaſian, for fear it might come to be a neſt of pirates yet once again, fortify'd the caſtle, and put into it a foot-gariſon ſufficient to maintain it; leaving there alſo a conſiderable body of horſe, to ſcour, burn, and lay waſte all the towns, villages, and country thereabouts; which orders day after day were executed accordingly.

The action of Jopata not believ'd at Jeruſalem at firſt. Not a man left alive to carry the news.

When the news of Jotapata's being taken came to Jeruſalem, the ſtory was ſo extraordinary, and the fact ſo ill atteſted, that little or no credit was given to it. Now there was not, in truth, ſo much as one man of the place left alive to carry the tidings: but the fame of it ſpread among the neighbourhood, as ill news commonly flys ſwiftly. But how doubtful ſoever it might ſeem at firſt, it came by little and little to paſs for current; and to ſuch a degree of credit, that people believ'd more than all, and ſwallow'd the whole truth with additions. For it was confidently given out, that, upon the taking of the city, Joſeph was ſlain, to the infinite affliction of Jeruſalem, and of all that was conſiderable in that city. Some were lamented by particular families; others by friends, relations, or their own people: but the general, being a publick loſs, was the ſubject of an univerſal mourning: inſomuch, that for thirty days there was no intermiſſion of ſorrow, and no coſt ſpar'd for the celebration of the funeral ceremony and pomp. But when time brought truth to light, and gave the world the hiſtory of Jotapata juſt as it was in fact: that is to ſay, when it came to be known that Joſeph was not dead as reported, but yet living, and in ſo great credit with the Romans, that their generals, inſtead of treating him as a ſlave, crown'd him with all the honours they could confer upon him; the veneration they had for him, while they look'd upon him to be dead, was now turn'd into the moſt virulent envy and hatred. How many cowards and traytors did they call him for abandoning the cauſe! And how did the whole city join with his detractors in the calumny and reproach! It is the part and practice of wiſe men to make uſe of one misfortune for a precaution againſt another, and to keep themſelves upon their guard: but theſe people, on the contrary, when they are once out of their way, purſue their error, and make the end of one miſchief the beginning of another. At this rate the Jews were now tranſported into a greater rage againſt the Romans than ever; as if the wreaking of their malice upon them, were the neareſt way to their revenge upon Joſeph. Theſe were the troubles of Jeruſalem at this time.

Joſeph ſaid to be ſlain, and univerſally lamented.

Joſeph as much hated, when they found him living, and in credit with the Romans.

CHAP. XVI.

Aggrippa treats Veſpaſian and his army twenty days at Ceſarea Philippi. News of Tiberias and Tarichee, that the one is wavering, and the other revolted. Veſpaſian orders ſome troops to Scythopolis, and encamps at Ennabris, within ſight of the rebels. The general gives Valerian his inſtructions, to ſpeak them fair. The faction falls upon Valerian by ſurprize. Veſpaſian at the inſtance of Agrippa, pardons the affront. Trajan takes poſſeſſion of the caſtle. Veſpaſian marches up to the city, and is receiv'd with acclamations.

Agrippa treats Veſpaſian and his army twenty days at Ceſarea Philippi. News of Tiberias and Tarichee, that the one is wavering, and the other revolted.

King Agrippa having invited Veſpaſian to paſs away a little time with him in his country, and to bring his army along with him, partly out of generoſity and kindneſs, and partly in hope by his means to bring ſome mutinous malecontents into better order, the general embraced the motion with great reſpect, and marched from Ceſarea upon the ſea coaſt to Ceſarea Philippi; where he ſtaid twenty days, refreſhing himſelf and his troops, and giving God thanks with feaſting and rejoycing for the bleſſings of his ſucceſſes. Veſpaſian was there given to underſtand, that Tiberias was at that time wavering, and Tarichee already revolted; both places being dependencies upon the kingdom of Agrippa, he thought he could not have a fairer opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to Agrippa, than by reducing thoſe people to their allegiance, eſpecially being reſolved within himſelf to preſs hard upon the Jews. So he ſent away his ſon Titus for the troops that were quarter'd, at Ceſarea, to bring them to Scythopolis; a place not far from Tiberias, and much the largeſt town in the canton of Decapolis. Veſpaſian got thither firſt, and there ſtaid for his ſon: advancing afterwards with three legions within thirty * furlongs of Tiberias, and there encamped at a place call'd † Ennabris, within ſight of the rebels. From thence he order'd out Valerian, a captain, with fifty horſe, to try what might be done with fair words towards the bringing of them to their duty. His inſtructions were to tell them, that the general took the people to be peaceably enough inclin'd, if it were not for ſome ſeditious incendiaries that were among them. When Valerian was come up almoſt to the town, he alighted from his horſe, and commanded his companions to do the like, that there might be no colour of any jealouſy of an ill intention. The faction, under the command of Jeſus the ſon of Tobias, a captain of a band of robbers, fell furiouſly upon Valerian and his people, without giving

Veſpaſian orders ſome troops to Scythopolis. And encamps at Ennabris, within ſight of the rebels.

The general gives Valerian his inſtructions to ſpeak them fair.

The faction falls upon Valerian by ſurprize.

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* Thirty furlongs (as has been before obſerved) amounted to three Engliſh miles and three quarters, and forty five geometrical paces.

† Gr. Σένναβεις.

them time ſo much as to ſpeak one word. Valerian was not a little ſurprized at the affront; but durſt not however engage with them, contrary to his general's order; even tho' he had been ſure to have got the better of them: beſide, that there was no venturing a battle upon that odds. Valerian, in fine, and five of his men, made their eſcapes a-foot, being forced to leave their horſes behind them; which Jeſus and his crew carry'd off in triumph into the town, as the trophies of a victory rather than a ſcandalous booty.

Veſpaſian, at the inſtance of Agrippa, pardons the affront.

THE mean and unmanly coarſeneſs of this action put the ſenſible and the ſober men of the town into ſuch an apprehenſion for fear of a revenge, that they went preſently out to the Roman camp, under the countenance and conduct of king Agrippa, and caſt themſelves at Veſpaſian's feet for mercy and pardon; begging of him not to impute the crimes of particular perſons to the whole body of a people, that never wanted veneration for the Romans; and likewiſe to ſpare the innocent, and puniſh the authors and promoters of the defection. Veſpaſian could hardly forgive the town the ſeizure of the horſes; but however, for Agrippa's ſake, and upon his mediation, he granted their requeſt. So ſoon as Veſpaſian had pardon'd them, Jeſus and his crew did not think it requiſite to continue any longer at Tiberias; and ſo they mov'd off to Tarichee.

Trajan takes poſſeſſion of the caſtle. Veſpaſian marches up to the city, and is receiv'd with acclamations.

VESPASIAN ſent Trajan the day following with a party of horſe, to take poſſeſſion of the caſtle, and to ſound the common people if they were of the ſame peaceable diſpoſition with their deputies. Upon finding that they were well diſpos'd, Veſpaſian march'd up to the city with his whole army; the citizens opening their gates to bid him welcome, and receiving him upon the way with gratulations and acknowledgments, as their benefactor and protector. But the gates being too narrow for the troops to march at liberty, Veſpaſian cauſed a part of the ſouth-wall to be beaten down, to widen the paſſage; but with a command, upon the uttermoſt penalty, not to offer any ſort of violence to the people whatſoever. This was for Agrippa's ſake, he ſaid; and ſo it was alſo, that he ſpar'd the remainder of the wall, upon the king's undertaking for the people's good behaviour for the time to come. This was the end, for the preſent, of the troubles of Tiberias.

CHAP. XVII.

Veſpaſian encamps betwixt Tiberias and Tarichee. Tarichee a nurſery of ſeditious people. The ſtrength and ſituation of the place. The faction breaks in upon the Roman pioneers. The Romans purſue the Jews up to their ſhipping. A vaſt number of Jews in a body; and Titus ſent out for diſcovery. Titus's ſpeech to his ſoldiers. The utter deſtruction of the Jews. A violent faction in the city: Titus within hearing of it, makes advantage of the occaſion. Titus enters the town by the lake, and carries all before him. Titus ſends his father an account of the action, and orders the building of ſhips to look after the fugitives.

Veſpaſian encamps betwixt Tiberias and Tarichee.

Tarichee a nurſery of ſeditious people. The ſtrength and ſituation of the place.

VESPASIAN was now gone from Tiberias, and encamped betwixt that and Tarichee; where he fortify'd his camp with a wall, reputing with himſelf that the taking of that place would be a work of time. For it was wonderfully ſtrong both by art and nature; and beſide, that it was fortify'd by the lake of Genezareth, it was look'd upon as the receptacle of all the deſperate turbulent people of the faction. It ſtands like Tiberias, upon a mountain; and Joſeph had run up a ſtrong wall round about it, ſave only on the lake ſide: but ſomewhat leſs than that of Tiberias. At the beginning of the revolt, there wanted neither men, monies, nor proviſions for the making of it impregnable: and there was over and above to ſpare alſo, for Tarichee. The beſiegers had likewiſe a fleet of armed boats in readineſs upon the lake, for a retreat, in caſe of a blow at land, or to ſerve for a naval fight, if there ſhould be occaſion.

The faction breaks in upon the Roman pioneers.

WHILE the Romans were fortifying and intrenching, Jeſus and his fellows made a furious attack upon them; ſcatter'd the pioneers, and overthrew a good part of their works, without any dread either of the Roman diſcipline, or their numbers. But upon the Romans advancing toward them in a groſs body, they got off ſafe to their party without any damage; the Romans purſuing them to the lake, where they caſt themſelves a-board their veſſels; and when they were gotten out of the reach of the Roman darts and arrows, they came to an anchor; and there they lay ranged in as good order of battle againſt their enemies a-ſhore, as if they had been drawn up in form for a combat.

The Romans purſuing the Jews up to their ſhipping.

A vaſt number of Jews in a body, and Titus ſent out for diſcovery.

WHILE this was a doing, Veſpaſian had an account brought him of a great body of Jews gather'd together on the next plain; and thereupon ſent out his ſon with a detachment of ſix hundred choice horſe for diſcovery. Titus march'd, and finding himſelf ſo mightily over-number'd, ſent an expreſs to his father that he had occaſion for an enforcement. This vaſt multitude ſtagger'd ſeveral of the party; but Titus finding the greater part of his men chearful and hearty, in deſpite of all inequality and diſproportion, he took up a ſtanding where he might beſt be heard, and ſpoke to his ſoldiers after this manner:

Titus to his ſoldiers.

“ROMANS, ſays he, for I cannot begin my diſcourſe more auſpiciouſly than by putting you in mind of your race, and by telling you whence and what you are, and whom you have to do withal. As to the Romans, the whole world allows them to be invincible upon undeniable proof and experience: and I have this to ſay for the Jews too, that though they have been often vanquiſhed, they would never own themſelves to be overcome; ſo that we have no more to do, than to ſtand as firm at leaſt in our proſperity as they do in their adverſity. I read chearfulneſs and courage in the very faces of you, and it joys me to ſee it: but yet I am uneaſy ſometimes, for fear the vaſt numbers of your enemies ſhould ſtrike a ſecret damp into that reſolution. Wherefore let every man duly conſider his own force, and that of his adverſary. The Jews, 'tis true, are generally bold, and fearleſs of death; but utterly unacquainted with military conduct and diſcipline, and may be more properly called a confus'd rout than an army: whereas nothing can be more regular, or inſtructive, than our order and experience. What are we the better for the practice of “arms in time of peace, if it does not help us to ſupply the want of numbers, by ſkill and addreſs? Or, what's the benefit of a perpetual exerciſe of war, if it gives us no advantage over men that are raw and unexperienc'd? Do but conſider what it is to engage naked men with men in arms, foot with horſe; men that underſtand nothing of government, with eminent commanders; and that we are as good as double the number we appear to be, at that rate of advantage, and the enemy not half ſo ſtrong as we take them for. It is not number alone that does the buſineſs in war, let the combatants be never ſo ſtout; but true courage, as we ſee every day, does wonders with a few: for moderate numbers are manageable to the beſt advantage of the party; but great bodies are liable to diſorder and confuſion, and more miſchievous to themſelves many times than an enemy. The daring, deſperate, and brutal fierceneſs of the Jews does a great deal, I muſt confeſs, in a proſperous courſe of fortune; but, upon the leaſt check of a diſaſter or diſappointment, that impetuous ardour abates and comes to nothing; whereas virtue, reſignation, obedience, and true valour, will ſupport us in all our fortunes good or bad, without ever puffing us up, or deceiving us. Beſide that we have a greater intereſt at ſtake than the Jews; for theirs is only a popular quarrel, for liberty, and their country; but we contend for glory, and for the fame of an immortal memory; and not without ſome indignation neither, after the conqueſt of the whole world beſide, to find ourſelves hamper'd in a competition with the Jews. You may obſerve again, even in caſe of the worſt, that we ſhall run no great riſk neither in the conteſt; being ſure to be well ſeconded with ſo many of our allies, ſo ſtrong, and ſo near us. But what have we more to do now than to anticipate the victory, and ingroſs the honour of it to ourſelves, without waiting for the enforcement we expect from my father? the glory will be the greater when it comes home to us entire, without ſharing. The point at preſent in queſtion is no leſs than the character of my father, myſelf, and my fellow-ſoldiers; that is to ſay, whether or no my father deſerves the honour the world has done him. And am not I his ſon then, and are not you my ſoldiers? My father hath been ſo wonted to victory, that I ſhould never dare to look him in the face again after I had been once vanquiſhed; and would not you be as much aſham'd of a repulſe on the other hand, where the general leads the way? The firſt poſt of danger ſhall be mine; do but you ſtand by me, and commit the reſt to God's providence: only remember what I tell you, that a cloſe fight will be moſtly to our advantage.”

The utter deſtruction of the Jews.

The ſoldiers were ſo elevated, and ſo heroically diſpos'd upon this diſcourſe, that it look'd as if they had been inſpir'd with quite another ſoul. Only Trajan's coming up with four hundred horſe before the battle, put them a little out of humour, to think of having partners in the glory of the day. Veſpaſian at the ſame time ſent Antonius Silo, with two thouſand archers, to take poſſeſſion of a mountain over againſt the town, and to beat the defendants from the wall; which was perform'd accordingly. Titus, having a mind to be thought ſtronger than he was, drew up his army in a line to anſwer the front of the enemy; and was the firſt man himſelf that charg'd in upon their body; his men following him with exultations and outcries. The Jews were not a little ſurpriz'd at the boldneſs and manner of this attack; yet for ſome inconſiderable time ſuſtain'd the fury of it, till they were beaten down, and trampled upon by the horſe; and ſo diſpers'd, ſhifting away into the city the beſt they could, a great many being kill'd upon the place. Titus all this while preſſing upon the backs of ſome of them, croſſing upon others, and cutting them over their faces, overtaking ſome, and forcing others back again that made for the walls, and tumbling them one over another; inſomuch that few or none eſcap'd, but thoſe that got into the town.

A violent faction in the city.

There happen'd at this time a terrible faction in the city, betwixt the natives and the ſtrangers: the former were uneaſy both for their own ſakes and for the city's. They were ever againſt the war, they ſaid, but yet their greateſt quarrel was the ill ſucceſs. But the ſtrangers, that were very violent and numerous, broke out into clamours and outrages, as if they were already at daggers-drawing. They were ſo loud in the city, and Titus ſo near the wall, that he was within hearing of them; and upon that occaſion, call'd out to his men: “The time is come, my fellow ſoldiers, ſays he, if we have but the hearts to make uſe of it; for God hath deliver'd up the Jews into our hands, and we may have a victory for the taking of it up. Do you not hear what diſcord and contention is among the very men that have eſcap'd our hands? the city is our own, if we do not ſlip the opportunity. But this is a buſineſs that requires reſolution as well as diſpatch; and great things are not to be done without hazard. Why do we not take the advantage of this mortal animoſity, and fall upon them before their neceſſities force them to unite? and why do we not fall upon them too, before our auxiliaries come up, to rob us, not only of the credit, but of the profit alſo of the action? for, beſide the reputation of ſo gallant an exploit with ſuch a handful of men, we ſhall have both the credit and the ſpoil to ourſelves.”

Titus within hearing of it, and improves the occaſion.

Titus enters the town by the lake, and carries all before him.

With theſe words he mounted his horſe, and gallop'd away to the lake; where he was the firſt man that enter'd the town, and his troops follow'd him. The defendants were ſtruck with ſuch an aſtoniſhment at the boldneſs of this enterprize, that not a man had the heart either to oppoſe his perſon, or to obſtruct his paſſage. Jeſus and his companions made away into the fields; ſome fled toward the lake, and fell into the very mouths of the Romans; others endeavour'd to ſave themſelves by their boats, but were cut off by the way: others again, by ſwimming, but ſunk in the attempt; and the ſlaughter was yet more terrible in the town. The ſtrangers that could not get off with Jeſus, made ſome reſiſtance; but the natives none at all; in hope that the Romans would conſider them as only paſſive in the caſe, and forc'd into the war contrary to their judgment and inclination.

So ſoon as Titus had maſter'd and deſtroy'd the

Titus ſends his father notice of the exploit.

And orders veſſels to be built to look after the fugitives.

the faction, he gave quarter to the natives. The town being now taken, thoſe upon the lake withdrew as far from the enemy as they could; and Titus immediately ſent a party of horſe expreſs to his father, with the welcome tidings of this glorious exploit: for the main difficulty of the war was look'd upon to be now over in the reducing of this city. The next thing Titus did, was the appointing of a ſtrict guard round about the city, and ſetting a watch upon all the avenues to prevent eſcapes. The day following he went to the lake, and order'd veſſels to be built, and ſent out in purſuit of thoſe who had got off that way. Theſe boats were quickly made ready; for they had workmen and materials in abundance at hand.

CHAP. XVIII.

The quality and deſcription of the lake of Genezareth. The river Jordan, with the head and courſe of it. Genezareth famous for fruits and plants. The fountain of Capernaum.

The quality and deſcription of the lake Genezareth.

The river Jordan, with the head and courſe of it.

THE lake of Genezareth is ſo called from the country about it. The breadth of it is forty * furlongs; the length an † hundred; the water is ſweet and potable, much clearer than fen-waters generally are, and vaſtly preferable both in taſte and colour. It lies upon a gravel, and ſo more conveniently to be drawn, and gentler than either a river or a fountain water. And with all this it is ſo cold, that the people of the place cannot warm it by ſetting it in the ſun in the hotteſt ſeaſon of the year. It hath in it great variety of fiſh; which, for taſte and ſhape, are not to be found any where elſe; and the river Jordan runs thro' the middle of it. The ‡ head of this river has been thought to be Panion; but, in truth, it paſſes hither under ground; and the ſource of it is Phiala, an hundred ** and twenty furlongs from Ceſarea, a little on the right hand, and not much out of the way to Trachonis. It is called Phiala, from the round figure of it; and the water in it ſtands always at a ſtay; the baſon brimful, without either ſhrinking or overflowing. The firſt diſcovery of this ſecret was from Philip the tetrarch of Trachonis, by caſting ſtraws into Phiala, that came out again at Panion, which till that time was taken for the head of the Jordan. This Panion is naturally lovely by ſituation, but moſt magnificently beautify'd and enrich'd by the royal bounty of Agrippa. This river, in fine, that ſeems to take its original from this receſs, croſſes the bogs and fens of the lake Semechonitis: and, after a courſe of an hundred and twenty furlongs farther, paſſes under the city of Julias, and ſo over the lake of Genezareth a great way into the deſart, till it diſembogues itſelf into the lake of Aſphaltitis.

Genezareth famous for fruits and plants.

The fountain of Capernaum.

THIS lake takes the name of Genezareth from the country that ſurrounds it; which is fruitful and agreeable to admiration. As to the fertility of the ſoil, there is no plant comes amiſs to it; beſide that it is improv'd by the skill and induſtry of the inhabitants to the higheſt degree, and by a ſtrange felicity of the climate, every thing proſpers there; as nuts, palms, figs and olive-trees, that flouriſh here in perfection, though they require a quite different temperature of air in the nature of them; which looks as if providence took delight in this place to reconcile contradictions; and as if the very ſeaſons themſelves were in a competition which ſhould be moſt obliging. And the production of ſtrange varieties of excellent fruit is not all neither, but the conſerving of them ſo long quick and ſound is another curioſity. Figs and grapes hold in ſeaſon there ten months in the year, and other fruits the whole year about. And the place is not more famous for a delicious air, than it is for a cryſtalline flowing fountain, called by the natives Capernaum. Some take it for a little gut of the Nile, becauſe of a certain *† fiſh in it, that is no where elſe to be found but in Alexandria. The length of the country along the lake is thirty †† furlongs, and the breadth twenty. Let this ſuffice for a deſcription of the place.

CHAP. XIX.

Veſpaſian encounters the enemy upon the lake. The miſerable ſtate of the Jews. Veſpaſian calls a great council, where ſentence is paſs'd upon the priſoners.

Veſpaſian encounters the enemy upon the lake.

The miſerable ſtate of the Jews.

WHEN Veſpaſian's boats were all ready, he went aboard himſelf, and took as many men along with him, as he thought ſufficient to deal with the fugitives that had ſhifted away to the lake: ſo that there was no poſſibility of their eſcaping; for the whole country a-ſhore was their enemy, and they were in no condition upon the water for a ſea-fight: their boats being rather for piracy than combat, and neither of a ſize nor of a ſtrength to come to a ſhock with the Romans: beſide that they were better mann'd, and in better order. All they could do was by inſults, ſometimes at a diſtance, and ſometimes near at hand; one while pelting them with ſtones, another while provoking them to handy ſtrokes: while they themſelves were the greateſt ſufferers both ways ſtill; for the Romans being well arm'd, the ſtones made only a noiſe and a clatter where they fell, without doing any execution; while the other lay open and expos'd to the Roman arrows: or, if they attempted any thing nearer hand, they were cut off before they could effect it; their boats overturn'd, and their men drowned. The enemy diſpatch'd ſome of them at a diſtance with their darts; others they boarded, and deſtroy'd with their ſwords: ſome again were hemm'd in, and taken, veſſels and all, as they were lock'd up betwixt the two fleets. As for thoſe that were tumbled over-board, and dabbling for life, they could no ſooner ſhew their heads above water, but they were immediately taken off by a lance, or over-run by the enemies boats and ſunk: or if any of them in the rage of their deſpairs did but make toward their adverſaries, they were ſure to have their hands or their heads chopp'd off. There was nothing, in fine, to be ſeen, but death and deſtruction in all the varieties of horror, till they were totally broken and routed, preſſing through the middle of their enemies to get a-ſhore. In this confuſion, there were abundance of them kill'd upon the water, great numbers more at land; and nothing to be ſeen upon the lake, or the borders of it, but blood and carcaſſes; for not a man eſcap'd. Theſe putrid bodies in a few days tainted the air, to ſuch a degree of malignancy, that the caſe was not only dreadful to the ſufferers of the calamity, but offenſive to the very actors themſelves. This was the iſſue of the naval battle, and the whole number of the ſlain in both actions, (that in the city, and this upon the lake) amounted to ſix thouſand and five hundred perſons.

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* Forty furlongs were five Engliſh miles, and ſixty geometrical paces.

† An hundred furlongs were twelve Engliſh miles and an half, and an hundred and fifty gemetrical paces.

‡ Others make this river to have two heads, the one call'd Jor, and the other Dan, See Berkelius's notes upon Steph. Byz. v. Πανία.

** An hundred and twenty furlongs were fifteen Engliſh miles, and an hundred and eighty geometrical paces, that is, almoſt a quarter.

*† See the Greek Κορακῖνος ἰχθύς.

†† Thirty furlongs were equivalent to three Engliſh miles and three quarters, and forty five geometrical paces; and twenty furlongs to two Engliſh miles and an half, and thirty geometrical paces, as has been frequently before obſerved.

Veſpaſian calls a great council.

WHEN the fight was over, Veſpaſian took his place upon the tribunal; and ſeparating the ſtrangers that were the cauſe of the war from the natives, who were only paſſive in it, he call'd a great council of his officers about him, to conſider what was to be done with theſe people, and whether or no they were to be treated all alike. The council was againſt the ſaving of the ſtrangers; for they would never be quiet, they ſaid, as they had no home to truſt to, and would be dangerous and troubleſome to any prince whatſoever that ſhould receive them. Veſpaſian was throughly ſatisfy'd that they deſerv'd to die, and that they would rebel againſt their preſervers; but the difficulty was, in what manner to get rid of them; for the inhabitants would lay it to heart to ſee ſo many people put to death, after a promiſe of quarter upon their mediation; beſide Veſpaſian's ſcruple, upon a point of honour and juſtice, of breaking faith with his priſoners. But his council inſiſted upon it, that he was not ty'd up to thoſe punctilio's with the Jews; and that where ſtrict honeſty and policy are inconſiſtent, the common good ought to have the preference. Veſpaſian was over-rul'd by his friends, and gave the ſtrangers leave to depart, upon condition they kept the way that led to Tiberias. People are apt to believe what they wiſh; and in this confidence they march'd for Tiberias, without the leaſt apprehenſion of any violence in their paſſage, either upon their perſons or goods. Now the Romans had ſo beſet the way that it was impoſſible for a ſoul to eſcape. When they had them in the town, they made them all priſoners; Veſpaſian cauſing them afterward to be ſhut up in the amphitheatre, where he order'd both old and young, to the number of twelve hundred, that were not able to bear arms, to be put to death; ſix thouſand of the ſtrongeſt body'd men among them to be ſent away to the Iſthmus to Nero. Thirty thouſand four hundred were ſold for ſlaves, beſide what Veſpaſian gave to Agrippa, whom he left at liberty to do what he would with, as being his own ſubjects; but the king ſold them too. The reſt were Trachonites, Gaulanites, Hippenians, and a great many Gadarites; moſt of them incendiaries and fugitives, and promoters of war, becauſe they could not live in peace. They were taken upon the eighth of the month * Gorpieus.

Sentence paſs'd upon the priſoners.

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* i.e. September,

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Wars of the *JEWS*.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The ſiege of Gamala, and the manner of it; with the ſituation and ſtrength of the city. Veſpaſian advances up to the place. The Romans take Gamala by aſſault, and are beaten out of it again with a prodigious loſs. The generoſity of Veſpaſian, and his preſence of mind. A notable action of Gallus a centurion. A glorious ſpeech of Veſpaſian to his ſoldiers. A ſecond attempt upon Gamala.

The Romans victorious.

THE towns and places in Galilee, that revolted from the Romans upon the taking of Jotapata, came back again to their duty, upon the loſs of Tarichee: ſo that the Romans were now maſters of all the cities and ſtrong holds, but Giſchala, and the mountain of * Itabyr. And there joined in the rebellion with theſe alſo, the city of Gamala, which ſtands upon the lake over againſt Tarichee, and belongs to the government of Agrippa. Sogane revolted likewiſe, and ſo did Seleucia, after their example: which were both of the province of Gaulanitis: Sogane in the upper part of it, which is called Gaulana, and Gamala in the lower. Seleucia ſtands upon the lake Semechonitis; which is ſixty † furlongs in length; and thirty over: and the fenny borders of it reach as far as Daphne. This is a delicious country in many reſpects; but more eſpecially for the curious ſprings in it, that feed the leſſer Jordan, (as they call it) and then take their courſe to the great Jordan, at the foot of Jupiter's golden temple. King Agrippa, at the beginning of this defection, enter'd into an alliance with the people of Sogane and Seleucia; but Gamala, depending upon its own ſtrength, as being a much tougher place, and more arduous of acceſs than Jotapata, refuſed to be of the party. This Gamala is erected upon the cliff of a rock, that riſes out of the middle of a high mountain; and in that poſture of elevation, with crags before and behind it, has ſome reſemblance of the figure of a camel; from whence originally it took its name: but time and cuſtom have corrupted the way of writing it. Upon the front, and the two ſides, are deep inacceſſible vallies. The part that joins the mountain is not of itſelf ſo difficult of acceſs; but as the inhabitants have fortify'd it with trenches and defences, it is next to impregnable. The houſes ſtand ſo thick, and ſhelving upon the ſteep of the hill to the ſouthward, that they look as if they were ready to drop into the precipice. And there is alſo a hill of ſo prodigious a height, that it may ſerve for a citadel to the valley in the bottom. And there was alſo a fountain within the circumference of this city, and there the town ended.

The lake Semechonitis.

The head of the river Jordan.

The ſituation of Gamala, and the impregnable ſtrength of the city.

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* Or Tabor.

† Sixty furlongs amounted to ſeven Engliſh miles and an half, and ninety geometrical paces: thirty to three Engliſh miles and three quarters, and forty five geometrical paces, as has been before obſerved.

BUT ſtill, after all that nature had done toward the making of this place invincible, Joſeph was not yet ſatisfy'd without environing it with a wall, and caſting up artificial works, trenches and fortifications, for a farther ſecurity. The inhabitants were much more confident in the defenſible condition of the place, than the men of Jotapata; though neither ſo many, nor ſo good ſoldiers: but the difficulties of the attack made amends for the want of numbers: Not but that the city was well mann'd; for it was made the ſanctuary of all the refugees; inſomuch that king Agrippa ſpent ſeven months before it without any manner of advantage.

Veſpaſian advances up to the place.

VESPASIAN at this time decamped from * Ammaus near Tiberias; ſo called from a hot fountain there, of a ſovereign virtue againſt ſeveral diſeaſes: and ſo came to Gamala, where he found it impoſſible to draw a regular line of circumvallation about it: but he ſet guards however upon all the paſſes he could come at, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of the mountain above. The Romans, according to their cuſtom, fortify'd their camp, carry'd up a wall about it, and ſo intrench'd. The fifteenth legion was poſted againſt a tower, eaſtward, upon the higheſt part of the town; the fifth, toward the middle of the town, and the tenth was appointed to level the ditches and other hollow places.

King Agrippa hurt with a ſtone from a ſling.

WHILE things were in this poſture, king Agrippa drew cloſe up to the wall, to try if he could bring the people to ſurrender the place, and reaſon them into a ſenſe of their duty. But in this inſtant he receiv'd a terrible blow with a ſtone from a ſling, upon his right elbow; his friends thronging immediately about him to bring him off; and the Romans in a direct rage to conſider how barbarouſly theſe people would treat ſtrangers and enemies, that could be thus inhuman to their own prince, their country-man, and a friend that adviſ'd them for their good; this provok'd them to preſs the ſiege with all poſſible vigour.

The Romans take Gamala by aſſault.

And are forced out of it again with a terrible loſs.

BETWIXT many hands, and diligent applications, the works were not long in raiſing: and the next thing to be done, was the mounting of their machines. Chares and Joſeph (two of the moſt conſiderable men in the town) had the ordering of the defence; and ſo led up the ſoldiers to the wall, with exhortations and encouragements to behave themſelves like men of honour. But wanting water and other neceſſaries, they had no great ſtomach to the action; for they found they could not hold it out long. Upon the advance of the Roman machines, they made ſome ſort of reſiſtance at firſt; but ſo ſoon as ever they came to throw their ſtones and their arrows among them, they retir'd with precipitation into the town. The Romans batter'd the wall with their rams upon three attacks; and upon diſputing a breach, what with the outcries without and within the town, the clang of the trumpets, and the clattering of arms, nothing could be more hideous. The defendants ſtood the firſt ſhock with great bravery, and put the Romans to a ſtand; but being overborne in the end by the force of numbers, they all fled, and betook themſelves to the higheſt parts of the city, with the Romans all this while at their backs. But the Jews, finding themſelves preſs'd, return'd upon their purſuers, drove them down precipices before them, and through difficult paſſages; where they did execution upon them at pleaſure. The Romans finding the diſadvantage of contending with enemies over their heads, and that there was no avoiding them as they lay puſhing at them from an upper ground, they caſt themſelves for ſanctuary into ſome of the enemy's houſes below; but they were ſo overcrouded with numbers, that they ſunk under the weight; ſo that the fall of one brought down another, and that, a third. There were a great many Romans that periſh'd under the ruins, and yet in this extremity they choſe rather to commit themſelves to the hazard of thoſe tottering houſes, than to lie open and expos'd for a publick mark. Some there were that were cruſh'd all to pieces with the timbers, others maim'd in attempting to eſcape; and ſome again that were ſuffocated with the duſt. At this rate there periſh'd great numbers of the Romans, ſome one way, ſome another. But the people were ſo far from being troubled at the loſs of their habitations, that they reckon'd themſelves gainers by the fall of ſo many of their enemies in exchange: and ſtill as one houſe fail'd, they preſs'd the Romans into another to bring down that too. As any of them loſt their foot-hold, they were ſure to be taken off with weapons from above; which the very walls and dead bodies furniſh'd them with in abundance: the one with ſtones, and the other with arrows: for the ſwords of thoſe that were kill'd, were made uſe of to diſpatch the reſt, and every thing contributed to the common fate. Some caſt themſelves down headlong from the tops of the houſes, to avoid being ſqueez'd to death in the fall of them. Others had a mind to fly, if they had but known how or whither: but being ſtrangers to the paſſages and ways, and blinded with the duſt in this confuſion, they fell foul one upon another. Some there were however that had the good fortune to eſcape, and get out of the town.

Veſpaſian's bravery and preſence of mind.

IT was no ſmall mortification to Veſpaſian, to ſee his army thus broken by the ruins of a city that they had taken; ſo that without any regard to the ſafety of his own perſon (as it was his conſtant cuſtom to be foremoſt in all hazards) he poſted himſelf privately in a ſtation at the upper part of the town, where he was left with ſome few reſolute men about him, in the greateſt diſtreſs imaginable: his ſon Titus being abroad at this time in Syria, upon a commiſſion to Mutianus. His condition was ſuch, that it was neither ſafe nor honourable for him to turn his back. So that calling to mind the glorious hiſtory of his paſt actions, and reſolving to make his life all of a piece, he took this wiſe method for the obviating of the preſent difficulty; which look'd more like a divine inſpiration than a common council of fleſh and blood. That is to ſay, he planted himſelf with the few people he had, as cloſe one to another as they could croud together, and, covering themſelves with their arms, ſtood firm againſt all attempts of violence from above. The Jews were ſo ſtartled at this prodigious obſtinacy, that they look'd upon it as a providential impulſe; and in dread

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* See Bochart's Chanaan, l. 2. c. 16. and his Hierozoicon, l. 2. c. 21. part 1.

of oppoſing a divine power, abated ſomewhat of the vigour of the action. Veſpaſian, taking notice that the fury of the enemy ſlacken'd, drew off by little and little, and never turn'd his back till he was got out of the walls. There fell a great many Romans, both officers and common ſoldiers, in this combat: and among others, Ebutius a Decadarch, who as he had liv'd, ſo he dy'd, like a man of honour, and had given the Jews many ſenſible proofs of his courage.

A bloody fight.

A great action of Gallus a centurion, and the occaſion of it.

There was one Gallus, a centurion, who with ten Syrian ſoldiers lay cloſe concealed in a houſe: as the people of the family were talking together at ſupper what courſe they intended to take with the Romans, Gallus and his company, being all Syrians, overhearing and underſtanding them, fell upon them in the night, kill'd every man of them, and got off ſafe with his company to the Romans.

A glorious ſpeech of Veſpaſian to his ſoldiers.

This was the ſevereſt blow that ever the Romans had as yet receiv'd; and Veſpaſian finding the ſoldiers caſt down upon it, (their confuſion being greater too for deſerting their general) he bethought himſelf how he might give them ſome ſort of comfort, without making mention of himſelf, or intermixing any thing of reproach. “Well! ſays Veſpaſian, since misfortunes cannot be avoided, let them be generouſly borne: and it is not for any one ſort of men to expect an exemption from the common lot of mankind. Whoever conſiders the nature of war, will find that victory is not to be gain'd without blood, and that fortune is variable; and that this loſs is but a ſmall repriſal for the thouſands of Jews that we have ſlain before. But as it is vanity and weakneſs to grow inſolent upon proſperity; ſo it is the mark of as mean a ſoul to be caſt down with adverſity. Conſider again, ſays he, how inſenſibly the change paſſes from one extreme to the other, and that no man is truly great but he that ſtands his ground, and keeps up the ſame dignity of mind in all conditions, correcting the malignity of the one, by the prudence of the other. We are not now to impute our preſent miſcarriage either to the want of reſolution on our parts, or to the valour of the Jews: for, if they fought better than uſual, or we worſe, the true reaſon was the odds of the ground we fought upon. But if you were to blame for any thing in this engagement, it was in truth, for your raſhneſs in purſuing the enemy, when they fled up the town from you. You ſhould have held your hands, and contented yourſelves with the poſſeſſion of the lower town, till neceſſity ſhould have forced them down to engage you upon ſafer, ſurer, and more equal terms. But you were ſo impatient of conqueſt, that you never minded the right way of obtaining it. Now the Romans are a people of order and diſcipline, and not for this impetuous and inconſiderate way of making war, like the Jews and Barbarians. Wherefore let us have recourſe to our own methods of ſobriety and reſolution, and act like men that are rather animated with an indignation for what we have done amiſs, than ſink under the burden of it. Every man hath this ſatisfaction in his own power, if he will but ſet his own hand to the work, and give himſelf the comfort of revenging the loſs of his friends upon the heads of thoſe that deſtroy'd them: in this proſpect and confidence you ſhall find me ſtill, as you have done already, the firſt and the laſt in all dangers.” This diſcourſe of Veſpaſian's put a new life into the army.

The men of Gamala could not but take heart at firſt upon the fluſh of ſo unexpected a ſucceſs; but when they came afterward to conſider upon ſecond thoughts, and find that they were now paſt all hopes of agreeing upon terms, and in no poſſibility of eſcaping, (for their proviſions fail'd them) their ſpirits ſunk again, and their deſpairs almoſt diſtracted them: but they went on nevertheleſs, doing all that was poſſible to be done for the defence of the place, by ſetting their beſt men to look to the breaches, and others in general to take care of the reſt.

Another attempt upon Gamala.

The Romans by this time, having repair'd their platforms, and made ready for another attack, divers of the citizens ſtole away by paſſages ſo intricate and uncouth, that it was thought ſuperfluous to ſet any guard upon them. Others convey'd themſelves into ſinks and vaults, where they lay ſtarving for fear of being taken; the proviſions being wholly reſerv'd for thoſe that bore arms. But theſe miſerable people ſtood firm yet in all their diſtreſſes.

CHAP. II.

A faction in a body upon mount Itabyr. Veſpaſian ſends Placidus with a party to reduce them, who deſtroys them all, by encountering one wile with another.

Vespasian, though ſufficiently ingaged and buſied in this vexatious ſiege, found time, nevertheleſs, in that very hurry, to ſend out Placidus with a party of ſix hundred horſe to mount * Tabor, to diſperſe a multitude of people that were gotten together there. This mountain lies betwixt the great plain and Scythopolis: the aſcent of it is reckon'd to be about thirty † furlongs, no coming at it on the north-ſide, and on the top of it an open plain of twenty ‡ furlongs over; the whole encompaſs'd with a wall, which, as large as it was, coſt Joſeph but forty days the building: he brought water and other neceſſaries up to it from below, for the people had none but rain water for their uſe.

When Placidus was come to the place according to his order, and found that there was no poſſibility of getting up the mountain to them, he allur'd them with hopes of peace and pardon, and brought ſeveral of them down to him, who pretended that they were wrought upon by the reaſon of his addreſs: but in truth they had a deſign to draw him into a ſnare and to ſurprize him; as Placidus had the ſame plot upon them too, if he could but get them off into the plain field, and ſeize them at unawares.

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* Ἰταβύριον ὄρος. Joſ. See Caſaubon's Exercit. xv. Ann. xxxiii. N. xxix.
† Thirty furlongs amounted to three Engliſh miles and three quarters, and forty five geometrical paces.
‡ Twenty furlongs amounted to two Engliſh miles and an half, and thirty geometrical paces, as has been more than once obſerved.

They made a countenance of complying with the fairneſs of what he ſaid; but Placidus, for all this, was too cunning for them in the concluſion. The Jews began the battle; and Placidus and his men, as diſmay'd, betook themſelves preſently to flight, and the Jews after them, continuing the chace till the purſuers were diſpers'd all over the field. Placidus took this opportunity, and turning quick upon them, kill'd ſeveral, put the reſt to flight, and not one man of them could get back to the mountain. Some of them quitted Itabyr, and fled to Jeruſalem; but the natives finding themſelves deſtitute of water, render'd themſelves and the place to Placidus, upon ſecurity for their good behaviour.

Placidus deſtroys a body of Jews at Itabyr, by a wile.

CHAP. III.

The deſtruction of Gamala. The fall of a tower puts the people into a panick terror. Titus enters the town without any oppoſition. A dreadful execution.

An obſtinate defence.

THE boldeſt of the Gamalites were now glad to hide their heads, and they that were unfit to bear arms ready to ſtarve; but the men of action ſtill perſiſting in the defence of the place, till the two and twentieth of the month * Hyperbereteus; upon which day three ſoldiers of the fifteenth legion ſecretly ſtole out before break of day, to the foot of the higheſt tower that was upon their quarter, and undermin'd it ſo privately, that the guards (it being in the dead of the night) never in the leaſt perceived them either coming or going. They made no noiſe, but only tumbling down five mighty ſtones that they had looſen'd in the foundation, they leap'd away in that inſtant and retir'd. The turret immediately fell to the ground with a moſt dreadful noiſe, daſhing the guards and all that were in it under the ruins. The horror of this accident frighted all the other guards from their poſts that were within hearing of it; ſome of them falling into the very mouths of the Romans; in which number there was one Joſeph, that was ſhot dead with a dart from a broken wall. But in the city the terror and confuſion was ſo amazing, that one would have thought the whole Roman army had been enter'd the town. Chares was at that time very ſick, and ſo terribly affrighted at this accident, that it was believ'd it haſten'd his end.

The fall of a tower ſtrikes the people with a panick terror.

THIS was a tempting occaſion to invite the Romans into the town; but they pay'd ſo dear for their late temerity, that they forbore till the three and twentieth of the ſame month to make any farther attempt upon the city. Titus, it ſeems, was now come up; who found himſelf ſo gall'd at the thought of the diſaſter the Romans had receiv'd in his abſence, that he drew out a body of foot, and two hundred choice horſe, and, in a grave, ſober march, enter'd the city without any oppoſition. The watch were the firſt that took and gave the alarum, and the news was ſpread all over the town in a moment. No ſooner was it certainly known, but the citizens, in a confuſion, like ſo many diſtracted people, fled yelling and howling up to the caſtle, hauling their wives and their children along with them. Some were cut off by Titus's ſoldiers; others that could not get into the caſtle, and went they knew not whither, fell into the hands of the Roman guards. There was nothing, in fine, but wounds and groans and death to be ſeen or heard of, in all forms; and the very ſtreets flowing with blood.

Titus enters the town.

THE next thing Veſpaſian had now to do, was to attack the caſtle; to which end he drew up his whole army thither. It ſtood upon the point of a rock prodigiouſly high and ſteep, and well nigh inacceſſable, with a multitude of crags and precipices round about it. Upon this diſadvantage, it was impoſſible for the Romans either to avoid the ſtones and ſhot of the Jews that were caſt down upon them from above, or to reach the Jews from below. But by a wonderful providence, in favour of the Romans, and for the deſtruction of the Jews, there aroſe a ſudden and violent guſt of wind, that drove the Roman arrows directly in the face of the defendants, and kept off the other from the Romans, or blew them askew beſide the mark. The blaſt at the ſame time was ſo ſtrong too, that the beſieged could not ſtand ſteddy where they were to make their defence, nor ſo much as ſee the people they had to cope withal. So that the Romans, with the help of theſe advantages, made themſelves maſters of the mountain, which they ſurrounded immediately; and in a rage of revenge for their former miſcarriage upon that attack, they put all they met with to the ſword, indifferently, whether they reſiſted or not: beſide that, in the horror of this deſperation, there were that caſt themſelves with their wives and children down the precipice from the caſtle, to the number of five thouſand perſons; that of the ſlain being only four thouſand: ſo much more merciful were the Romans to the Jews, than the Jews were to themſelves. The Romans, in this heat of fury, threw the very infants down the rocks, without ſparing ſo much as one ſingle creature; two women only excepted, the daughters of the ſiſter of Philip, who was the friend of one Joakim, a man of eminent quality, and formerly a general under Agrippa. Now theſe two ſiſters were not ſo much beholden to the clemency of the Romans, for their preſervation, as to the good hap of lying undiſcover'd till the rage and fury of the action was over. The rebellion of Gamala broke out the four and twentieth of the month † Gorpieus: and the place was deſtroy'd the three and twentieth of the month Hyperbereteus.

A cruel execution.

CHAP. IV.

Giſchala taken by Titus. The people well diſpos'd, but ſeduced. Jeruſalem a ſtrong and a populous city. Veſpaſian provides againſt all hazards. The generous tenderneſs of Titus. Titus offers a peace and an amneſty. John of Giſchala ſeemingly accepts of the conditions. John makes his eſcape. Titus receiv'd into Giſchala, which puts an end to the conqueſt of Galilee.

THE province of Gamala was now wholly reduc'd, ſave only Giſchala, where

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* i. e. October. † i. e. September. See Dr. Beveridge's chronology.

The people well diſpos'd, but ſeduced by a ſeditious impoſtor.

people of themſelves, were, upon the main, peaceably inclin'd: being moſt of them husband-men, whoſe hope and intereſt lay in plantations and tillage. Not but that they were tainted alſo with a conſiderable and ſeditious mixture of libertines that liv'd upon robbery; and there were ſome citizens alſo of the firſt quality that were corrupted with that leaven. The chief leader of this faction, and the perverter of the people, was one John; a wicked and deceitful man, a rank impoſtor; unſteddy and ambitious; a great maſter in the art of bringing his ends about; a wretch of no conſcience, and certainly known to be a promoter of broils for the making of his own fortune. He was, in fine, the ſon of one Levi, and the head of the rabble in Giſchala. If it had not been for him, the people would probably have ſent their deputies to the Romans, with propoſals of an alliance; but upon his inſtigation, they were prevail'd upon to put it off, till the war ſhould be brought on.

Jeruſalem a ſtrong and populous city

Veſpaſian provides againſt all hazards.

Vespasian, upon this juncture, ſent away Titus to Giſchala with a thouſand horſe; and the tenth legion to Seythopolis; returning himſelf with the other two legions to Ceſarea for refreſhment, by preparing both their bodies and their minds for difficulties that were yet to come. For Veſpaſian foreſaw that Jeruſalem would find him work enough; not only as it was a powerful, populous, and the capital city; but as it was a place of refuge to all the fugitives of the faction from elſewhere: a nurſery of bold and daring men; naturally ſtrong, and, over and above, well wall'd; though next to impregnable in the very ſituation of it. Veſpaſian took all theſe things into conſideration, and accordingly train'd up his ſoldiers, like champions, in the practice and exerciſe of their arms, to keep them in heart, and prepare them for the prize.

The generous tenderneſs of Titus.

Titus offers them a peace and an amneſty, and the exerciſe of their religion.

Titus went up to Giſchala on horſe-back; and finding upon the view that is was not a place to ſtand an aſſault, he reflected upon it at the ſame time, that the ſoldiers would undoubtedly treat Giſchala as they had done Gamala; deſtroying the innocent with the guilty, if ever they ſhould come to take the town by ſtorm: ſo that, out of a generous compaſſion for the people, and the horror he had for thoſe inhuman cruelties, he rather bethought himſelf how he might gain the place by treaty. The walls being now cover'd with ſoldiers, and the majority within the town being of the faction, Titus call'd out, and, raiſing his voice, ſpake to them after this manner. "It is a wonderful thing to me, ſays he, that, when all the reſt of your towns are gone, and places much better manned and fortify'd than yours is, and taken without any difficulty too (many of them at the very firſt attack;) you ſhould be now ſo inconſiderate as to think of ſtanding out: eſpecially when you may yet be ſafe, eaſie, free and happy, upon a fair return to your duty. And this, I dare undertake, ſhall be made good to you; and all your inſolencies pardon'd, and paſs'd over, and imputed only to an inordinate deſire of liberty. But if you do not know when you have beneficial offers made to you, and refuſe to caſt yourſelves upon the faith and honour of the Romans; if you ſhall reſolve at laſt, I ſay, to run head-long on to your certain deſtruction, and to contend with impoſſibilities, you muſt expect to feel the weight of the Roman power and diſpleaſure; and you will find, before you are aware, that your wall will fall like dirt before their engines: ſo that this is the way to ſhew yourſelves to be the moſt arrogant ſlaves of all the Galileans."

John of Giſchala ſeemingly accepted the offer, upon one certain condition.

This paſs'd without one word from the town in anſwer, none of the inhabitants being ſuffer'd to come up to the wall; for the faction were maſters, and had clapt guards upon all the gates, to ſee that none ſhould paſs in or out, to promote a treaty. But John at laſt cry'd out to Titus, in the name of the people, "That he accepted the conditions, and that the town ſhould agree to them likewiſe, or he would force them to it. Only he made him him this requeſt, in regard of the inviolable ſtrictneſs of the Jewiſh law for the obſervance of their ſabbath, (which would no more ſuffer them to treat of peace, than to fight a battle) that he would indulge them that day: it being a caſe wherein either the complying on the one hand, or, as the Romans knew very well, the enforcing them on the other, would be equally unwarrantable: beſide, that there could be no danger in putting off the treaty to another time; for, if they imagin'd that any man would attempt to make an eſcape that night, it would be an eaſy matter, by clapping guards upon all the avenues, to prevent it: over and above the reputation he would get by ſhewing himſelf as tender of their laws as they were of their own, and of their conſciences as well as of their perſons; which was a favour beyond their expectation."

John makes his eſcape in the night.

Now it was not ſo much a ſcruple for the ſabbath, as an apprehenſion for his particular ſafety, that put John upon this treaty with Titus; for he was in a manner certain to be abandon'd and given up, if the town ſhould be taken; and nothing left him to truſt to but the night, and his heels, for the ſaving of his life. But the preſervation of John was manifeſtly an act of divine providence toward the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; as being the occaſion, not only of the truce, but likewiſe of Titus's incamping farther off the city, at Cydeſſa, one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt populous places in Tyria, and a mortal enemy to the Galileans.

The night being now come, and the town without any guards upon it, John laid hold of the opportunity, and made his eſcape to Jeruſalem; taking not only his military people, but ſeveral ſubſtantial men of the town, together with their families, along with him. The old men, the women and the children, that were frighted into this reſolution, made a ſhift to keep up with their leader for the firſt * 20 furlongs; but finding themſelves ſpent, and not able to continue the march, they had no more to do but to betake themſelves to cries and lamentations, panting and trembling after thoſe that had outſtript them and were gone

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* Twenty furlongs amount to two Engliſh miles and an half, and thirty geometrical paces, as has been before obſerved.

before: and the farther their friends were advanced from them one way, the nearer did they account themſelves to their enemies the other; and upon the very point of being taken priſoners. Nay, the very noiſe of their own feet, they fancy'd to be the tread of their adverſaries; and ſtill looking behind them, they took their own people for their purſuers. In this imaginary fright they fell one over another, and the way was cover'd with the bodies of women and children, that were cruſh'd to death in the croud, by preſſing who ſhould get foremoſt. There was little more to be heard than the cries of miſerable creatures to their husbands and friends to ſtay for them. But John call'd out to them on the other hand, to think of no other way of ſaving themſelves, but by taking ſanctuary in ſome place, where they might be reveng'd of the Romans, in caſe of any further miſchief; and John's advice carry'd it. The multitude, upon this, diſpers'd themſelves, and ſhifted away the beſt they could.

The people in a miſerable diſtreſs and confuſion

Titus receiv'd into Giſchala: Which puts an end to the conqueſt of Galilee.

As ſoon as it was day-light, Titus came up to the walls of the town, to execute the treaty; where he found the gates open, and the inhabitants and their wives ready with acclamations to receive and acknowledge him for their benefactor and preſerver. They gave him alſo to underſtand that John was fled away; begging his pardon for the innocent, and imploring his juſtice upon thoſe left in the town that ſhould be found to have been the authors of the revolt. Titus, upon their requeſt, ſent out a party of horſe after John; but he was already gotten into Jeruſalem before they could get up to him. They kill'd about two thouſand of his party, and brought back again near three thouſand women and children that they found wandring up and down.

Titus reaſons the caſe, and acts accordingly.

Titus was not a little troubled at the eſcape of this impoſtor; and that they had not made him ſuch an example as he deſerv'd to be, when they had him in their hands; but then ſetting the advantages of the priſoners, the ſlain, and the taking of the town, againſt the diſappointment of miſſing the ſingle perſon of ſuch a wretch, Titus balanc'd the one with the other, and enter'd the place in a friendly diſpoſition toward the people; taking poſſeſſion of it in form by the ceremony of his ſoldiers breaking off a piece of the wall, and reducing the authors of the ſedition rather by menaces than by actual puniſhments. For Titus was of opinion, that in a caſe where ſo many family feuds, perſonal piques, and paſſions were concern'd, it might be a dangerous thing to make uſe of puniſhment, as a common rule of diſtinction betwixt the good and the bad, for fear of expoſing the peaceable to calumnies, as well as the ſeditious to juſtice. So that, upon this deliberation, Titus thought it more honourable and human, rather to let ſome criminals live, than to run the riſque of expoſing ſome innocents; there being no place left for remedy and attonement, in the latter; whereas, in the other caſe, there may be hope of amendment; whether out of a fear of puniſhment, a ſenſe of ſhame, or an impulſe of virtue.

But Titus however in the concluſion put a gariſon into the town, partly to keep turbulent ſpirits in order, and partly to ſecure thoſe that were of a peaceable diſpoſition. This action finiſh'd the conqueſt of Galilee, after the expence of ſo much labour and blood.

Galilee totally ſubdu'd.

CHAP. V.

John of Giſchala gets ſafe to Jeruſalem, with a falſe ſtory. The Jews divided; and a miſerable nation. John the great incendiary. The riſe and progreſs of the quarrel. The outrages of the robbers, and of others that are yet the worſe of the two. They create and depoſe high-prieſts at pleaſure; and Ananus moves the rabble againſt them. The factions draw into the temple. Gorion and Simeon the leaders of the party. Jeſus and Ananus men of piety and virtue. The Zelotes, (ſo call'd.) Ananus enters into the reaſon of the caſe. The Romans eaſier to the Jews than the Zelotes. An encounter in the temple. The character and hiſtory of John of Giſchala.

Upon John's coming up to Jeruſalem, with a train of the faction at his heels, the people in vaſt throngs and multitudes gather'd about them, to know how matters went abroad, and, in a word, to learn the very worſt of things. Now John and his company had run themſelves ſo out of breath, betwixt fear and flight, that they were ſcarce able to ſpeak; and that difficulty might have paſs'd for an anſwer. But the party kept up the pride and vanity of their ſtomachs yet, with a pretence that they were not run away from the Romans; but came of their own accord, to find out ſome place for an engagement, where they might encounter upon equal terms: for none but fools and madmen would throw away their lives, they ſaid, for the defence of Giſchala, and two or three more ſuch like weak and pitiful places, when the metropolis itſelf was at ſtake, and every brave man oblig'd, in duty and in honour, to do his beſt to defend it. John and his party colour'd the diſgrace the beſt they could; but the people ſaw through the diſguiſe, and that John's honourable retreat was no other than a downright running away. This diſcovery, and the ſtory of the priſoners the Romans had taken, put the people into ſuch a terror as if the ruin of Giſchala had but been the prologue to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem itſelf. But John all this while, without any ſhame or remorſe for the poor creatures he had abandon'd upon the way, went officiouſly and pragmatically from one to another; animating the multitude to a proſecution of the war; derogating from the Romans on the one hand, and arrogating to themſelves on the other; by which arts of quirks and impoſture, they gained mightily upon the ſilly people. "Why, do you think, ſays he, "after ſo many baffles put upon the Roman "power and all their engines, by two or three "mean, deſpicable places in Galilee; and ſo "much difficulty in the maſtering of them at "laſt; do you think, I ſay, after all this, "even if the Romans had wings, that they "could ever be able to take Jeruſalem?" Theſe bravado flouriſhes wrought upon a world of the hot-headed young men; but at the ſame time all people of foreſight, ſenſe and experience, gave themſelves utterly for loſt.

John impoſes upon the multitude; and excuſes his running away upon a point of honour.

John of Giſchala the great incendiary of the war.

This

Jeruſalem in a confuſion

The Jews divided among themſelves.

The riſe and progreſs of the quarrel.

This was the confuſed face and ſtate of things in Jeruſalem at that time; but the country led the way to the ſedition that follow'd afterward in the city. For Titus being gone from Giſchala to Ceſarea, Veſpaſian went alſo from Ceſarea to Jamnia and Azotus, and ſubdu'd them both, ſettled gariſons in them, and ſo return'd: bringing a vaſt multitude of people along with him, that were now enter'd into a league with the Romans. The cities were all peſter'd with tumults and inteſtine broils; and no ſooner at peace with the Romans, but immediately together by the ears among themſelves: and war or no war was the ſingle queſtion; for the two oppoſites fought for the one againſt the other. The quarrel began in private families, that had been a long time adverſaries, upon the ſcore of hereditary feuds. It paſs'd thence into divided multitudes, that of friends became enemies: and it terminated at laſt in matter of faction and opinion; where men of the ſame mind ſided into an oppoſition of party to party, and ſo incorporated in a rebellion. This diſorder, in fine, was general. The men of action, youth and heat, were violently bent upon arms and innovations: the men of ſenſe and gravity, on the other ſide, were for moderate counſels; but the former carry'd it.

The fruit of an univerſal liberty.

This confuſion began with an univerſal licence, that every man took to himſelf, of robbing his neighbour, without any regard to law or conſcience. They proceeded afterwards to do the ſame thing in bands and parties; and to do it barefac'd too up and down the country: in which practice, the Jews committed upon themſelves more acts of cruelty and injuſtice, and did one another more miſchief than the Romans; beſide that the calamity was much more tolerable from an enemy than from a friend.

The outrages of the robbers.

The gariſons, that conſulted their own eaſe, and mortally hated the people, were of no aſſiſtance to them in their ſufferings: till in the concluſion ſome of the principals of the robbers enter'd Jeruſalem, with a great body of their party, that they had pick'd up here and there. Now the city being under no rule of government, theſe ruffians met with no oppoſition: beſide that, according to ancient cuſtom, the gates were open to all Jews without exception; and at this time more eſpecially, when they took all people that came in to them for friends, and aſſiſtants. This was the caſe, and this liberty in the concluſion prov'd the ruin of the city; when the infinite numbers of idle and unprofitable mouths devoured the neceſſary proviſions, that were laid up for the ſoldiers that had the guard of the town: by which means, the miſeries of ſedition and famine were added to the calamities of the war.

Another band of thieves worſe than the former.

There came at the ſame time another party of thieves out of the country, that, joining with thoſe they found in the town (who were yet worſe than themſelves) ſtuck at no manner of inſolence, though never ſo flagitious and cruel. Robbery and pillage was as nothing with them, unleſs it was ſeaſon'd with downright murder: and that not by ſtealth neither, and in the dark, or upon ſome common perſons; but in the face of the ſun, and upon the moſt conſiderable men in the city; as they began with the impriſoning of Antipas, a perſon of the blood royal, and of ſuch credit and authority, that he was entruſted with the charge of the treaſury. They treated Levias afterwards, and Sophas the ſon of Raguel, with divers others of the moſt conſiderable perſons they could lay their hands on, after the ſame manner. Theſe horrid violences made the town look like a prize in the hand of a common enemy, and put all people to ſhift for themſelves.

A bloody ſentence and execution.

Nay, and theſe profligate wretches did not ſtop here neither; but finding their priſoners to be men of power, intereſt, credit, and a vaſt acquaintance, they did not know but it might be dangerous to keep them longer in cuſtody; for fear of either a reſcue or a revenge from their friends, or of a popular tumult, upon ſo deſperate a provocation: wherefore they proceeded to a formal ſentence of death upon them, and ſent a blood-thirſty hireling of their own crew (one John the ſon of Dorcas) with a train of ten other bravos, to do the execution; and it was done accordingly. Now for a colour to this execrable villany, they gave it out that theſe people were in a conſpiracy to deliver up the city to the Romans; and not without valuing themſelves upon the merit of a publick ſervice, for doing ſo neceſſary an act of juſtice upon the betrayers of the common liberty.

They create and depoſe high-prieſts at pleaſure.

The faction was now ſo daring and arrogant, and the people's hearts ſo dejected and diſmay'd, that they aſſumed to themſelves the diſpoſing of the pontificate; took the high-prieſthood out of the right line, abrogated the ſucceſſion, and promoted creatures of their own, without either blood or virtue, to the office; and ſo, by the choice of miniſters like themſelves, they made the government all of a piece; well knowing that the wicked inſtruments of wicked men would not fail to act in conformity to the humour and intereſt of their maſters.

Putting indignities upon God himſelf.

Ananus the high-prieſt makes head againſt them.

There was nothing wanting all this while of artificial calumnies, and feigned ſtories, to create miſunderſtandings among thoſe that had it in their power to croſs their deſigns, and ſo to make advantage of their diſagreements: till in the end, when they had glutted themſelves with putting affronts and indignities upon men, they tranſported their impieties even againſt God himſelf, and againſt his laws and his holy ſanctuary. But upon this audacious extravagance, the people, at the inſtigation of Ananus the high-prieſt, made head againſt them; a perſon no leſs venerable for his years, piety and wiſdom, than he was for his character; and one that probably might have preſerv'd the city, if he could but have got clear of the train of a conſpiracy that was then laid againſt him.

The faction draws into the temple.

The faction took ſanctuary in the temple, and made uſe of it both for a place of defence againſt the multitude, and for the ſeat of their tyranny and uſurpation. But the moſt ſenſible part of the calamity was the mockery and contempt that attended it, in the wanton experiment of their own ſtrength, and the heartleſs deſpondency of the people. As for example, they took upon them to elect a high-prieſt by lot; according to the precedent, as they pretended, of former times: whereas, in truth, there was no ſuch precedent, but the ſacerdotal function was originally a family privilege,

and

Phanes choſen high-prieſt by lot.

A perſon wholly unqualify'd for the function.

The ſolemnity turn'd into a mockery.

The people bent upon a revenge.

and deſcended in a line by ſucceſſion. Now this practice of theirs was only a ſelf-ended invention of their own, to get the power into their hands. But they were taken in their own ſnare; for upon ſummoning one of the holy tribes (called Eniacim) in order to a choice, the lot fell upon a perſon that ſufficiently diſcover'd the iniquity and the corruption of the proceeding. His name was * Phanes; his father's name Samuel; born in a village call'd Aphthas; a man, in fine, brutiſhly ignorant, and ſo far from having any relation to a ſacerdotal family, that he did not ſo much as know what belong'd to the office. They forc'd him away however from his country affairs in ſpite of his heart; and, dreſſing him up in his prieſtly robes, as if it had been for the ſtage, they gave him his leſſon how he was to behave himſelf: making no more in ſhort of the whole ſtory, than if it had been the foolery of a farce, or of a frolick. This could not but go to the hearts of the prieſts, that ſtood all this while at a diſtance, ſpectators of theſe indignities, to ſee their holy laws trampled upon, and their worſhip and profeſſion ridicul'd; as they expreſs'd their ſenſe of it in tears and groans. But the people were ſo tranſported with the ſenſe of this oppreſſion, that they had no longer any patience for ſo ſcandalous a ſlavery; but join'd as one man in a reſolution to depoſe the tyrants, and caſt off the yoke.

Gorion and Simeon the head of the party.

The two forwardeſt in this commotion were Gorion the ſon of Joſeph, and Simeon the ſon of Gamaliel; who made it their buſineſs to go up and down from man to man, inculcating the doctrine of liberty and revenge, provoking the people at the ſame time, one and all, to ſtand up for the vindication of their religion, laws and freedoms, againſt their prophane and ſacrilegious enemies.

Jeſus and Ananus do their parts alſo.

Zelote is only another word for hypocrite.

There was alſo one Jeſus the ſon of Gamala, and Ananus the ſon of Ananus, two prieſts of the firſt note for men of ſingular piety and virtue: theſe two holy men alſo as heartily excited the people, in frequent diſcourſes upon the ſame ſubject; upbraiding them with their ſloth and cowardice, and inflaming them by all manner of reproaches againſt the Zelotes. I call them Zelotes, as the name that they aſſumed to themſelves, out of an hypocrital oſtentation of holineſs; though at the ſame time, in their lives and practice, they were the lewdeſt of men. The people, being now gather'd together, were all provoked to the higheſt pitch of indignation, to ſee the havock theſe miſcreants made in the holy places, and how they went on pillaging and murdering without controul.

Ananus ſets forth the whole ſtate of the caſe, in a ſpeech to the people. The cauſe notably reaſon'd from one end to the other.

But yet, in the height of an outrageous horror and fury, there was no attack made upon them all this while; for the people did not as yet think themſelves in condition to encounter theſe Zelotes by downright force; as in truth they were not. Ananus the high-prieſt was at this time in the middle of the croud, and caſting many a ſorrowful look toward the temple, with tears in his eyes, he ſaid, “ Why did not I rather die than live, to ſee the houſe of God thus polluted and prophan'd, and the wickedeſt of men admitted promiſcuouſly into thoſe ſacred places of privilege, that were only reſerv'd for the high-prieſt? Why do I live, and ſee all this, in my ſacerdotal robes too, and with the venerable name of the great God written on my forehead? What do I live any longer for, after ſo glorious an opportunity now in my age of ending my days with honour? What have I more to do, in fine, under my circumſtances, but to fall alone, and give up my life to my God and my duty? What ſhould any man deſire to live for, in an inſenſible generation, and among people that have neither the prudence to foreſee calamities, nor the courage to reſiſt them? You ſtand ſtill to ſee yourſelves robb'd, beaten and abus'd; and your friends and companions murder'd before your faces; without ſo much as one look, word, or action of tenderneſs or compaſſion that you dare own. A ſhameful, and an inſupportable tyranny! But what do I talk of the actors of the tyranny, and not rather of thoſe that ſuffer it, and that train'd up the tyrants themſelves to the power of exerciſing what they now practice? Why did you not cruſh them when you might have done it; when they were but a few, weak, and inconſiderable? No no, it was your patience and nothing elſe that made theſe people your maſters. But when you ſhould have turn'd your arms againſt your enemies, you muſt be cutting of throats among yourſelves. You ſhould have call'd them to an account betimes, for the outrages they put upon your brethren: and you ſhould have conſider'd that the ſufferance of one affront naturally draws on, and encourages another; as appear'd in what follow'd. For when they found that they might commit all manner of inſolencies without controul, they advanc'd a ſtep farther, and put ſeveral of the beſt men of the city in chains (who were effectually betray'd by your tameneſs) and dragg'd them to priſon, not only unheard, and without a ſentence, but without ſo much as an accuſation. No matter for their names or qualities; but all this was done, and not one perſon appearing in their favour. After the loſs of their eſtates and liberties, there remain'd nothing more to be taken away but their lives: and that was done too, and their throats cut, like ſo many beaſts drawn out of the herd for ſacrifices, before our faces; and not a mouth open'd, or a hand lifted up, in their defence. And after all theſe ſufferings, one upon the neck of another, can you have the patience now to ſee your holy altars prophan'd, and your religion expos'd to ſcorn, without ſhewing ſome reſentment worthy of your profeſſion? and what is it that you are afraid of, at laſt, but monſters of your own creating, and the profeſs'd enemies of all that's good and holy? If they ſtop here, it is not for want of good will to be yet more and more wicked, but for want of freſh matter to work upon: for it is impoſſible for them to outdo the ill things they have done already. They are poſſeſs'd you ſee of the ſtrongeſt place of the city; and that which you call the temple, ſerves them only for an impregnable caſtle, maintain'd againſt you. Conſidering now the ſtrength of the place, and your enemies the maſters of it,

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* Gr. Φαννίας.

“ (as that you ſee is the caſe) what is it that you propoſe to yourſelves? or what do you imagine will be the end of theſe things? unleſs you fancy that the Romans will eſpouſe the cauſe of your religion and ceremonies; and in truth ſuch is the miſery of our preſent condition, that our very enemies cannot but pity us. Why if ſo many beaſts were in your places now, hunted, aſſaulted, and wounded, as you yourſelves are, they would have the ſpirit to turn again upon their purſuers, and to revenge themſelves upon their enemies; while you at the ſame time ſuffer all tamely, without ſo much as the ſenſe or apprehenſion of the brutes. But will you bear this always, and ſink in infamy, under the affronts, publick and private, that have been put upon you, without avenging yourſelves? This abject patience looks, methinks, as if you had no longer any ſenſe of the moſt natural and powerful of human affections, the deſire of liberty; and as if you had taken up, on the contrary, the love of ſlavery, inſtead of it: a temper, which I am ſure you never inherited from your anceſtors; witneſs the many, and the dangerous wars they underwent againſt the Medes and Egyptians, to aſſert their freedom. But what need of looking back for precedents, when the very war we are now ingag'd in againſt the Romans, (whether it ſucceed well or ill) is advanced evidently upon the ſame foot? and ſhall we now that diſpute our liberties with the maſters of the whole world, crouch and truckle like ſlaves to our own countrymen? To be overcome by ſtrangers is but the chance of war, and may be imputed, without loſs of honour, to the iniquity of fortune: but for people to give themſelves up in ſubjection to their own brethren and countrymen, and to the very worſt of them too, betrays a ſordid ſervility of ſpirit, and a ſoul prepar'd for bondage.

“ But now I am ſpeaking of the Romans, I have ſomewhat comes into my head upon this occaſion. Make it the caſe that we were all actually now their priſoners, (which heaven forbid!) Whether would our condition, in probability, be better or worſe than it is now? for what miſery could an enemy inflict upon us, that we have not ſuffer'd already? Can any man ſtand a ſpectator to look upon the Jews, and to ſee them robbing the temple of the oblations and donatives that the Romans beſtow'd upon it? defacing the moſt glorious city under the ſun; and dipping their hands in the blood of thoſe heroes, which the Romans themſelves, in the very triumph of their victories, would have had a veneration for? can any man ſee all this, I ſay, without tears in his eyes, and a bleeding heart? Whereas the Romans, on the other ſide, made a conſcience of paſſing the bounds of ſacred and prophane; and of breaking in upon the ſolemnities of holy cuſtoms; or but ſo much as caſting a look, unleſs with reverence, and at a diſtance, toward the ſacred incloſure? But we have a ſort of people among ourſelves, train'd up after our way too, and calling themſelves Jews, that make no more ſcruple of walking in the temple, than in a common place; and that, while their hands are yet reeking with the blood of their fellow-citizens. Shall any man after this, ſtand in dread of a foreign war, compar'd with ſuch a domeſtick one? The enemy is in truth (to call things by their right names) the greater friend of the two: for while the Romans ſhew'd themſelves the preſervers of our laws, our pretended friends that were in our bowels deſtroy'd them. Certain it is, that theſe tyrants have betray'd your liberties, and that no puniſhment can be equal to their crimes. I tell you no more in this now, than what you all knew before I open'd my mouth; and you need no other inſtigation againſt theſe men, than the ſenſe of your own ſufferings. But you were afraid of their numbers perhaps; the daring boldneſs of theſe men, and the advantagious poſt they are now poſſeſs'd off. Well! And what was it, I beſeech you, but your want of reſolution, that rais'd them up to this, and made them ſo conſiderable? And you have no way left you now, but a ſpeedy, a generous, and a joint aſſociation among yourſelves, to bring down again; for delay gives time to ſettle; opportunity to encreaſe, and heart to gather courage: like will to like, and the whole faction will flow into the party; which will make them numerous: and then they have nothing to fear, where they meet with no oppoſition, and that makes them bold; and ſo for deferring the attempt, the longer it is put off, the more time they have to fortify and intrench. Now 'tis but one bold puſh, to ſhew that you are in earneſt, to humble their pride and inſolence; and you will find that betwixt the terrors of a guilty conſcience, and the infamy of baſe actions, they will have little joy of their ſtation. As who knows but theſe impious wretches may be cut off by the juſt judgment of a righteous God, as a vengeance upon them for their contempt of his divine majeſty? And that the very weapons they launce at us, may, by a providential miracle, be turn'd againſt their own hearts and faces; ſo that they ſhall not be able to ſtand the very ſight of us, but with confuſion? or to put matters at worſt; what if we ſhould fall every man of us in the conteſt; could any thing be more glorious, than to lay down our lives at the gates of the temple, for the honour of God, and in the ſervice of his holy houſe and cauſe? As to the conduct of the enterprize, you ſhall have my heart, hand, example and advice along with you.”

The Romans much eaſier to the Jews than the Zelotes.

Ananus makes a party againſt the Zelotes.

This diſcourſe of Ananus irritated the people ſufficiently againſt the Zelotes; but yet Ananus was ſo well inform'd of their number, their choice of men, and their courage; with the circumſtances of the place, and the poſture they were in; and finally, their deſpair of pardon in caſe they ſhould happen to be worſted; that he could not promiſe himſelf any preſent advantage from the effect of this management: but he was nevertheleſs reſolv'd to run all hazards, rather than abandon his country in this diſtreſs; the people in the mean time deſiring nothing more than ſome body to lead them on againſt theſe miſcreants, in defiance of all dangers whatſoever.

Ananus, finding the multitude in ſo good a diſpoſition, made a choice of the beſt men he could pick out, and ranged them preſently in ſuch order as the time would bear. The Zelotes had their ſpies about Ananus; and, upon intelligence of his deſigns and motions, they march'd immediately toward him; one while, in ſmall parties, and then again in groſs bodies; without giving quarter to any one creature that fell into their hands. Ananus with great expedition got his men together, who exceeded the others in number; but the Zelotes however had the advantage of being better arm'd: though what was wanting one way, was ſupply'd on both ſides with reſolution and good-will another. The rage and indignation of the citizens doubled their valour againſt the Zelotes: and that of the Zelotes alſo, on the other hand, inflamed their reſolution againſt the multitude: the inhabitants found they could not be ſafe, unleſs they clear'd the city of the faction: and the Zelotes knew full well, that certain death attended them, if they did not come off victorious. In this diſpoſition, both parties ingag'd; and a skirmiſh began not far from the temple, by aſſaulting one another with ſtones. Thoſe that fled were cut off by the ſwords of their enemies; ſo that there were a great many dropt on both ſides. As any of the inhabitants happen'd to be wounded, their friends carry'd them off into their own houſes; but the Zelotes were convey'd up to the temple, where they polluted and prophan'd the holy place and religion with their blood. But the thieves came off ſtill in all their ſallies and excurſions with advantage.

An encounter in the temple.

Ananus's ſcruples.

Ananus erects a ſtanding guard.

The people were now grown ſtrong and numerous, and out of all patience with the fugitives for not ſtanding their ground: inſomuch that, cloſing up the way behind them in their flight, they turn'd them back again upon the enemy; ſo that they were forced to cut out their way forward in their own defence. By this means, they were brought every man of them to the combat; and the faction, not being able to ſtand the ſhock of the whole body, gave way by little and little toward the temple; and Ananus with his troops, preſſing on furiouſly among them. When he had driven the Zelotes before him out of the firſt court, they got in a fright into the ſecond incloſure; ſhutting the gates after them in a hurry upon the purſuers. Ananus had too great a reverence for the holy place to make uſe of any ſort of violence for the forcing of his paſſage: though the enemy did all that was poſſible to be done, by their darts and ſhot from over their heads, to provoke him to it. But ſuch was the conſcience the high-prieſt made of polluting the holy temple with the mixture of an unpurify'd multitude, that, if he might have gain'd the main cauſe by ſuch a diſpenſation, he would not have admitted it. So that all he did at preſent was to order a ſtanding guard of ſix thouſand choice men upon the porches of the temple, and ſo ſucceſſively ſix thouſand more after them to do duty, and to be reliev'd by turns; not exempting the beſt men of the town from their part in this ſervice: only when it came to their lot, they were allow'd to hire men of an inferior quality to watch in their ſtead.

The character and hiſtory of John of Giſchala.

His falſe and perjurious practices in ſeveral reſpects.

John artificial and malicious to the higheſt degree.

The popular party at this time carry'd all before them; but John of Giſchala, the fugitive before ſpoken of, ſpoil'd all again. He was a falſe, crafty wretch; ambitious beyond meaſure; an enemy and a traytor to the publick of a long ſtanding. In order to his ends, he began with making himſelf popular by ſetting up for a patriot. No man ſo aſſiduous at council with Ananus in the day-time as himſelf; nor any man ſo careful of the guards and watches by night. And he was at the ſame time ſo neceſſary a ſpy for the Zelotes, that there was ſcarce any thing that eſcap'd his knowledge: and what he knew, they knew ſo ſoon as he could give them information. And for the better diſguiſe of his pretended zeal for Ananus and the people, he was moſt officiouſly nice and forward in all his reſpects to the high-prieſt, and the great men he had to do withal. But ſo it fell out, that the very over-doing of his part laid him under a jealouſy; for it was too much to be true, and too much labour'd to be natural: beſide, that the flatteries were too groſs. Another thing that increas'd a ſuſpicion of him was this; that he thruſt himſelf into their councils ſtill, without being call'd. Ananus found that his ſecrets were betray'd, and none ſo likely as John to do it. But this wretch had play'd his game ſo artificially, and was ſo rooted in the good opinion of ſeveral great men, that there was no thought or poſſibility of removing him from his poſt: ſo that they could think of no better expedient for the putting of him to the teſt, than to give him an oath of faith and ſecrecy, to keep all the people's councils, and to ſerve them againſt all rebels to the uttermoſt of his power. John made no difficulty of ſwallowing this oath; and Ananus and his people as little of believing him without any further ſcruple: and thereupon, they did not only take him immediately into their councils, but ſent him ſoon after upon a commiſſion to the Zelotes, with propoſals of peace. The thing they fear'd was, leſt the temple ſhould come to be defiled with the blood of the Jews, and the blame laid at their door. This perfidious impoſtor went his way to the Zelotes with quite another ſtory; and told them, that the oath he had taken was ſo far from being againſt them, that, on the contrary, it was much in their favour. “ I have, ſays he, run all manner of hazards for your ſakes, in the care I have taken to inform you of all the deſigns and practices of Ananus and his party againſt you. But I am now to tell you that neither you nor I were ever in ſo great danger as at this preſent, if God in his providence does not avert it. For Ananus hath prevail'd with the people to ſend deputies to Veſpaſian, to deſire him to come forthwith, and take poſſeſſion of the city; having order'd the people to purify themſelves the next day, to the end that, under a pretext of religion, they might either by fair means or by foul get into the town. I do not find, ſays he, under their circumſtances, how they ſhould be able to hold out long againſt ſo prodigious a number of men: but however, as God hath been pleaſed to order it, I am at preſent deputed to bring you a project of peace; which in truth is no other than a trick of Ananus's, to hold you in hand with the amuſement of a treaty, and then to fall upon you by ſurprize, when you think yourſelves moſt ſecure. But as to what you are to do now, you have no other choice before you, that I can ſee, than either to caſt your-

“ſelves at the beſiegers feet, or to call in a foreign force to your reſcue. For, ſays he, if you are taken, the very memory and conſcience of what you have done, (appear as penitent as you pleaſe) puts you out of all hope of mercy; beſide that criminals prove the worſe many times for repentance: over and above that the thirſt for revenge increaſes with the power of taking it with ſecurity. Conſider again what you are to expect from the friends and relations of thoſe you have ſlain, and from a furious multitude in the height of their rage for the diſſolution of their laws and cuſtoms. Not but that here and there a ſingle man perhaps may have ſome ſenſe of humanity and tenderneſs; but what will that avail againſt the impetuous violence of a brutal multitude?” This diſcourſe of John's ſtartled the people; which was the thing he aimed at. As to the foreign force he hinted at, he meant it of the Idumeans; though he durſt not venture to ſpeak it out in plain terms. After this he took ſome of the heads apart, and gave them ſome ſhort touches of Ananus's cruelty, and of the implacable malice of his heart toward them in particular.

CHAP. VI.

The Zelotes write to the Idumeans for aſſiſtance; which is granted them in a ſupply of near twenty thouſand men. Jeſus diſcourſes the matter with them. Simon the ſon of Cathlas to the high-prieſt. The Idumeans reſolve to make good the ſiege.

ELEAZAR the ſon of Simon, and Zachary the ſon of Amphicalus, were look'd upon as two of the ableſt men the Zelotes had in their council, and the beſt qualify'd for buſineſs, either to adviſe or to execute: and they were both of the ſacerdotal race. Theſe men, taking for granted, that beſide menaces in general, their particular lives were threatened; and that Ananus and his party had call'd in the Romans to their aſſiſtance, as John had order'd the ſtory; they found themſelves ſo hamper'd under ſeveral difficulties, that they could not reſolve which way to turn themſelves: fancying in the firſt place that the very people would tear them to pieces. As to foreign ſuccours, there were none to be expected time enough to prevent the execution of the plot; for the blow would be ſtruck before their allies could have any notice of their diſtreſs. But in the concluſion, they reſolved to apply themſelves to the Idumeans, and wrote them a letter upon that occaſion to this effect. “Finding that Ananus, having firſt ſeduced the people, hath deſigned to betray Jeruſalem to the Romans, we have retired into the temple in defence of the common liberty; where we are now beſieged, and upon the very point of falling into the hands of Ananus and the reſt of our enemies, and the city itſelf into the hands of the Romans, without immediate relief.”

The Zelotes in diſtreſs, write to the Idumeans for help.

THE bearers of this letter had ſeveral things in charge to deliver by word of mouth to the principals of that nation. The perſons choſen for the executing of this commiſſion, were two Ananias's; both reſolute men, good ſpeakers, maſters of the faculty of perſuaſion, and (which was equal to all the reſt upon this occaſion) men of ſpeed and diſpatch. They made no doubt of the Idumeans ready aſſiſtance toward the promoting of ſuch an affair; being a people fond of broils and changes, brutal and churliſh, and ſuch as needed no great art to ingage them in any thing of this nature; for they are a people that go to war as other people do to a banquet. Expedition was now the main buſineſs, and the meſſengers did their parts.

THEY were no ſooner come to the governors of Idumea, and had delivered their letters and inſtructions, but the people went raving up and down like ſo many mad-men; provoking and incouraging one another to take up arms: inſomuch that they had gotten together a party of near twenty thouſand men, that were all raiſed for the relief of the metropolis. This army was raiſed in a trice, and diſpatch'd away to Jeruſalem, under the command of John and James the ſons of Soſas, Simon the ſon of Cathlas, and Phineas the ſon of Cluſoth.

The letter is no ſooner read than the requeſt granted:

In a levy of near twenty thouſand men to their aſſiſtance, and upon their march towards Jeruſalem.

ANANUS and his people knew nothing of the fore-mentioned deputation of the two meſſengers from the Zelotes; but he was better informed however of the Idumean expedition, and ſo order'd the gates to be ſhut up, and the walls well guarded; but no act of hoſtility to be committed, till he had firſt try'd what might be done by reaſon and fair words toward the compoſing of the broil; ſo that Jeſus (the firſt prieſt next Ananus) mounted a tower over againſt the Idumeans, and within hearing of them ſpake to this effect.

“OF all the calamities, ſays he, that ever befel this famous city, nothing amazes me more than to ſee fortune in a conſpiracy with the lewdeſt people in nature to deſtroy it. Who could ever have thought to have ſeen you joining with a band of miſcreants againſt us? and that too with more alacrity than would have become you toward barbarians themſelves, if Jeruſalem had deſired your aid? But if you are of the ſame mind with your ſuperiors, this you have to ſay for yourſelves; that a ſimilitude of manners, naturally begets an agreement of affections. But this cannot be the caſe betwixt you and them. For if you conſider their lives and actions, you will not find one man of them that does not deſerve a thouſand deaths. As to their quality, they are the very ſcum and ſink of mankind: and then for their manners, after their ſquandring away their fortunes in luxury and debauch, they proceeded to rapine and pillage; and ſtealing afterward into the city like thieves, they advanced to ſacrilege and bloodſhed; even in the holy temple itſelf: wallowing in drink and ſurfeits, at the very altar, without either fear or ſhame; devouring the ſpoils of thoſe they have murder'd, and prophaning the ſacred place with all manner of pollutions. Now in the middle of this confuſion, I find you advanced here in as regular a formality of order and equipage, as if your army had been brought in at the requeſt of the whole body of the city againſt a foreign enemy. What ſhall I call this now, but the iniquity of fortune, to ſee your whole nation united in ſo infamous a confederacy againſt your own brethren? I cannot

Jeſus's reaſonings and propoſals to the Idumeans.

not but admire, I muſt confeſs, at the ſuddenneſs of your reſolution, as well as at the thing itſelf. It muſt be ſome great matter ſure, that could move you to take up arms for thieves and vagabonds, againſt your allies. But you have been poſſeſs'd, I perceive, with a notion of our calling in the Romans, and betraying the city to them; and upon that pretence, you take upon you to ſet up for aſſerters of the liberties of Jeruſalem againſt a foreign power. Now though this was a groſs and a malicious calumny, it was yet pertinent enough to the purpoſe of the inventors of it: for our enemies could never have gain'd their ends upon men that value liberty at the rate that you do, and would venture ſo far for the preſerving of it, but by poſſeſſing you with a rage againſt us, as the baſe and unmanly betrayers of a bleſſing and a privilege that you have ſo great a veneration for. But you ſhall do well now to conſider, who they are that thus belye and traduce us; and then make a judgment upon the whole, not upon the credit of plauſible tales and hearſays, but upon the force of clear truths and convincing reaſon.

“How will it conſiſt that we ſhould diſpute our liberties thus long with the Romans, and juſt now own them for our maſters? How came it that we fell off from them at firſt? or how came it that we did not go over to them again, before our lands, towns and villages were totally laid waſte and deſtroy'd? Neither is this a time for a treaty, if we had never ſo great a mind to it; for the conqueſt of Galilee hath made them too proud to hearken to any conditions. And then meanly to cringe to them to beg a peace, ſo ſoon as they ſhew themſelves before our walls, would be an infamy more inſupportable than death itſelf. For my own part, I am rather for peace than war; but, on the other ſide, when the war is once begun and inevitable, I am rather for a glorious death, than the life of a ſlave.

“But how ſtands the caſe, I beſeech you, of our ſending to the Romans? Is it that the ring-leaders have privately ſent ſome particular perſons out of their own number, or families? or will you have it to be a deputation as the common act of the people? If this was done by a particular commiſſion, why are we not told the names of the commiſſioners? Are there any letters to be produc'd in proof of this ſuggeſtion? or hath any man been taken up going or coming upon this errand? How comes it that among ſo many thouſands of people, as we daily converſe with in the city, not ſo much as one man ever heard of it? And how comes it again, that this ſecret, that has been manag'd with ſo much caution out of the city, ſhould be only known to a few perſons that are lock'd up in the temple, and not at liberty ſo much as to ſtir out of the walls? Is it not a ſtrange thing too that this treaſon ſhould never be heard of, till the reporters of it were in danger themſelves, and in dread of being call'd to an account for their own crimes? Neither could it be call'd the people's act, without paſſing the vote of a general aſſembly; which would have made it impoſſible to be kept ſo long a ſecret. Or to what end ſhould there be a deputation too, when the thing was reſolv'd beforehand, and no room left for a treaty? And then, as I ſaid before, they ſhould have done well to have named the commiſſioners. But drowning men will catch hold of any thing; and all this ſhifting and ſhuffling is only for the ſaving of their own skins. But if it muſt be the city's fate at laſt to fall by treachery, none ſo likely to bring it to that end as our accuſers themſelves; for 'tis but adding treaſon to blood, ſacrilege, and the reſt of the impieties they are guilty of already, to fill up the meaſure of their iniquities.

“But ſince you are here upon the place with us, and in arms, what can you do better than to join with us in the relief of the city, and in the rooting out of theſe tyrannical monſters? Wretches that have trod all our laws under foot, to make way for tumult and violence, treated our governors worſe than bond ſlaves, or common criminals, in jails, chains, nay, and with death itſelf, though never ſo innocent; and which is worſe, without ſo much as any pretence to the contrary, and without any place at laſt for prayers or interceſſions in favour of the miſerable. This is no more than what you may be eye-witneſſes of yourſelves, if you will but enter the city as friends, and believe your ſenſes. There you ſhall ſee the gutting of houſes, and the whole town in mourning for their maſſacred kindred and friends; your ears entertain'd with nothing but cries and lamentations, and not one creature to be found, upon the whole, but has his part in this oppreſſion. And they have carry'd up the inſolence to ſo extravagant a pitch too, that after the barbarous robberies and outrages, committed in the country-towns and villages, they have brought the ſcene likewiſe into the mother city itſelf, though the head and glory of the nation; carrying the outrage from thence alſo, into the very temple itſelf, which they have made the ſeat of the war. From thence it is that they make their ſallies, and thither their retreats; there they keep their guards, their ſtores, and their magazines: and at this rate it is, in fine, that theſe profligates (of our own tribe and extraction too) prophane, diſhonour, and trample upon God's holy habitation; and the place that is venerable all over the world, ſave only among our own people. They are never ſo deſperate, but in the depth of their deſpairs; they ſtill take delight in forcing all things to extremities, and in ſetting cities and nations together by the ears, and running all into a confuſion of civil broils. Now the moſt righteous and reaſonable thing that you can do, (and that which might beſt become you too) would be, as I ſaid before, to go hand in hand with us in delivering the nation from theſe firebrands, and in taking your revenge upon them for the impoſture they have put upon you, and for preſuming to invite you into their party for aſſiſtance: whereas they ſhould rather have dreaded the vengeance and juſtice from you, that belongs to a common enemy. Or if you take it to be matter of decency and reſpect, to pay ſome ſort of deference to their requeſts, be but you pleaſed to paſs into the city as friends; leave your arms at the gates, make yourſelves neuters, give the cauſe a fair hearing, and be you yourſelves the judges of the controverſy. But now for theſe people that have ſo many notorious crimes to anſwer for themſelves; and after the hurrying away of ſo many men of quality to death, without ſo much as the forms of either charge or defence; for theſe people, I ſay, to be admitted to ſo impartial and eaſy a way of trial, will be a condeſcenſion very extraordinary, and it will become them to acknowledge the obligation they have to you for the favour. But if you will neither join with us in the equity of the cauſe, nor appear in the quality of a judge betwixt us, pray do but withdraw from both parties, without either inſulting over honeſt men in their affliction, or ſiding with traitors and uſurpers againſt your mother-city. Or if you are not as yet thoroughly ſatisfy'd of our innocence, as to any ſecret correſpondence with the Romans, do but ſend out your ſcouts and agents to ſpy upon the paſſes and avenues; and whenever you find one creature of us guilty of ſuch a practice, ſpare neither the actor nor the party. Now that will be the only proper time for you to ſtand up for your metropolis: and there is no danger in the mean time; for, as you are poſted, it is not poſſible for any enemy to interpoſe to your prejudice. If this may work upon you, 'tis well; but if otherwiſe, you cannot think it reaſonable for us to open our gates till you lay down your arms."

The Idumeans were ſo incens'd at their being ſhut out of the town, that they gave little or no heed to what Jeſus ſaid; and then for laying down their arms, it look'd ſo like a conqueſt, that the commanders would not ſo much as endure the thought of it. The multitude, upon this, fell into a kind of uproar; but Simon the ſon of Cathlas, one of the commanders, with much ado appeaſing it, took a ſtanding upon an advance-ground within hearing of the high-prieſt, and deliver'd himſelf to them after this manner.

Simon the ſon of Cathlas, to the high-prieſt.

"I do not wonder, ſays he, to ſee the defenders of our country's liberties ſhut up here in the temple, when the very beſiegers of thoſe patriots have likewiſe ſhut up the city itſelf, which ought to be free and open to the whole nation; but at the ſame time ready enough perhaps to entertain the Romans with garlands and acclamations. 'Tis enough for us, you think, to talk to us from your towers, adviſe us to lay down our arms (though taken up in the common cauſe) and not to truſt our neareſt friends with the guard of the city. But inſtead of defending our capital, we are held in hand with propoſals of being made judges of the matter in queſtion; and in the ſame inſtant, while you are laying heavy charges againſt others, for deſtroying your fellow-citizens without any colour of law, you yourſelves pronounce judgment at will and pleaſure upon the whole nation, and violently keep your own brethren out of a city that gives admittance, upon the account of piety and devotion, to all mankind beſide. But is this your way then of acknowledging obligations? Do you call it an expedition againſt you, and a ſiding with your enemies, to make all the haſte we could to your reſcue? At the ſame rate are thoſe in the temple your enemies: and you have juſt as much to ſay againſt us as againſt them. You have at preſent the very ſupporters of the commonwealth priſoners in the temple; and we are to be ſhamm'd off with a pretence, that the end of your keeping all the world out of the city, is to avoid their tyranny: when in truth the very tyranny you complain you, you yourſelves practiſe. Now this is too groſs to paſs upon any man of common ſenſe and reaſon. And keeping us out of the city is not all neither; for we are barr'd by that excluſion, from the exerciſe and enjoyment of the religious rites and ceremonies of our profeſſion. And it is the ſame caſe again with thoſe that are beſieg'd in the temple, for puniſhing certain traitors that you are pleas'd to honour with the title of honeſt men and perſons of quality, for the credit of the confederacy. Now the only thing that they were to blame for, was, that they did not begin with you: that is to ſay, at the root of the conſpiracy. But if they were over tender, it will concern us to act with more vigour, for the maintenance of the houſe of God, and of the rites of our country, as well within the city as without, and againſt all oppoſers. So that this ſiege we are reſolved to make good, till either the Romans deliver you, or the conſcience of what you have done amiſs bring you back again to your duty."

The Idumeans reſolve finally to make good the ſiege.

CHAP. VII.

The Idumeans incamp under the city walls. A furious tempeſt; and the Idumeans ſhelter themſelves under their bucklers againſt it. Several forebodings upon it. The Zelotes adviſe in council how to ſecure their friends. The Idumeans enter the city by night, and join the Zelotes. A bloody maſſacre. Ananus and Jeſus are put to death.

THE Idumean army gave to underſtand by ſhouts and clamours, how much they were pleas'd with what was ſaid. But Jeſus, on the other hand, went away penſive and ſorrowful; not only for the untractable temper of the Idumeans, but likewiſe to find that the citizens had now a double war upon their hands. And the Idumeans were not much eaſier neither, partly out of an indignation at the affront of ſuch a repulſe, and partly to find themſelves ſo much miſtaken in the ſtrength of the Zelotes; for they were not ſo ſtrong as they imagined; and the difficulties of the undertaking made them half repent their coming. But the ſhame of returning juſt as they came, and without making any attempt, carry'd it againſt all other ſcruples: ſo that they reſolved (raſhly enough) to take up their ſtation where they were, and to incamp under the very walls of the city.

They poſt themſelves under the walls of the city.

A furious tempeſt. Several judgments and forebodings upon it.

On the night following, there blew a dreadful tempeſt of wind and rain, accompany'd with ſuch terrible flaſhes of lightning, tearing claps of thunder, and ſuch bellowing of earthquakes, as put all people to their wits end, to think what theſe prodigies might portend.

The inhabitants and the Idumeans were both under the ſame apprehenſion: that is to ſay, that God was incenſed againſt them for the war, and that ſome vindictive judgment threaten'd them both, if they went on with it againſt their mother-city: Ananus and his party, looking upon it all this while as a declaration from heaven in their favour, taking for granted that God would fight for them, and give them a victory without a battle. But the event ſhew'd them to be falſe prophets; for that which they apply'd to the enemy befel themſelves in the concluſion.

The Idumeans cover themſelves with their bucklers againſt the ſtorm.

All that the Idumeans were able to do in the fury of this ſtorm, was to ſtand one to another as cloſe as they could preſs, and cover their heads with their bucklers; whereby they ſecured themſelves againſt wind and weather. The Zelotes all this while were in more pain for the danger the Idumeans were expos'd to than for themſelves; and ſo laid their heads together, to conſult which way it was poſſible for them to bring their friends off. The more daring part of the council were abſolutely for ſetting upon the city guards; and, after the gaining of that point, for downright forcing the gates, and making way for the Idumeans; arguing, that ſuch a ſurprize upon raw-ſoldiers, and men ill-arm'd, would ſo diſorder them, that they would find it a hard matter to appear in a body again; beſide, that they had moſt of them hous'd themſelves to be out of the weather. But let the danger be what it would, nothing (they ſaid) ſhould ever make them ſo baſe as to abandon their friends and allies, that came ſo generouſly to their ſuccour.

The Zelotes in council how to ſecure their friends.

The moderate men were utterly againſt this way of adventure; giving for granted, that the guards at this time were undoubtedly doubled upon ſo critical a juncture; a ſtricter watch than ordinary ſet upon the walls, in regard of the Idumeans; beſide, that Ananus would be every where up and down, at all hours, upon his rounds, to keep the ſoldiers to their duty. And ſo it would have been any other night but that, when Ananus went to refreſh himſelf; not ſo much out of negligence and lazineſs, as by a judicial fatality that over-rul'd him upon that critical inſtant, to the ruin of himſelf, and his people: for the night being now far ſpent, and the tempeſt increaſing, the guards upon the temple-gates fell all faſt aſleep.

It came now into the Zelotes heads, that if they could but deſtroy the bolts and bars of the gates, the work were done: whereupon they took down certain ſaws and other inſtruments, dedicated to the ſervice of the holy temple, with which they fil'd and cut them to pieces; and it fell out ſo luckily, that, betwixt the raging of the wind, and the roaring of the thunder, the beſiegers heard nothing of the noiſe. Upon this, they ſtole away privately toward the city gates, next to the Idumeans; which they open'd as they had done the former. The Idumeans took it at firſt for Ananus attempting to make a ſally, and every man with his ſword in his hand made toward the paſſage, to oppoſe him; but upon finding their miſtakes, the Idumeans enter'd the city; and with ſuch a rage, that, if they had diſcharg'd it upon the people, as they were about to do, they muſt have put the whole body of them to the ſword. But the Zelotes earneſtly beſeeching them not to leave their friends in the temple in diſtreſs, for whoſe ſakes they came thither, and ſo expoſe them to ſtill greater dangers; and likewiſe reaſoning with them how much eaſier they would find the enterprize, if they began with the guards; whereas, if the inhabitants took the alarum firſt, they would gather in multitudes, and diſpute every inch of ground upon ſuch advantages, that they could never carry their point; the Idumeans were of the ſame mind, and ſo made it their firſt buſineſs to paſs directly thorough the city, to the relief of their friends that were priſoners in the temple; where the Zelotes waited their coming with great impatience. The Idumeans were no ſooner enter'd, but the Zelotes advanced out of the inner-temple, and join'd with them in a ſally upon the guards. Some they kill'd in their ſleep, while others took the alarum at the outcries of the people; and the multitude ſtood to their arms, though with all the confuſion in the world. But taking it at firſt to be only a party of the Zelotes, they made little doubt of overcoming them with numbers, and took heart upon it; but when they ſaw how others came pouring in upon them from abroad, and that the Idumeans had join'd the Zelotes, the greater part of them betook themſelves to cries and lamentations, dropping their courage and their arms both at once. Some few brave young fellows there were however, that had the hearts yet to make a ſtand againſt the Idumeans, and to cover the timorous common people; while others went raving up and down from place to place, making proclamation as it were of the ruin of the city. But not one ſoul that had the courage to ſtrike a blow, after it was known that the Idumeans were maſters of the town. The ſtreets rung of vain and fruitleſs exclamations, and mournful complainings, the ſhricks of women in frights for the loſs of their guards; and all theſe clamours were made much more dreadful by the ſhouts of the Idumeans and Zelotes, and the tempeſtuous violences of the winds and thunder. But ſuch, in fine, was the natural barbarity and fierceneſs of the Idumeans, together with the vexatious thought of being ſhut out of the city, and expos'd to the ſtreſs of weather, that they ſhew'd no mercy; and whether they were in arms or upon their knees, it was the ſame caſe. Some pleaded religion; others, kindred: but death ſtopp'd all their mouths; and their condition was ſuch, that they could neither fight nor run away. Nay, the very fear of death contributed as much to the execution of it, in ſome ſort, as the rage of the enemy: for by preſſing ſo hard one upon another, they block'd up all poſſibility of retiring, and brought them ſo thick together, that their adverſaries made not one blow in vain. In this extremity of their diſtraction, ſome of them to avoid one death, leapt headlong down a precipice into another. There was a flood, in fine, of blood quite around the outer-temple; and by the time it was fair day-light, they computed eight thouſand five hundred dead bodies upon the place.

The Idumeans enter the city by night.

They join the Zelotes.

A bloody and inhuman maſſacre enſues upon it.

And this was not enough yet to quench the inſatiable fury of the blood-thirſty Idumeans, without turning their rage againſt the city; where they pillag'd all houſes indifferently, and kill'd all the people they found in their way. As for the rabble they look'd upon them

Ananus and Jeſus put to death.

Two perſons of exemplary piety and virtue

as below their anger; but their main buſineſs was to wreak their malice upon the high-prieſts; which they did, by cutting off their heads ſo ſoon as they found them, and then trampling upon their bodies; making ſport with Ananus for his popularity, and with Jeſus for his harangue upon the wall, in a way of mockery and deriſion. Nay, they were come to that pitch of impiety, as to forbid them the rites of burial; though the Jewiſh laws, out of a reverence to the dead, have provided for the taking down even of executed criminals from the very croſs, and burying them before ſunſet. If I ſhould now date the deſtruction of this city from the death of Ananus, and reckon that Ananus and Jeruſalem fell both on the ſame day, I believe I ſhould not be much out in my account. For in the loſs of this man they loſt the ſupport of their government, and all hope of ſafety; and Jeruſalem was effectually as much put to death as Ananus: beſide that, over and above the dignity of his character and extraction, he was a man highly eſteem'd in the world for his perſonal virtue and juſtice; and his humility was yet the crown of all the reſt. He was a famous aſſerter of liberty and a common-wealth; for he had no intereſt of his own but to ſerve the publick: a lover and a promoter of peace above all things; for he knew well enough that the Romans were not a people to be baffled, and that nothing could ſecure the Jews but a fair underſtanding with the other. To ſpeak all in a word; if Ananus had liv'd, the Romans and the Jews would have come to an agreement. He was a moſt powerful ſpeaker, and had the talent of moving his hearers to a miracle. He had already humbled thoſe incendiaries, the Zelotes (falſly ſo call'd;) and the Jews, with ſuch a captain at the head of them, would have found the Romans work enough to do. He was ſo happy alſo as to have Jeſus for his ſecond; a perſon as much above all other men as he was inferior to Ananus. But it was God's will to purge this holy city as by fire, for all the pollutions and abominations that had been committed in it: and this was done by taking away thoſe two illuſtrious perſons, which were the only means of preſerving it: two perſons that but yeſterday were venerable for their prieſtly robes; the heads and protectors of the moſt glorious religion under the ſun, and the darlings, not only of their own people, but of all foreigners that had the honour to know them; and now, in the turn of a hand, expoſed naked for a prey to dogs and wild-beaſts, to the aſtoniſhment and heart-breaking of all good men, to ſee virtue trampled upon, and iniquity ride triumphant.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Wars of the *JEWS.*

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

The cruelty of the Idumeans and the Zelotes. Twelve thouſand men put to death. Zachariah charged with treaſon before a mock court of Juſtice. The court acquits him; and the people murder him in the temple. The practice is diſcover'd; and the Idumeans diſcharge their priſoners, and leave the city. Gorion and Niger of Perea are put to death. Divine juſtice overtakes the tyrants.

The barbarous cruelties of the Idumeans and the Zelotes.

AFTER the horrid butchery of Ananus and Jeſus, (as aforeſaid) the common people were treated at the rate even of the worſt of beaſts, both by the Zelotes and Idumeans; who cut them to pieces as faſt as they found them: but for men of quality and thoſe that were in the vigour of their youth, they kept them only in cuſtody; in hope that for the ſaving of their lives they might be brought over to their party: but they choſe rather to die every man of them, than to join in a conſpiracy with traitors againſt their native country. And death was the leaſt part of their miſery too; for it was brought on with the moſt exquiſite of torments: and when the bodies of men were torn and mangled with ſcourges, till they were all over ulcers, and could hold out no longer, they had recourſe then to the ſword, for the finiſhing of the work. Thoſe that they took up in the day, were crowded into priſons at night; and as any of them dy'd there, their bodies were thrown out to make room for more; and the next comers to be ſerv'd after the ſame manner. Theſe horrid maſſacres put the people in ſuch a dread, that they durſt not own ſo much as a ſigh or a tear for the loſs of a friend, or any ſort of funeral rites for the neareſt relations they had in the world: nay, they durſt not ſo much as weep or mourn in their own houſes or chambers, without ſearching all the holes and corners firſt, to be ſure that no body was within hearing: for humanity was become ſo dangerous a crime, that it was death even to ſhew a tenderneſs for the memory of thoſe that were gone. All they could do, was now and then in the dark and by ſtealth to caſt a handful of earth or two upon the body: though ſome few were ſo bold as to venture upon it in the day too. This perſecution coſt the lives of twelve thouſand men of the firſt quality.

Twelve thouſand men of the beſt quality put to death with infamy.

THESE blood-thirſty monſters began now to be almoſt ſurfeited with this barefac'd, cut-throat way of murder, and had the confidence to ſet up a mock-court of juſtice, and to do the ſame thing over again under a form of law and equity. There was one Zachariah the ſon of Baruch, a man of the firſt rank; a friend to all good men, and an enemy to the wicked: a man, in ſhort, of great authority and virtue, and over and above, very rich. This Zachariah was look'd upon by the Zelotes, as a man ſo dangerouſly popular, that they themſelves could not be ſafe, they thought, without removing him. So they reſolv'd to take away his life; or, which was all one, to put him upon his trial for it. To this purpoſe they call'd together ſeventy of the better ſort of the people, under the name of judges; but without any ſemblance of a commiſſion to authorize them. This pretended court being met, the Zelotes

exhibited

Zachary charged with treaſon before a mock court of juſtice.

exhibited a formal charge againſt Zachary, for being in a conſpiracy to betray Jeruſalem to the Romans, and treating about it with Veſpaſian. There was not the leaſt colour either of a proof, or ſo much as any inducement to the believing of it; but the Zelotes ſaid it was ſo, and therefore it muſt be ſo.

He makes an honourable defence.

The whole court acquits him.

Zachary murder'd by the rabble in the temple.

Zachary perceiving manifeſtly that his life was at ſtake, and that the whole management was a cheat (for he had nothing to do with Veſpaſian) he gave himſelf without more ceremony for loſt; but ſtill in the abandon'd ſtate of this deſpair, he govern'd himſelf in his defence with a ſerenity of mind and a freedom of ſpirit, well becoming the character of a man of honour and virtue. He began with contemptuous reflections upon the ſhameful practices and pretences of his accuſers, and ſo proceeded to the evident calumnies and inconſiſtencies of their ſuggeſtions; briefly laying open the vanity of all their objections, and turning their arguments in their own faces; ſetting forth in order the whole courſe of their iniquities, and complaining by the bye of the troubled ſtate of things. This generous and daring behaviour of Zachary tranſported the Zelotes into ſo malicious a rage, that they had certainly murder'd him upon the place, if it had not been to keep up the credit of their pretended judicature, by putting it to the experiment, whether their new judges would venture their heads or no, upon ſo dangerous a point of juſtice. When it came to the iſſue, the whole court pronounc'd the priſoner innocent, without ſo much as one man of the ſeventy that did not chuſe rather to run the hazard of his own life, than to deſtroy ſo good a man by a ſentence againſt all conſcience and equity. This judgment of acquittal put the Zelotes into ſuch an uproar, that they were all raging mad at the judges, for being ſuch blockheads as not to underſtand to what end they were ſet there. Upon this, two of the rankeſt ruffians of the crew fell outragiouſly upon Zachary, and murder'd him in the middle of the temple, with this inſolent railery in their mouths: "Now, ſays one of them, we have given you our diſcharge too, and you are much ſurer of this, than you were of the other;" caſting the body at the ſame time down the precipice under the temple. As to the judges, that were to paſs the ſentence, their lives were ſpar'd, and their puniſhment only a judgment of infamy, to be beaten out of the temple with the flats of the ſwords. By this means they were diſpers'd up and down, ſo many eye-witneſſes of the ſlavery of the capital city at that time.

One of the Zelotes repents, and diſcovers the whole practice.

The Idumeans themſelves were ſo diſguſted at this way of proceeding, that they curs'd the hour of their coming; and ſo confering about it, they had ſecret intelligence given them by one of the Zelotes, of the hiſtory of the people that invited them in. "True it was, he ſaid, that they did take up arms upon the credit of a report that the high-prieſts were treating with the Romans for the betraying of the city; however, upon further enquiry, they found nothing at all in it; but, on the contrary, the pretended aſſerters of our liberties were actually the ſubverters of them, and they themſelves the tyrants that ought to have been timely ſuppreſs'd. But, ſays the Zelote, ſince it hath been your unhappy lot to join with them thus far in their iniquities, it will be high time for you to break off ſo criminal an alliance with the profeſs'd enemies of your laws and country. You took it ill to be kept out of the town; and are you not ſufficiently reveng'd, do you think, upon thoſe that excluded you, in the death of Ananus, and ſo many thouſands of the citizens in one night? an action, ſays he, which many of your people will live to repent. But I ſpeak this only to ſhew you the barbarity of your confidents, that had the impudence to commit theſe ſhameleſs cruelties even before the faces of their preſervers, and by doing the baſeſt things that ever were heard of in the ſight of their allies, to transfer the infamy from the Zelotes to the Idumeans; who in truth ſhould either have hindred them, or left them. Now, ſays he, ſince it is as clear as the ſun, that the whole ſtory of the conſpiracy is nothing but a calumny, and that there is no ſuch thing in proſpect as the dread of a Roman army; beſide the impregnable ſtrength of this city, if it were true to itſelf: ſince thus it is, I ſay, what have you more to do than to return whence you came; and, by abandoning theſe monſters, to expiate in ſome ſort for the ill things you did in their company? wherein you are thus far excuſable, that you were rather paſſive under a well meaning miſtake, than voluntary actors at your own liberty and choice." This diſcourſe had ſuch an effect upon the Idumeans, that they forthwith ſet all their priſoners at liberty, which were near two thouſand; left the city, and ſo went to Simon, (of whom hereafter) and then home.

Upon this diſcourſe the Idumeans diſcharge their priſoners, and leave the city.

This unexpected departure of the Idumeans was equally a ſurprize both to the inhabitants and to the Zelotes, though upon ſeveral accounts: for the people, that knew nothing of the other's repentance, took heart upon it, and comforted themſelves in the thought of ſuch a deliverance: the Zelotes, on the other hand, grew as inſolent upon it, in a confidence of their own ſtrength, and to conſider that the check being now taken off that kept them in ſome ſort of awe of the Idumeans, they were now at liberty to go their own way without any reſtraint of ſcruple, conſideration or delay: ſo that every thing was now done in a hurry, without deliberation or counſel. They ſtuck at nothing, though never ſo wicked; and whatever came in their heads, it was no ſooner thought than executed.

Gorion and Niger of Perea put to death.

But their greateſt and moſt deadly ſpite was againſt men of bravery and honour; and thoſe they perſecuted to the uttermoſt extremity; the nobility out of envy, the men of reſolution and virtue out of fear: for they could never think themſelves ſafe ſo long as any man of that character was alive. This was it that made them put Gorion to death, with ſeveral others; a man eminent for his extraction and virtues; couragious, and a lover of the people and of liberty, no creature more; and, in fine, this ſpirit of liberty, (together with his other good qualities) was his ruin. Niger of Perea fell alſo under the ſame diſaſtrous fate; a man of a try'd valour and conduct againſt the Romans, ſhewing and glorying in the wounds and ſcars he had receiv'd in the ſervice of his country, as they dragg'd him along the ſtreets. When they had him out of the gates, and that he gave himſelf for dead, he made them this one earneſt requeſt, that his body might be bury'd: but it was deny'd him; and ſo they put him to death, with this prophetical imprecation in his laſt breath, that the Romans might come to avenge his blood, and divine juſtice overtake them with famine, ſword, peſtilence, and mortal diviſions among themſelves, anſwerable to the enormity of their crimes.

Divine vengeance overtakes them.

IT was not long before God in his righteous providence poured down all theſe plagues upon them, as foretold, beginning with their inteſtine broils. The death of Niger ſet their hearts at eaſe as to any farther danger that way. But there was not yet ſo much as one common man that they did not find ſome occaſion or other to pick a quarrel with. Some they put to death for things done and paſt, and for diſaffections of old date. In other caſes, where there was no matter of fact againſt a man, a bare jealouſy or poſſibility was enough to deſtroy him. If they made court to the faction, they were ſpies; if they kept off, it was interpreted envy and contempt: but whether the pretended crime was great or ſmall, the penalty was ſtill the ſame; and no one eſcap'd them unleſs he had neither money nor honour.

CHAP. II.

The Jews miſerably confounded. The officers preſs Veſpaſian to rigour; but Veſpaſian is for moderation. The Zelotes go over daily to the Romans. Horrid perſecution and oppreſſion. The deſtruction of Jeruſalem foretold by an antient prediction.

The Jews miſerably divided.

The Roman officers preſs Veſpaſian to make advan- of it.

THE Roman officers having their hearts ſet upon Jeruſalem, could not wiſh a fairer opportunity for the advancing of their deſign, than by laying hold of the diſtractions in the city: to which end, they apply'd themſelves to the general, Veſpaſian, by all means to improve the providence of the preſent occaſion, without allowing the Jews one moment of time to bethink themſelves: for they would either agree or tire, or repent, or ſomething or other; and the work would be then to begin again: repreſenting alſo at the ſame time, that the hand of God did moſt evidently appear, upon theſe factions, in favour of the Romans. The general gave them this anſwer:

Veſpaſian adviſes temper and moderation.

"That their bravery was more than their policy; and that they conſider'd the glory of the action in the oſtentation of their courage, (as if it were to fight a prize) more than the prudence and advantage of it. For, ſays he, to attack the city raſhly and precipitately, would be the ready way to make them all friends again, and to draw their forces upon us, which are very conſiderable, into a conjunction as againſt a common enemy; whereas if we do but wait a while with a little patience, they'll do our buſineſs to our hands, in ſpending their numbers and their ſpirits one upon another. For God does better for us than we could do for ourſelves, in delivering up the Jews to the Romans without labour or peril, and giving us victory without ſo much as a battle. Are they not already deſperately engaged in a civil war (which is the heavieſt of all judgments) and cutting throats among themſelves like ſo many mad-men? and who but a mad-man then, will enter into a needleſs conteſt with mad-men, and run the risk of bearing a part in the tragedy, when he may do his buſineſs better in the quality of a ſpectator? Theſe people, I tell you, are hot-headed, and rather than not be deſtroy'd they'll kill one another. As for thoſe that look upon a cheap victory to be inglorious, they ſhould do well to ſet the advantages of a temperate accommodation without blood againſt the uncertain chance of war. This is not to derogate from the honour of military virtue; for provided the ſame thing be done, what matters it whether by arms or by counſel? But yet undoubtedly that muſt needs be the beſt way of doing it, which at the ſame time weakens the enemy, and keeps our own men by daily exerciſe in diſcipline and in breath. Neither, ſays he, is this a time for us to propoſe to ourſelves the fame of a glorious exploit, when the Jews are doing our work for us, and mind neither their arms, their fortifications, nor their walls, nor the making of intereſt and friends; but by tearing one another's hearts out, and doing the part of the worſt of enemies one to another; till they have brought themſelves into ſuch a condition, that the beſt they can hope or wiſh for, is to be our ſlaves. Now as to the prudence and honour of the matter in queſtion; if they have a mind to deſtroy one another, why ſhould we hinder them; nor is there, in fine, any reputation to be gotten by a victory, that was rather caſt upon us by the faction of the one ſide, than gain'd by the valour of the other; and this is effectually the truth of the caſe."

THIS was Veſpaſian's ſenſe of things, and the officers were of the ſame opinion with their general; as it appear'd they had reaſon to be by that which follow'd ſoon after. For there came over deſerters to him from the Zelotes in great numbers, day after day; tho' the ways and paſſes were ſo beſet, that it ſeem'd almoſt impoſſible to eſcape. They put every man to the ſword that they took, upon a pretence that he was running away to the Romans: that is to ſay, unleſs he redeem'd himſelf for a ſum of money, and that brought him off. So that there was no treachery but where there was no caſh; for the rich compounded, and the poor were left in the lurch. The maſſacre was ſo outrageous, that the dead bodies lay pil'd up in heaps upon the highways; and many that were thinking to get off, chang'd their minds, and choſe rather to periſh in the city, only in hope of a little earth to cover them. Nay, ſuch was the extravagant barbarity of theſe monſters, that they would not allow burial to any creature either within the city or without; but, like profeſs'd enemies to the inſtincts of nature, as well as the rights of their country, they affronted God and man indifferently, and expoſed the bodies to lie rotting above ground in the face of the ſun. Nay, and it was as unpardonable a crime to attempt the burying of a friend, as to go over to the enemy; and he that had but newly bury'd another, wanted a friend the next moment to do the ſame office for himſelf. There was no ſuch thing left among them as com-

Deſerters go over daily from the Zelotes to the Romans.

Tyranny and oppreſſion to the higheſt degree.

compaſſion (the moſt human of all our affections) but it was wholly extinguiſhed in the hearts of theſe miſcreants; and miſery was made rather a provocation to rage, than a motive to pity.

The ſpectacle, in fine, was ſo frightful, that it made the living envy the dead; and the want of a grave was nothing to the miſeries of a priſon: and they did not only trample upon all that was ſacred among men, but trifled with divinity itſelf, and made no more account of the oracles of the prophets, than of ſo many dreams or fables. But yet after the contempt of all the laws and precepts of their forefathers, concerning the meaſures of good and evil, they found the denouncing predictions to be yet made good in the concluſion againſt themſelves and their country. For there was a traditional prophecy handed down to them from antiquity, that in time to come there ſhould break out a violent ſedition in Jeruſalem; and that the Jews themſelves with their own hands ſhould prophane the holy temple: the city to be afterwards taken, and all that was ſacred belonging to it laid in aſhes. The Zelotes made no doubt of the authority of this prophecy, and put their own helping hands to the execution of it.

The deſtruction of Jeruſalem according to an ancient prediction.

CHAP. III.

John ſets up for ſovereign power. A ſharp wit and good ſpeaker. There are Zelotes and Anti-zelotes; and John ſides with the latter. Three heavy judgments upon the Jews, and a worſe yet behind. Engaddi taken by ſtorm; and Judea made the ſcene of the war. A good underſtanding betwixt the Jews and Veſpaſian. Gadara invites and receives him. The factions betake themſelves to flight. Placidus puts them all to the rout. The fugitives make their way to Bethennabris. Placidus rifles the place, and ſets fire to it. The Jews forced upon a battle, where they loſt fifteen thouſand men upon the place.

John of Giſchala ſets up for ſovereign power.

THE ambitious heart of John of Giſchala was grown now too big to content itſelf with any thing leſs than ſovereign power, the attaining of which was a project that he had a long time form'd in his thoughts; ſo that withdrawing inſenſibly from the fellowſhip of his companions, and engaging by little and little, a party of profligate ruffians into his intereſt, his buſineſs was now to ſet up for himſelf. He had a humour of impoſing his own orders and opinions imperiouſly upon others, and of treating theirs again with contradiction and contempt: and this he did out of a manifeſt affectation of a ſole and abſolute power. Some join'd with him out of fear, and ſeveral out of affection and good will: for he was the greateſt maſter of words in nature, and of the art of moving the affections. Many follow'd him for their own ſecurity, in hope that all the ills that they had done would be laid at his door as the firſt mover of them, whenever they ſhould be call'd to an account for their evil doings. The martial part of his train ſtuck to him as he was a man of reſolution and conduct; but divers yet of the adverſe party fell off from him; ſome out of envy and greatneſs of ſtomach, in a kind of diſdain to own him for their maſter that had ſo lately been their enemy. But the thing that wrought more upon them than all the reſt, was the averſion they had to a ſingle perſon, and the deſpair of getting him out again if he were once poſſeſs'd of that dignity: beſide, that he would never forgive thoſe that oppos'd him in his pretenſions at the beginning. The people, upon theſe deliberations, came at laſt to a reſolution, rather to ſtand the worſt of a war, than to periſh under the infamy of making themſelves voluntary ſlaves. The faction, upon this, divided into two parties; John putting himſelf at the head of the Anti-Zelotes. They ſtood both upon their guards one againſt the other; and not without ſome ſlight skirmiſhes too: but rather againſt the people than betwixt themſelves; for the ſingle point in queſtion was only this, which of the two parties ſhould get the greater booty.

A man of an impoſing imperious humour.

A ready wit, and an excellent ſpeaker.

The factions divided into Zelotes and Anti-zelotes. John ſides with the latter.

Jerusalem being at this time labouring under three terrible judgments; war, tyranny and ſedition; the people, taking the war to be the moſt tolerable of the three, quitted their habitations, and fled from their own countrymen for ſanctuary to ſtrangers, and found afterwards, that ſafety and protection among the Romans, which they could not obtain one from another.

Three heavy judgments upon the Jews.

The three judgments above-mentioned were now followed with a fourth; which contributed as much to the deſtruction of the Jews as any of the reſt. There ſtood a caſtle not far from Jeruſalem called Maſſada; a piece of great antiquity, and of mighty ſtrength and importance. It was erected, and made uſe of, by our kings in former times for a royal treaſury, and a magazine of all manner of ſtores, and neceſſaries for war; and for an impregnable retreat in a time or caſe of danger. It was now fallen into the hands of a band of bravo's, commonly called Sicarii. There were not enough of them to kill, burn, and over-run the country bare fac'd; but the miſchiefs they had done hitherto were by treachery and ſurprize. It happen'd, upon this juncture, that the Roman army lying quiet and out of action, and the Jews at the ſame time ſplit into factions, and tearing out one anothers throats among themſelves, theſe aſſaſſins took advantage of the occaſion to make a bolder attempt than ever they durſt venture upon before. It was now the feaſt of unleavened-bread; a feſtival celebrated by the Jews with great ſolemnity, in memory of their deliverance out of the Egyptian bondage, and their tranſlation into the land of promiſe. On that night, the ruffians broke into Engaddi by ſurprize, ſcatter'd the people, and maſter'd the place, before the inhabitants could recover their arms. They drove them out of the town, and after killing upwards of ſeven hundred perſons upon the chace, moſt of them women and children, they rifled their houſes, and carry'd away all the fruits that were ripe and in ſeaſon to Maſſada: depopulating all the towns, villages, caſtles, and country thereabouts, after the like manner. Their numbers increas'd daily, by the acceſſion of a looſe abandon'd rabble, that came flocking in to join them. Judea, that till now lay eaſy and quiet, became the very ſcene of all manner of violences upon that inroad, from the one end of the country to the other. But as it is in our bodies,

And a fourth yet worſe.

Maſſada, a ſtrong place, in the hands of the Sicarii.

Theſe cut-throats take Edgaddi by ſtorm; and lay the whole country waſte.

Judea becomes the ſcene of the war.

dies, when any of the nobler parts are indiſpos'd, all the reſt partake of it; juſt ſo it fares in the caſe of a ſeditious and diſorderly city. When the capital is ſick, all the parts ſuffer by conſent; as well as they tranſgreſs by example. When they had plunder'd all within reach, they march'd off with the booty into ſolitudes and deſerts; where they aſſociated in conſpiracies, and gather'd together multitudes of free-booters, little inferior to formidable armies, and ſufficient to deſtroy cities, and lay temples deſolate. The ſufferers did not forget (as it is natural enough, and common practice) to revenge themſelves upon their oppreſſors, whenever they could come at them: but that was very rarely; for the thieves were too nimble for the honeſt men, and got off with the prey, before the purſuers could reach them. But ſo it was in fine, that there was not one inch of ground in Judea that did not partake in the calamities of the capital city.

The Jews hold ſecret intelligence with Veſpaſian, and ſue to him for relief.

Veſpaſian in a generous tenderneſs draws toward the town.

The faction had guarded all the avenues with the uttermoſt ſtrictneſs and caution imaginable; ſo that not a creature could ſtir without the hazard of his life: but all this precaution and rigour did not hinder ſeveral deſerters yet from ſtealing away privately, day after day, with intelligence of the ſtate of the town to Veſpaſian; and to implore his relief in the names of the miſerable remainder of a diſtreſſed city: great numbers of the citizens having loſt their lives already for their good will to the Romans, and a great many more at preſent in danger of periſhing by the ſame fate. Veſpaſian, in a generous tenderneſs for the caſe and condition of an unhappy people, advanced with his army nearer the town: not, as ſome imagin'd, to lay a cloſe ſiege to it; but upon a proſpect (in truth) of delivering them from any ſiege at all, by reducing all ſtrong holds about it in the firſt place, ſo as to leave no obſtacle from abroad to thwart him in his deſign.

Gadara invites and receives him.

The faction betake themſelves to flight.

When he came to Gadara, the richeſt and the ſtrongeſt town beyond Jordan, and the metropolis of that province, he entered the place* on the fourth of the month Dyſtrus, upon an invitation from ſome of the leading men by their deputies to come and take the town into his protection: which they did to ſave both their lives and eſtates, being a very wealthy people. The faction knew nothing of this tranſaction, but as they gueſſed at it by Veſpaſian's drawing nearer the walls. They were now in a great ſtreight, and knew not which way to turn themſelves, or what to do. They found it utterly impoſſible for the town to hold out againſt ſo many enemies both within and without; the majority of the citizens againſt them, and the Roman army at hand. So that they had nothing now to truſt to but flight; which was a point that in honour could not be reſolved upon, without taking a revenge firſt upon ſome of the authors of their ruin. Upon this conſideration, they took up Doleſus, the firſt man of the city both for blood and merit; over and above that he was the author and the adviſer of the aforeſaid embaſſy. They took him, in fine, into cuſtody, and cauſed him to be put to death; ordering the dead body to be whipt and ſcourg'd; and that being done, they ſlipt away all out of town.

Upon the nearer approach of the Romans towards the city, the inhabitants met Veſpaſian upon the way, and conducted him into the town with gratulatory acclamations: and beſide the ceremony of oaths of fidelity, and other aſſurances of that kind, common in the like caſes, they made it their own act to demoliſh their own walls; as a farther ſecurity for their good faith and peaceable intentions, by putting it out of their power to do miſchief if they would never ſo fain. Veſpaſian, after this, gave them a gariſon of horſe and foot for their ſafeguard; ſent away Placidus with five hundred horſe and three thouſand foot after the fugitives; while he himſelf with the reſt of his troops went back to Ceſarea.

Placidus follows the purſuit, and puts them all to the rout.

The fugitives make away to Bethennabris.

When the fugitives found themſelves purſu'd, and a party of horſe at their heels, they turned off into a village call'd Bethennabris, before the Romans could come up to them; where there was a parcel of ſtout young fellows, to a conſiderable number. Some of them they engag'd by fair words to join with them; others they forc'd: and with this party they ſally'd out, and made a raſh and a deſperate charge upon Placidus; who gave ground upon the very firſt puſh, but it was only to draw them a little farther from the town: which ſucceeded accordingly; for Placidus got them out into a place of advantage, and there ſet upon them, and put them to the rout. Thoſe that fled for their ſafety were intercepted by the Romans; thoſe that fought were cut off by their foot; they were beaten, in ſhort, quite off their mettle. When they attack'd the Romans, they might as well have charg'd a wall or a rock; for they ſtood ſo firm and cloſe, that there was no breaking the body: and they lay upon ſuch a guard under their arms too, that no lance or dart could touch them. Whereas the Jews, on the other hand, lay expos'd to all ſorts of weapons, and to all manner of aſſaults; till in the end, being teized into a brutal rage, they caſt themſelves like the fierceſt of wild beaſts upon the points of their enemies ſwords, and ſo periſh'd: ſome were ſlaſh'd over the faces; others diſperſed by the horſe, and trampled under foot. Now Placidus made it his particular care, as far as poſſible, that none of the fugitives ſhould get back into the town: wherefore, as any of them offer'd at it, he and his people interpoſed with their horſes betwixt them and home, and ſo forc'd them off again. Thoſe that were within reach, they kill'd with their lances, and others at a diſtance they intercepted: but ſome yet that were ſwifter and ſtronger than the reſt, made their way to the very wall; and now the watch were under great diſtraction and perplexities, whom to let in and whom to keep out; for it would be hard they thought to open the gates to the townſmen, and refuſe entrance to thoſe of Gadara: and then, on the other ſide, they were afraid leſt by opening to all indifferently, they might endanger the loſs of the place; as it came afterwards very near the matter. For the Romans having purſu'd ſome of the fugitives up to the wall, were within a very little of falling furiouſly into the town with them:

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* According to Toinard's correction of the text, it ſhould be, on the fourth of the ſecond month. See his notes upon Lactantius, p. 360.

but with much ado they made ſhift to get the gates ſhut, and ſo prevented it. Placidus, upon this, gave a vigorous aſſault to the place; and follow'd it ſo cloſe, that he made himſelf maſter both of the wall and of the village, that afternoon. The wretched common-people that had no means of defence, were all put to the ſword, and the reſt did what they could to ſave themſelves by flight; and carry'd the terror along with them, wherever they came, all over the country. But now to finiſh the calamity, they firſt pillag'd the houſes, and then laid the village in aſhes.

Placidus rifles the place, and lays it in aſhes.

The miſery was very great in the truth of the fact; but made much greater in the report yet than it was. For they gave it out all the way they paſs'd, that the whole Roman army was coming toward them. This alarum put the country into ſuch a fright, that they quitted their habitations upon it, and in prodigious numbers retir'd into Jericho, being a ſtrong, a populous, and a well fortify'd gariſon, and conſequently the ſafeſt retreat they could think of. Placidus, in the courſe of his ſucceſſes and good fortune, purſu'd them to the river Jordan, putting every ſoul to the ſword that he overtook upon the way. When the fugitives came to the river-ſide, the waters were ſo out upon a great fall of rain, that there was no paſſing, nor as the caſe ſtood, any poſſibility of getting away. In this difficulty they found themſelves under an abſolute neceſſity of putting it to a battle. The Jews poſted themſelves along the bank of a river; which they made good for a while, againſt the attack and darts of the Roman horſe: but when they came to be once broken, what betwixt thoſe that were puſhed into the river, and others that were ſlain, the loſs of the men was not to be computed. They reckoned upon fifteen thouſand kill'd upon the place; about two thouſand two hundred taken, beſide a mighty booty of ſheep and aſſes, camels and oxen.

The country frighted with a falſe alarum

The Jews forced upon a battle.

A prodigious victory and booty.

This diſaſter was not only the greateſt that the Jews had ever yet received, but in ſome ſort even beyond itſelf. The high-ways where they march'd were all cover'd with dead bodies; the river Jordan ſo choaked with carcaſſes, that there was no croſſing it; and vaſt numbers floating down ſeveral chanels that led into the lake Aſphaltitis.

Placidus being now in the train of his good fortune, reduced Abila, Julias, Beſemoth, and other places as far as the lake, where he ſettled gariſons of the beſt and truſtieſt men he could pick out of thoſe that came over to the Romans: his next work was to put his ſoldiers aboard, and clear the lake of all the fugitives that had fled thither for refuge; which he did ſo effectually, that the Romans were by this time abſolute maſters of all beyond Jordan, as far as Macherus.

Placidus reduces ſeveral places, and ſettles gariſons in them.

C H A P. IV.

Gaul revolts. Veſpaſian's marches and motions: He comes to Jericho. A deſcription of the place. The lakes of Aſphaltitis and Tiberias. Eliſha's fountain.

While this paſs'd in Judea, there came news out of * Gaul of a revolt there from Nero; and that Vindex with ſeveral principal men of the country were the heads of it: but of this more particularly elſewhere. Veſpaſian, upon this intelligence, puſh'd on the preſent war with more and more vigour; for he did not know how many revolts might follow one upon the neck of another, and the whole empire come to be in danger at laſt by a civil war: whereas if the troubles in the eaſt were but firſt compos'd, Italy would have the leſs to fear. But winter not being a ſeaſon for it, all that could be done toward it at preſent, was only to gariſon the towns and cities he had ſubdu'd, erect proper officers in every city, and to order reparations where they were needful.

Gaul revolts;

The firſt thing he did was to march with his army from Ceſarea to Antipatris; where he ſtay'd two days to ſettle affairs; and on the third he laid waſte with fire and ſword, all the borders of the toparchy of Thamna; from whence he march'd to Lydda and Jamnia. Theſe two places ſubmitted to him. And then, when he had peopled them with inhabitants from other towns, ſuch as he thought he might beſt confide in, he advanced to Ammaus; and poſſeſſing himſelf there of the paſſage that leads to the capital city, he pitch'd his camp and ran a wall about it: and leaving the fifth legion there, he mov'd with the reſt of his troops into the toparchy of Bethlepton; which he burnt and deſtroy'd, together with the neighbouring country and the borders of Idumea; ſaving only ſome ſtrong caſtles that he manned and fortify'd.

Veſpaſian's marches and motions.

There were two towns that he took in the middle of Idumea, Bethabri and Caphartoba; where he kill'd upward of ten thouſand men, reſerving near a thouſand for ſlaves; drove out the reſt of the people, and left a conſiderable part of his troops to ſally out, and commit outrages upon the mountains.

He returned after this, with the remainder of his army, to ‡ Ammaus; and paſſing from thence by Samaria, and Neopolis, (which the natives call Mabartha) he came the ſecond of the month † Deſius to Corea, where he encamped, and ſhew'd himſelf next day before Jericho. At Jericho, Trajan, one of the chief officers, join'd him with the troops under his command, after the entire reduction of all beyond Jordan: But moſt of the inhabitants were withdrawn to the mountains over againſt Jeruſalem, before the arrival of the Romans; and a great part of thoſe that ſtay'd behind were put to the ſword.

Veſpaſian, in fine, found Jericho a deſolate and a forſaken city. It ſtands upon a plain that is overlooked by a naked and a barren mountain; and of ſuch an extent, that it reaches upon the north ſide to the region of Scythopolis; on the ſouth, as far as Sodom, and the borders of the lake Aſphaltitis; a country ſo wretchedly poor and barren, that

Veſpaſian marches to Jericho.

A deſcription of the place.

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* This revolt was headed by Caius Julius Vindex, lord lieutenant of that province. See Sueton. in Nero, c. 1.

‡ In the Latin verſion Jamnia.

† i. e. June.

'tis void of inhabitants. Over againſt this, and on the farther ſide of the river Jordan, there lies another mountain; which begins at Julias toward the north, and ſtretches ſouthward up to Gomorrha, and ſo borders upon Petra, a city of Arabia. There is alſo another mountain which they call the Iron-mountain, and runs out as far as the land of the Moabites. Betwixt theſe mountains lies a place called the Great-plain: It begins at Gennabara, and ſtretches out to the lake Aſphaltitis; the length of it is two hundred * and thirty furlongs; the breadth, an hundred and † twenty; and the river Jordan croſſes the middle of it.

The great plain.

The lakes of Aſphaltitis and Tiberias.

THERE are two remarkable lakes: the one call'd Aſphaltitis, the other, the lake of Tiberias; but of very different, if not contrary qualities: the former being ſalt and without fiſh; but the other ſweet, kindly and fruitful. The ſummer-heats there are intolerable; the country burnt up with them, and the air hot and ſickly, without any refreſhment but from the river Jordan; as appears by the palm-trees, which thrive much better upon the banks than at a diſtance.

AT or near to Jericho itſelf, there is a large and a plentiful fountain; which overflows all the grounds thereabouts, and takes its riſe not far from an antient city; the firſt place that Jeſus, ‡ the ſon of Nave, the famous general of the Hebrews, gain'd from the Chanaanites by the ſword. There goes a tradition, that this fountain in time paſt was ſo dangerous, that it did not only corrupt the fruits of the earth, as well grain as plants, but likewiſe cauſed abortions in women, and tainted with a blaſting infection whatever it touched, that was capable of ſuch an impreſſion. But it ſays farther, that from the days of the prophet Eliſha, the illuſtrious ſucceſſor of Elias, the waters of this fountain became not only innocent, but nouriſhing and wholeſome; and upon this occaſion, Eliſha having been treated with great hoſpitality and reſpect by the people of Jericho, bethought himſelf of ſuch an acknowledgment, as they themſelves, their country and poſterity, might be the better for to the end of the world. The prophet, upon this, went out to the fountain; and cauſing a pitcher of ſalt to be let down into the bottom of it, he advanced his right hand toward heaven, and preſenting his oblations at the ſide of it, "he beſought God in his
"goodneſs to correct the waters, and to
"ſweeten the veins that paſs'd from them; to
"ſoften the air, and make it temperate and
"fructifying; to beſtow children as well as
"fruits upon the inhabitants in abundance,
"and never to withdraw theſe bleſſings ſo
"long as they continued in their duty." Upon the offering up of this prayer, with all due ceremony and according to form, the quality of the fountain was chang'd; and inſtead of ſterility and famine, the waters were now become an efficacious means of plenty and encreaſe; inſomuch that the bare touching of the ground with them gives every thing a more ſavoury reliſh; but let them lie never ſo long upon it, the effect is much the ſame; eſpecially if it ariſes from any diffidence of the miracle. And over and above all this, there is not another river in the country that runs ſuch a tract of ground.

Eliſha's fountain cured by miracle.
II Kings ii. 21.

A deſcription of the country.

THE country it waters, is ſeventy § furlongs in length, and ** twenty in breadth; furniſh'd with curious gardens and thick groves in abundance; with palm-trees along the brooks, of different kinds, names, and taſtes. They preſs out of ſome of them great quantities of a ſort of honey not much inferior to other honey; which they have there alſo in great plenty. And then for balſam, which is the choiceſt fruit they have, there is great ſtore of it; and ſo for †† Cyprus, and ‡‡ Myrobalanus; a bleſſing from heaven undoubtedly, for a country to produce not only the choiceſt fruits of the earth, but the largeſt and beſt of the ſeveral ſorts. And they are not behind the happieſt of all other countries neither for the production of other fruits, and for the improving of them as well in growth as in virtue. This may be aſcrib'd, in my opinion, to ſome peculiar property and diſpoſition in the water, and to a certain kindly warmth in the air. The latter to draw out and diffuſe the virtue of the ſubject matter it hath to work upon; as in the diſcloſing of leaves, flowers, and the like. The other ſerves to bind and confirm the roots, and to fortify them by increaſing the ſap againſt the parching rages; which are ſo furious in that country, that nothing would be able to ſprout or bud without it. But yet in the extremity of theſe burning heats, they have likewiſe every morning ſuch refreſhing breezes, that the very breath of them makes the water that is drawn before ſun-riſe quite another thing. In the winter it is warm, and comfortable to bathe in. Such, in fine, is the temperature of the climate, that when it is froſt and ſnow in other parts of Judea, the natives of this place go clad only in ſingle linen. It lies an hundred §§ and fifty furlongs from Jeruſalem, ſixty *** from the river Jordan, and the whole country betwixt that and Jeruſalem is all rock and deſart. It lies lower indeed betwixt this place and Jordan, and ſo to the lake Aſphaltitis; but every jot as rude and barren as the other. This is enough ſaid of the happy ſituation, and the natural advantages of Jericho.

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* Two hundred and thirty furlongs amounted to twenty nine Engliſh miles and an half, and an hundred and forty nine geometrical paces.

† An hundred and twenty furlongs amounted to near fifteen Engliſh miles and an half.

‡ Script. Joſhua.

§ Seventy furlongs amounted to nine Engliſh miles and an hundred and eight geometrical paces.

** Twenty furlongs amounted to two Engliſh miles and an half, and thirty geometrical paces, as has been before obſerv'd.

†† The Cyprus was a buſh or tree, much like to that we call Privet; of the flower of which was made a very ſweet oil. See Plin. xii. 24.

‡‡ The Myrobalanus was a fruit called by the apothecaries Myrobalan, or Ben; it was about the bigneſs of a filberd, of whoſe kernel was made an oil uſed in precious ointments. See Plin. xii. 21.

§§ An hundred and fifty furlongs amounted to eighteen Engliſh miles and three quarters, and two hundred and twenty five geometrical paces:

*** Sixty furlongs amounted to ſeven Engliſh miles and an half, and ninety geometrical paces.

CHAP. V.

Nothing ſinks in the lake of Aſphaltitis. Veſpaſian tryes the experiment, and finds it ſo. Several wonderful qualities in this lake. It borders upon Sodom. A fair fruit there to the eye, but falls to nothing upon the touch.

Nothing ſinks in the lake of Aſphaltitis.

Veſpaſian makes the experiment, and finds it ſo.

IT will become me now to ſay ſomething of the Aſphaltitis, and the nature of that lake. It is ſalt to the taſte, and no fiſh will live in it, nor hardly any thing ſink that is thrown into it, let it be never ſo heavy; ſo that a man would find it a hard matter to drown himſelf in this lake, tho' he had never ſo great a mind to it. Veſpaſian having heard of the ſtrange quality of this water, took a journey on purpoſe out of a curioſity to ſee it; and order'd ſeveral perſons that could not ſwim, to be caſt into it from above, with their hands ty'd behind them; and they all came up again, as if they had been rais'd by a puff of wind, and ſo floated on the ſurface of the water. There is a wonderful ſecret in this lake; which is, that it changes colour thrice a day, according to the various refractions of the light of the ſun-beams upon it: there are alſo to be ſeen in ſeveral parts of it, toſs'd up and down adrift, large lumps of a dark bituminous matter, not much unlike the bodies of bulls without heads. The people of the country fiſh them up in their boats; but the ſubſtance of them is ſo viſcous, and one part ſo glew'd to another, that there is no getting the veſſel off again, but by diſſolving the lumps, and ſeparating that part without the boat from the other within; which diſſolution is to be wrought by the means of urine and the menſtrua of a woman. This bituminous matter ſerves both for ſhipping, and for medicines; for it ſtops leaks, and cures many diſeaſes. The length of this lake * is five hundred and eighty furlongs, the breadth of it a † hundred and fifty, and it extends as far as Zoar in Arabia.

Several wonderful ſecrets in this lake.

The lake borders upon Sodom.

A fair fruit to the eye, that falls to aſhes upon the touch.

IT borders upon the land of Sodom; a country once famous both for the wealth of its inhabitants, and for the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil: but at preſent it lies totally deſolate, having been deſtroy'd by a judgment of fire from heaven for the wickedneſs of the people. There are yet to be ſeen there ſome remains of the ruins of five abominable cities that periſh'd in that conflagration; and there are mock-fruits to be ſeen to this day ſpringing out of the aſhes, fair and lovely to the eye, but reſolving into ſmoke and aſhes upon the touch. So that we have not only tradition, but ocular teſtimony alſo, for the credit of this hiſtory.

CHAP. VI.

Veſpaſian inveſts Jeruſalem. Geraſa taken by aſſault, and burnt. The news of Nero's death. The end of Nero, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. Veſpaſian ſuſpends his deſign upon Jeruſalem. All things are put to a ſtand.

Jeruſalem inveſted by Veſpaſian.

Geraſa taken by ſtorm, and put to fire and ſword.

VESPASIAN, being reſolved to inveſt Jeruſalem on every ſide, raiſed two forts, at Jericho and Adida; putting into each of them gariſons both of auxiliaries and Romans. The general then ſent Lucius Annius with a body of horſe and foot to Geraſa; which he took by ſtorm upon the firſt attack. He put a thouſand young men to the ſword, whom he intercepted in their flight; carrying away whole families priſoners, and giving the ſoldiers the pillage: and this being done, he ſet fire to the place, and ſo went forward. The rich fled; thoſe that could not get away were cut to pieces; and whatever they took they burnt; nothing, in ſhort, eſcaped them, neither mountains nor valleys, places or people; but all ſuffered in the outrages of the war. As for thoſe that were ſhut up in Jeruſalem, there was no ſtirring out: the Zelotes keeping ſo ſtrict a watch upon thoſe that were friends to the Romans; and the town being ſo beſet by the enemy, that the Zelotes party durſt not venture, for fear of falling into their hands.

The news of Nero's death comes to Veſpaſian, on his march toward Jeruſalem.

The ends of Nero, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.

WHEN Veſpaſian was now returned to Ceſarea, and preparing to advance with his whole army againſt Jeruſalem, news was brought him of the death of Nero; who had now reigned thirteen years and eight days. It is not my buſineſs to arraign his memory for the diſhonour he put upon the government, in ſuffering himſelf to be impoſed upon, and led like a child by Nymphidius and Tigillinus, two of the moſt ſcandalous varlets that he had about him; how he was betray'd by theſe infamous wretches, abandoned by his ſenators and guards, and being forced to fly for ſafety into the ſuburbs, only with four of his freemen (all that ſtood by him) how he there laid violent hands upon himſelf, and what became of thoſe in the concluſion that brought him to his end: what was the iſſue of the war with the Gauls; Galba's being declared emperor; and afterwards, upon his coming out of Spain to Rome, his being calumniated by the ſoldiery for a man of a mean ſpirit, and by them ſlain in the middle of the great market-place; how Otho was then created emperor, and then march'd with his army againſt Vitellius. This is all little or nothing to my purpoſe: neither is it worth my while to enlarge upon the troubles of Vitellius; the combat before the capitol; or how Antonius Primus, and Macianus, after they had ſlain Vitellius, defeated the German troops, and put an end to the civil war. I am the leſs particular upon theſe points, in regard that ſeveral famous hiſtorians, both latin and greek, have already done that work ſo accurately to my hand; ſo that I ſhall content myſelf with theſe ſhort touches, provided only that I do not break the order, and diſcontinue the thread of my hiſtory.

Veſpaſian, upon this revolution, ſuſpends his deſign.

VESPASIAN, upon this intelligence, put a ſtop at firſt to his expedition againſt Jeruſalem, 'till he might know what became of the government after the death of Nero; and finding the ſucceſſion ſettled upon Galba, he did not think it prudential to act in an affair of that quality without orders. So that he ſent his ſon Titus immediately away to Galba, both to congratulate his acceſſion to the government, and to receive his inſtructions and commands, what meaſures to take. King Agrippa would needs put himſelf aboard with Titus upon the ſame errand; ſo that they embarked together. But as they were upon their paſſage near Achaia, they were given to underſtand that Galba was ſlain, after a government of ſeven months and ſeven days; Otho ſucceeding him, who governed three months. This alteration did not hinder Agrippa from proſecuting his journey to Rome: but Titus, by a divine impulſe, ſailed from Achaia into Syria, and from thence very ſeaſonably got back to Ceſarea to his father.

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* Five hundred and eighty furlongs amounted to ſeventy five Engliſh miles and a quarter, and one hundred and fifty nine geometrical paces.

† How many Engliſh miles one hundred and fifty furlongs amounted to, ſee bottom note near the end of the preceding chapter.

The ſurprize of this extraordinary revolution put all things to ſuch a ſtand, that the very empire itſelf ſtaggered at it. There was no more talk now of enlarging the empire, when they were ready to fall into the utmoſt confuſion at home.

CHAP. VII.

A new war in Jeruſalem. Simon encounters Ananus: he is worſted, and flies [illegible] Maſſada. Simon begins with Idumea upon [illegible] death of Ananus. An obſtinate fight betwixt him and the Idumeans. Eleazar ſummons Herodion, and the gariſon receives him. He is diſcover'd, and makes himſelf away. James of Idumea falſe under the countenance of a ſpy. Idumea taken without a ſtroke. Chebron ſurprized. Idumea laid waſte. Simon's wife taken priſoner. He breaks out into a rage upon it; and they ſend him his wife again.

A new war in Jeruſalem upon this occaſion.

Simon of Geraſa, an ill man, makes head againſt Ananus.

He is worſted and takes ſanctuary among the Sicarii in Maſſada.

UPON this revolution, there broke out a new war in Jeruſalem. There was one Simon, the ſon of Gioras, a Geraſene born, and in the prime of his age, though a man of leſs policy and artifice than John, who was now in poſſeſſion of the city; but younger, and much ſuperior to him in ſtrength and hardineſs of body. He was ſo dangerous a perſon, that Ananus the high-prieſt drove him out of his government in the toparchy of Acrabatena, and made him fly to the thieves in Maſſada for refuge. They were ſo ſuſpicious of him at firſt, that they would not truſt him any farther than the firſt floor of the fortreſs, among the women he brought along with him; while the reſt of the people kept above. But upon farther acquaintance, and finding how fit he was for their turn, they conceived a better opinion of him; and entruſted him to command parties upon adventure, and to join the reſt of the troops in pillaging and depopulating the territory of Maſſada: he did all he could to excite them to greater things too; but nothing leſs than ſovereignty would ſerve his turn, though to no purpoſe, 'till the news was brought him of the death of Ananus. And immediately, upon the removal of that obſtacle, he took his courſe into the mountains, and iſſued out proclamations of liberty to all ſlaves, and rewards to all freemen, that would liſt themſelves in his party. This brought over to him a great many diſorderly and licentious people, and with that rabble he ſack'd and deſtroy'd the villages upon the hills; augmenting his numbers daily, 'till in the end he marched down directly to the plains, and kept the cities in awe where-ever he paſſed: ſo that Simon was no longer a captain of thieves and ſlaves; but a great many men of power and quality, upon the reputation of his valour and ſucceſſes, were come over into his intereſt; and the generality of the better ſort of the people made their applications to him, with the reſpect and reverence of ſubjects to their prince. He made ſeveral excurſions into the toparchy of Acrabatena and the greater Idumea; where he made choice of Nain, (a town that he himſelf had walled in and fortified) for his retreat. In the valley of Pharan he found many caverns fitted to his hand, and others that he enlarged, for granaries, ſtores, magazines, and places of ſtowage; in ſhort, for what he got by pillage and booty. By this proviſion of men and neceſſaries, every body gave it for granted, that his main deſign was upon Jeruſalem. The Zelotes were of the ſame opinion too; and finding it dangerous to let him go on ſtrengthening himſelf every day more and more, they made one bold puſh of it, to try how they might prevent him in the progreſs of his ambition, before it was too late. Upon this, they advanced in a full body to charge him at the head of his troops; who encounter'd them with great courage, made a conſiderable ſlaughter among them, and put the reſt to the rout.

They find him a man fit for their turn.

Simon's way of conduct upon the death of Ananus.

He begins with Idumea.

NOW Simon did not think himſelf ſtrong enough yet to beſiege Jeruſalem, but choſe rather to begin with the conqueſt of Idumea; to effect which, he march'd directly with twenty thouſand men toward the borders. Upon this appearance, the heads of the Idumeans quickly got an army together of near twenty five thouſand choice men; leaving alſo a competent number to ſecure the country againſt the excurſions of the cut-throats in Maſſada. The Idumeans waited for Simon upon the borders; where, upon his advance, the two bodies engaged, and the battle laſted from morning till night, upon terms ſo equal, that no body could ſay which of the two had the better: but they had both enough of it; for Simon drew off quietly to Nain, and the Idumeans return'd to their own home.

An obſtinate fight betwixt Simon and the Idumeans.

IT was not long after this that Simon took the field again, with the reinforcement of a much ſtronger army; and encamping near the village of Thecue, he ſent Eleazar, one of his companions, with a ſummons to the governor of Herodion, requiring him to deliver the caſtle into his hands. The officers received him at firſt with all the niceties of military honour and reſpect; but upon coming to underſtand his commiſſion, they all drew upon him in that very inſtant; and Eleazar finding it impoſſible to make an eſcape, leap'd down the precipice from the wall, where he was daſh'd to pieces.

Eleazar ſends a plauſible ſummons to Herodion, the gariſon receives him.

Eleazar detected, and caſts himſelf over the wall into the ditch.

THE Idumeans were poſſeſs'd with ſuch an apprehenſion of Simon's courage and power, that they had no mind to grapple with him, till they might firſt be perfectly well informed in the ſtate and ſtrength of his army. James, one of their commanders, very readily, and of his own accord (but with treachery in his heart) took upon himſelf the office of an informer. Upon this commiſſion he went away from Olurus, (where the Idumean army lay at that time encamp'd) and ſo to Simon. After ſome diſcourſe upon the buſineſs, he enter'd into a ſolemn contract with Simon to deliver up

The treachery of James of Idumea under the colour of a ſpy.

up his country into his hands, upon condition to be treated after the performance of it, as his firſt miniſter and favourite; undertaking in the next place, to make him maſter of all Idumea. When Simon had ſufficiently ſweetened this treacherous inſtrument, with a ſplendid treat, fair words, and large promiſes, he returned back again to his own people; where he made Simon twenty times more conſiderable than in truth he was, for ſtrength, conduct, number, order, and diſcipline: which, by little and little, made ſuch an impreſſion, not only upon the ignorant multitude, but upon the officers themſelves too, that they were all prevailed upon not to diſpute the matter any farther by arms, but rather to ſubmit all to Simon, for fear of worſe conſequences; James ſending away meſſengers to Simon at the ſame time to come away immediately, and not to loſe ſo fair an opportunity, for he would be anſwerable for it, that Idumea ſhould be his own without blood-ſhed; which he made good accordingly. Upon the approach of the army, James was the firſt man that took horſe, and ſpurr'd away, as in a fright, with the reſt of the faction at his heels. This ſtruck ſuch a terror into the hearts of the people, that they ran their ſeveral ways; and ſo diſpers'd upon it, that the whole army was diſſolved without ſo much as attempting a battle.

A panick fright, and Idumea taken without a ſtroke.

Chebron ſurpriz'd. A deſcription of the place.

SIMON being now poſſeſſed of Idumea, without blood, which was little leſs than a miracle, he ſurpriz'd the town of Chebron; wherein he obtain'd ſtores of corn, and other booty to a prodigious value. This city is of great antiquity, and not only the eldeſt of the province, but, if we may believe the natives, ancienter than even the Egyptian Memphis itſelf; being computed to be of two thouſand three hundred years ſtanding. They have a tradition, that Abraham, the original father of the Jews, took up his habitation there, upon his leaving Meſopotamia; and that his poſterity remov'd from thence into Egypt; where there are monuments to be ſeen at this day, with marble inſcriptions curiouſly wrought, in confirmation of what I deliver. There is likewiſe to be ſeen, within ſix * furlongs of the place, a wonderful turpentine tree; which, according to the tradition of the place, was created with the world itſelf, and is yet ſound and firm.

Idumea and the whole country about it laid waſte.

FROM this place Simon made his inroads quite through Idumea, accompany'd with a train of forty thouſand men, beſide his men of arms; deſtroying and depopulating, not only towns and villages, but whole territories and countries where-ever he came. The marching of his army was the ſame thing to the people, that a flight of locuſts are to a wood: they left behind them not ſo much as a leaf or a ſpire of graſs, nor any thing more than a deſart, where-ever they came. It was a thing utterly impoſſible to find proviſions for ſo many mouths; and then the natural fierceneſs of Simon, and the malicious animoſity of his rage againſt the Idumeans, was ſtill a farther aggravation of the pinching neceſſity. In fine, what with burning, demoliſhing, devouring the fruits of the earth, or trampling them to dirt, Simon's troops did not leave ſo much even in a fruitful well-cultivated country, as the leaſt ſign or memorial of what it had been formerly.

THE inhumanity of this proceeding incited the indignation of the Zelotes, though they durſt not bring it to an open war; but contented themſelves with attacking his party by ſurprize and out of ambuſcades, wherein it was their fortune at laſt to make a conſiderable purchaſe, as they accounted it: for they took Simon's wife priſoner, and ſeveral of his domeſticks and favourites, and carry'd her away to Jeruſalem, with as much joy and triumph, as if it had been the husband himſelf; making no doubt, but Simon would now lay down his arms, and compound for his wife. But this violence upon the woman, wrought, it ſeems, a quite contrary effect upon the huſband; and inſtead of moving him to tenderneſs and compaſſion, tranſported him into the furious extravagancies of a mad-man.

Simon's wife taken priſoner by the Zelotes.

His brutal fury upon it.

HE went immediately to the gates of Jeruſalem; and there, like a wild beaſt that's wounded, and cannot come at the perſons that did it, he diſcharg'd his outrageous choler upon whatever came in his way; men, women, and children, that only went out of the town for ſticks and herbs, he cauſed to be taken up and whipt to death, young and old without diſtinction: only he was ſo merciful as not to eat their fleſh when he had killed them. He cut off the hands of a great many of them for a terror to his enemies, as well as to fright the people from their party, and ſent them to the town ſo maim'd, with thoſe words in their mouths: "That Simon ſwore by the "great God, who governs the univerſe, if "they did not immediately return his wife "again, he would break down their walls, "and put every ſoul in the town to the ſame "extremity; whether they were young or "old, guilty or innocent." The dread of theſe menaces did not only work upon the multitude, but upon the Zelotes themſelves: inſomuch, that they reſtor'd him his wife upon it; and ſo far pacify'd his wrath, as to obtain ſome ſort of reſpite to his daily cruelties.

And upon thoſe menaces they ſend him his wife again.

CHAP. VIII.

The Roman empire fallen to pieces within itſelf. Two battles betwixt Otho and Vitellius: Otho gets the better of it the firſt day, and Vitellius the next. Otho ſtabs himſelf. Veſpaſian propoſes to over-run Judea. Cerealis takes Capharis; and lays Chebron in aſhes. There wants nothing now but Jeruſalem, to put an end to the war.

The Roman empire torn to pieces with factions and civil broils.

IT was not Judea alone that was harraſs'd with the ſedition of a civil war; but the ſame ſpirit poſſeſſed Italy too; Galba being ſlain in the very heart of Rome itſelf: Otho was declared his ſucceſſor, in oppoſition to whom ariſes Vitellius; who, being elected emperor by the German legions, diſputes his title with him. They had two battles for it near † Bebriacum in ‡ Lombardy. Otho had the

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* Six furlongs amounted to three quarters of an Engliſh mile, and nine geometrical paces.

† Some would have it Bedriacum. Joſephus has Βεγδιακόν. But this I ſuppoſe is a corruption. See Ortellius's Theſaurus, and Ryckius's notes upon Tacitus, p. 363.

‡ Gallia Ciſalpina.

Otho carry'd it the firſt day, and Vitellius the next.

Otho ſtabs himſelf.

better of it the firſt day; and Vitellius carry'd it the next, under the command of his two generals, Valens and Cecinna. There was a great ſlaughter; and Otho, who was then at Brixellum, upon the news of this defeat, ſtabb'd himſelf with a dagger, after a reign of three months and two days. Upon this change, Otho's ſoldiers went over to the party of Vitellius, who preſently march'd away with his army to Rome.

Veſpaſian propoſes to himſelf a thorough conqueſt of Judea.

VESPASIAN in the mean time remov'd from Ceſarea on the fifth of the month * Deſius, in a proſpect of making a thorough conqueſt of Judea, by reducing the remainder of it that yet ſtood out: he began among the mountains, and made himſelf maſter of the toparchies of Gophnis and Acrabatena; poſſeſſing himſelf afterwards of the cities of Bethel and Ephraim; where he ſettled gariſons. His next remove was toward Jeruſalem; where he took and kill'd vaſt numbers of Jews by the way.

Cerealis takes Capharis.

CEREALIS, in the mean time, one of the principal officers, with a body of horſe and foot, over-ran the upper Idumea; took and burnt the caſtle Caphetra by the way; laid ſiege to Capharis, a ſtrong wall'd town; and they were in hope it would have made a good defence: but, beyond all expectation, the townſmen open'd their gates, threw themſelves at their feet, and ſo gave it up. Having thus carry'd every thing before him, he went to Chebron (the ancient town upon the mountains, formerly ſpoken of, not far from Jeruſalem) which he attack'd and carry'd at the firſt aſſault. He put all the people in it to the ſword; ſack'd and burnt the city. There were yet three caſtles in the poſſeſſion of the cut-throat faction; Herodion, Maſſada and Macherus: and Veſpaſian wanted nothing after this, to put a final end to this terrible war, but the taking of Jeruſalem.

Lays Chebron in aſhes; and nothing wanting but Jeruſalem to put an end to the war.

CHAP. IX.

Simon a worſe enemy within the town than the Romans without: and the Zelotes worſt of all. The horrid brutalities of the Zelotes. The Idumeans revolt and ſcatter the Zelotes: purſuing them to the palace, and ſo to the temple. John caſt off; and Simon invited into the government: where he is welcom'd with ſhouts and acclamations. An aſſault upon the temple.

Simon takes his revenge of the Idumeans for his wife.

WHEN Simon had got his wife again from the Zelotes, he wreak'd the bitterneſs of his malice upon the remainder of the Idumeans; and perſecuted them ſo bloodily with haraſing and hunting them up and down, that divers of them in a deſperation, fled to Jeruſalem for ſanctuary: Simon purſuing them to the very foot of the wall, and killing all comers and goers that came within his reach. So that Simon without the town was a worſe enemy than the Romans; and the Zelotes within, worſe than both. But the Galileans all this while taught them their leſſon, and improv'd them in all the arts of wickedneſs, by inſtruction, encouragement, and example. Now John being their creature, thought it but reaſonable to employ the power they had procured him to the ſatisfaction of his patrons; and ſo left them at liberty to live without controul according to the dictates of their own licentious luſts. In the matter of rapine and pillage, their avarice was inſatiable. They made no more of taking away the lives of men, and the honour of women, than of a common frolick or diverſion: and when they had ſated themſelves with blood and oppreſſion, they went on wallowing in the brutality of their carnal appetites: powdering and curling their hair; diſguiſed in the dreſs and habit of women; painting, and ſetting themſelves off with dawbs and waſhes. Nor did they imitate women only in their clothes and ornaments, but in their impudence alſo; for they converſed with no more reſtraint in the face of the ſun, than they would have done in a common ſtews: preſſing and practiſing unnatural luſts, and polluting the whole city with impurities not to be nam'd, or ſo much as thought off. But all this while, with the faces and impudence of women, they had the hearts and hands of cut-throats: and how effeminate and mincing ſoever they were in their gate and motions, they had yet their martial weapons about them, and their ſwords out in a trice, upon any ſudden occaſion, to kill the next man they met. He that eſcap'd John, fell into the hands of Simon, the bloodier monſter of the two; and he that got clear of the domeſtick tyrant, was deſtroy'd by the other before the town: beſide that all the paſſages were ſo blockt up, that there was no coming off for thoſe that had a mind to go over to the Romans.

Simon worſe without the town than the Romans; and the Zelotes worſt of all. The brutal and inhuman luſts and liberties of the Zelotes.

No eſcaping.

The Idumeans revolt; and rout the Zelotes.

BETWIXT the envy of John's power and the deteſtation of his barbarous cruelties, the eyes of the Idumeans were by this time open'd; for they brake out into a direct revolt, and made head againſt him. It came to a battle, and a great many of the Zelotes were ſlain upon the ſpot; the reſt fled into the palace royal, which was originally erected by one Grapte, a kinſwoman of Izates the king of the Adiabenians. The Idumeans puſh'd in along with them; and ſo beating the Zelotes into the temple, they made themſelves maſters of the whole maſs of John's treaſure for a booty; which was there depoſited under the roof of his own habitation. The Zelotes up and down the town gather'd together upon this, to join thoſe of their companions that were got into the temple; and John immediately put himſelf in a poſture for a ſally upon the Idumeans and the citizens: not that they had any apprehenſion of their number, for they were too many for them; but for fear of their ſtealing out of the city by night, and at the ſame time cutting of throats and ſetting fire to't. Upon this occaſion they call'd a council, and deliberated with the high-prieſt what meaſures they were to take. But it pleas'd God to infatuate their policies, by giving them over to a remedy worſe than the diſeaſe; for they reſolv'd among themſelves to caſt off John, and to ſet up Simon in his ſtead: and in ſo doing they did but clear their hands of one tyrant, and lay themſelves at the feet of another. But the vote paſs'd however, and Matthias the high-prieſt was ſent to invite Simon into the town for their governor, whom they

Purſuing them to the palace, and ſo to the temple.

John caſt off, and Simon invited to the government.

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* i. e. The fifth of June.

Simon receiv'd into the city with ſhouts and acclamations.

they had been ſo often in dread of. There were divers others alſo that had been forced out of Jeruſalem by the Zelotes, and would gladly have been at home again, that join'd with Matthias in the ſame requeſt. Simon gave them a magiſterial anſwer that their petition was granted; and ſo enter'd the city in the quality of their preſerver; the people receiving him alſo with acclamations in the ſame ſtile and character. This happen'd in the third month that, they call * Xanthicus. Simon had no ſooner enter'd Jeruſalem with his troops, but his head was preſently at work how to ſettle himſelf; for he look'd upon thoſe that call'd him in, and thoſe againſt whom he was call'd, to be equally his enemies.

An aſſault upon the temple

When John found himſelf coop'd up in the temple with the reſt of the Zelotes, and that Simon and his companions had made a thorough rifle of the city, he gave himſelf for loſt. The latter, in the mean time, led on the common people to an aſſault upon the temple; but the beſiegers were ſo gall'd with ſtones, darts, and arrows, from the galleries and battlements over head, that they were driven back with great loſs; ſeveral kill'd, others carry'd off wounded, and upon the whole a general diſappointment; the Zelotes having gotten the advantage of the ground, where there was no coming at them: beſide four ſtrong large towers of their own erecting to annoy the enemy from above: one to the eaſtward, another to the north; a third upon a gallery at the corner over againſt the lower town, and a fourth upon the top of what they call the † Paſtophoria; a place where formerly the prieſt uſed to ſtand after noon, to make proclamation by ſound of trumpet when the ſabbath began, and when it ended: and ſo to the people in like manner, when they were to work, and when to keep holiday. In theſe turrets they had diſpos'd of their archers, ſlingers, and engineers, with arrows, ſtones, and all their military proviſions about them. Simon and his men were not a little ſurpriz'd at this obſtinate reſiſtance of the Zelotes; but depending upon their numbers, they preſs'd forward ſtill; though with the loſs of a great many men from the Zelotes ſlings and machines.

CHAP. X.

A civil war in Rome; and Vitellius at the head of a vaſt army there. The news of Vitellius being choſen emperor goes to the heart of Veſpaſian. An invective againſt Vitellius and his party, to the honour of Veſpaſian and Titus. The ſoldiers are bent upon a change; and Veſpaſian takes the army into his care.

A civil war in Rome; and Vitellius there with a vaſt army.

IN the very heat of theſe broils in Jeruſalem, there brake out a worſe miſchief in Rome itſelf: that is to ſay, a civil war. Vitellius was now come out of Germany, attended with ſuch a prodigious multitude of foreign troops, that for want of room in the lodgments that were aſſign'd them, they were fain to take up in private houſes, and to turn the whole city into one general quarter. The ſparkling of the Romans gold and ſilver, and the ſight of their riches, was ſuch a temptation to ſtrangers unaccuſtomed to ſuch ſights, that they could hardly reſtrain themſelves, either from taking things by force, or killing thoſe that hinder'd them. This was the condition of Italy at that time.

Veſpaſian meets the news at Ceſarea of Vitellius's being choſen emperor. This report goes to the heart of Veſpaſian.

Upon Veſpaſian's return to Ceſarea, after laying waſte all about Jeruſalem, the news was brought him of ſtrange tumults in Rome, and that Vitellius was declar'd emperor. Now though Veſpaſian was a man of order, and knew as well how to obey as to command, yet he could not brook to think of owning that man for his maſter, who came to the empire as to a prey rather than to a dignity. This wonderful turn was ſo great a mortification and diſtraction to him, that he could not ſo much as think of any foreign wars, at a time when his country lay labouring under ſuch miſerable circumſtances at home. But as his indignation ſpurr'd him on to a revenge on the one hand; ſo the difficulties of ſo long a journey in order to the execution of it (eſpecially in winter too) put a check to him on the other: for many ſtrange things might fall out for ought he knew before he could reach Italy. Theſe, and ſuch thoughts as theſe, brought him by degrees to himſelf again. While this was in agitation, the officers and ſoldiers drew into clubs and cabals, in parties; and ſo diſcourſing freely upon matters of ſtate and government, they did not ſcruple to declare their opinions for another change; loudly exclaiming againſt the Roman ſoldiers. “A company of diſſolute effeminate wretches (they cry'd!) that would not ſtand ſo much as the noiſe of a war! Theſe were pretty fellows indeed, they ſaid, to diſpoſe of empires; or in truth, rather to ſell them to the faireſt bidder. Can they ever think that we, after the fatigues of ſo much duty and hard labour, till we are grown old under our arms; —— that we, will ever ſubmit to an emperor of their chuſing, when we have ſo much a worthier prince of our own? over and above, that if we loſe this opportunity of expreſſing our gratitude for the generous obligations Veſpaſian hath laid upon us, 'tis odds we ſhall never have the like again. Beſide that Veſpaſian is in himſelf as much ſuperior to Vitellius, with reſpect to the character of an emperor, as we ourſelves are to thoſe that made him one. Have not we run as many riſques, and born as great a part in the war, as the German legion that brought this uſurper into the capital city? are not we as well skill'd in the art and diſcipline of war as they? Now for Veſpaſian, there can be no diſpute or competition; for the ſenate and the people of Rome are all for him, and will never endure the licentious debauches of Vitellius to be put in the balance againſt the modeſty and temperance of Veſpaſian; which would be the exchanging of a gracious prince for a mercileſs tyrant. ‡ Nor is it to be expected that the ſon Titus, though a prince of extraordinary virtue, ſhould be choſen in preference to his father. But let it ſuf-

An invective of the officers againſt Vitellius and his party; to the honour of Veſpaſian and Titus. The ſoldiers bent upon a change.

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* i. e. April.

† Suid. Παϛοφόρειον, τὸ φέρον τὸν παϛόν. See Iſ. c. 22. v. 15. in the Septuagint.

‡ See Mr. Spanheim's ſeventh diſſertation about the excellency and uſe of coins, p. 649. where this paſſage is handled at large.

“ ſice that it is the honour and juſtice of a prince that eſtabliſhes the peace of the throne. Now if either maturity of experience, or vigour of youth, may intitle a prince to the choice, you have the one in Veſpaſian, and the other in Titus; and all the advantages that attend wiſdom, force and reſolution. It is further to be conſider'd, that in electing the admirable father of this incomparable ſon, the three imperial legions and auxiliaries will be enforced with the whole power of the eaſt, that part of Europe that lies out of the reach of Vitellius, and all the intereſt that Veſpaſian's friends, his brother, and his other ſon can make in Italy: the one being prefect [*] of Rome, a charge of great influence and credit, eſpecially at the beginning of a reign; and the other ſo popular, that which way ſoever he went, the flower of the nobility would be ſure to ſide with him. But now after all, they cry'd, what if the ſenate itſelf ſhould put up Veſpaſian for emperor, and take the glory and the merit of the action out of our hands; while we ſtand upon forms and niceties to no manner of purpoſe; ſhould not we be finely deceiv'd then? we, that of all men living have the greateſt obligation to him.

The army preſſes Veſpaſian to take them into his protection: which with much ado they obtain'd.

THIS was the ſoldiers talk among themſelves, at firſt only in knots and corners: but their confidence increaſing with their numbers, they came unanimouſly to the point, and one and all cry'd up Veſpaſian, emperor; begging him at the ſame time to take the tottering empire into his protection. This great man had been a long time the ſupporter of the empire; but for the ſtile of emperor, he abſolutely refus'd it, (though in that very refuſal he deſerv'd it) declaring that he had much rather ſpend the remainder of his days in the freedom of a private life, than among the ſnares and difficulties of a more illuſtrious and exalted ſtation. The more Veſpaſian declin'd it, the more the officers preſs'd him; till at length, upon his obſtinate denial, they came all up to him with their [†] ſwords drawn, and threaten'd to kill him, unleſs he would ſubmit to accept of the honour that he deſerv'd. He refuſed it a long time; but in the end, when he ſaw they would not be deny'd, he yielded to their importunity.

CHAP. XI.

Mucianus preſſes Veſpaſian to march againſt Vitellius; but Veſpaſian is rather for Alexandria. Of Egypt and the ſituation of it. Alexandria a dangerous port. The tower of Pharos. Tiberius Alexander a true friend to Veſpaſian.

Mucianus urges Veſpaſian to march with his army againſt Vitellius. Veſpaſian is rather for Alexandria; and gives his reaſons for it.

VESPASIAN was no ſooner advanced to the empire, but Mucianus and the reſt of the officers that invited him to government, with the whole army, called out with one voice to march againſt Vitellius; but Veſpaſian was rather of opinion for beginning with Alexandria; Egypt being one of the moſt neceſſary and conſiderable branches of the empire, in reſpect of the vaſt quantities of corn it produces: inſomuch that if he could but make himſelf maſter of that country, he was in hope that Rome itſelf would rather turn out Vitellius than run the hazard, if they ſtood it out, of ſtarving for his ſake, as of neceſſity they muſt without relief from Egypt. He deſired alſo an enforcement of two legions that lay at Alexandria to join him.

Of Egypt and the ſituation of it.

HE propounded alſo the making of the province a ſecure place of retreat in the worſt of fortunes. There is hardly any coming at it by land, and no ports to the ſea. It is bounded on the weſt with the parching land of Libya: on the ſouth, Syene divides it from Ethiopia, and the unpaſſable cataracts of the river Nile: on the eaſt, the Red-ſea ſerves it for a rampart as far as the city Coptos; and on the north, it ſtretches out as far as Syria, and that which they call the Egyptian-ſea, and the coaſt quite thorough wholly deſtitute of ports: ſo that nature hath provided for the ſecurity of Egypt in the very ſituation of it. From Peluſium to Syene they reckon two thouſand [‡] furlongs, and three [§] thouſand ſix hundred by ſea, from Plinthine to Peluſium. The Nile is navigable as far as Elephantine; but, as I ſaid before, there is no paſſing further for the cataracts.

Alexandria a dangerous port.

ALEXANDRIA, let the weather be never ſo fair, is a nice and a dangerous port; the entrance very narrow, and the rocks ſo ſcatter'd up and down in ſhallow water, that he muſt be a very exact guide that knows all the turnings. On the left hand it is encompaſs'd with a dike, like an arm about it; on the right lies the iſle of Pharos, which hath been ſo celebrated for a famous ſea-mark. The light of it is ſeen three [**] hundred furlongs off at ſea, and ſerves for a direction to mariners what courſe they are to ſteer. About this iſland there are mighty defences of ſtrong keys and thick walls, to break the violence of the waves that beat upon that quarter; and the rage of the billows daſhing one upon another makes the paſſage yet more hazardous. But after all theſe difficulties in the way, there is not a ſafer port in nature when you are once over the bar. The length of it is thirty [††] furlongs, and it is furniſhed with conveniencies of ſtore-houſes for all manner of goods, to be either imported or exported.

The tower of Pharos; a famous ſea-mark.

Tiberius Alexander a great friend to Veſpaſian.

VESPASIAN was much in the right in his politics, when he pitch'd upon Alexandria in order to the eſtabliſhment of the empire: and upon that occaſion, he gave the governor Tiberius Alexander to underſtand, that, being prevail'd upon by the importunity of the ſoldiers to take charge of the government, he could not do better than to deſire the favour of his aſſiſtance and advice in the adminiſtration. Alexander had no ſooner read the letter, but with all frankneſs and alacrity, he * gave the legions and the people the oath of fidelity to Veſpaſian; who took it with the greateſt expreſſions and demonſtration of joy and affection imaginable: being abundantly ſatisfy'd before-hand in the certain knowledge and experience of his honour and virtue. Alexander in the mean time made a juſt and a generous uſe of the power that was given him for the ſervice of the publick, and apply'd himſelf in the firſt place to provide neceſſaries for the reception of the new prince.

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[*] A prefect ſignifies governor of a place.

[†] See Ryckius upon Tacitus, p. 378.

[‡] Two thouſand furlongs amounted to two hundred and fifty three Engliſh miles.

[§] Three thouſand ſix hundred furlongs amounted to four hundred and fifty ſix Engliſh miles and a quarter, and one hundred and fifty geometrical paces.

[**] Three hundred furlongs amounted to thirty eight Engliſh miles, lacking fifty geometrical paces.

[††] Thirty furlongs amounted to three Engliſh miles and three quarters, and forty five geometrical paces.

CHAP. XII.

Veſpaſian's advancement pleaſes all people. He aſcribes all his ſucceſſes to providence. Several preſages of his future greatneſs. Joſeph treated Veſpaſian in the ſtile of emperor, even while Nero was yet living, and himſelf a priſoner; for which Veſpaſian gives him his liberty with honours and rewards.

The news of Veſpaſian's advancement gives an univerſal ſatisfaction.

THE news flew like lightning every where up and down the eaſt of Veſpaſian's being advanced to the empire; and it was ſo welcome wherever it came, that all the cities made holiday upon the arrival of it, with vows and ſacrifices for Veſpaſian's happy reign.

THE legions that were quarter'd in † Meſia and Pannonia, and were lately up in arms againſt Vitellius, for his tyrannical inſolence, took the oath to Veſpaſian with all the chearfulneſs in the world.

UPON Veſpaſian's return from Ceſarea to Berytus, there were ſeveral embaſſadors from Syria and other provinces that met him upon the way, with garlands and gratulatory addreſſes in the name of the cities and people: Mucianus the governor of Syria among the reſt, with aſſurances of the faith and good affection of all in general; expreſs'd by oaths and otherwiſe, to the perſon and authority of Veſpaſian.

Veſpaſian aſcribes his ſucceſſes to providence. A prophetical hint of Veſpaſian's future greatneſs. Joſeph treated Veſpaſian in the ſtile of emperor while Nero was yet living, and himſelf a priſoner.

Now Veſpaſian being ſo fortunate in all his undertakings, that whatever he did, ſucceeded to his wiſh, he began to bethink himſelf, that ſuch a concurrence of ſeeming accidents making for him, look'd liker a providential diſpoſition of things in the order of cauſes and effects, than the work of chance; and that it was the hand of God, not fortune, that had exalted him to that eminence. He then began to recollect what ſtrange prophetical hints and prognoſticks he had obſerv'd in the courſe of his life; and all pointing to the ſame end, as particularly a paſſage of Joſeph's, who had the confidence in the very life of Nero, to give Veſpaſian the title of emperor. This remarkable prediction made ſuch an impreſſion upon Veſpaſian, (eſpecially from a perſon that was yet his priſoner) that calling Mucianus and ſeveral of his friends and officers about him, he took occaſion to make mention of the bravery of Joſeph, and how reſolutely he had oppoſed them at the ſiege of Jotapata; and ſo from one thing to another till he came to recount his predictions; which, ſays Veſpaſian, I took to be only the inventions of fear to ſcreen himſelf from puniſhment; till time and the event of things have now made it evident that they were inſpirations. "And, what a ſhame is "it for me now, (ſays Veſpaſian) to treat a "miniſter and the meſſenger of God that "brought me the tidings of my preferment, at "the ſcandalous rate ſtill of a priſoner?"

Veſpaſian ſets Joſeph at liberty for it with remarkable honours and rewards.

HE had no ſooner paſs'd this reflection, but Joſeph was immediately ſent for, and ſet at liberty: from which generous gratitude his officers took their meaſures what they themſelves might expect from ſo gracious a maſter, that were his faithful friends and ſervants. Titus being then preſent, told his father with ſubmiſſion, that in barely ſetting Joſeph at liberty, the work was but half done; for his chains ought to be broken as well as taken off, to pronounce him an innocent, and to leave him as he found him; according to common practice when men are wrongfully impriſon'd: for otherwiſe he is only diſcharg'd of the bondage, but the diſhonour ſticks upon him ſtill. Veſpaſian concurr'd with him in opinion, and accordingly order'd his chains immediately to be cut to pieces with an ax. So that Joſeph did not only get his freedom, but the reputation of a great prophet alſo for what he had foretold; and credit enough to be farther believ'd in whatever he ſhould ſay for the future.

CHAP. XIII.

Veſpaſian takes Antioch in his way to Rome; and ſends Mucianus with a great army into Italy. Cecinna draws Vitellius's men over to Veſpaſian; and the ſoldiers ſeize him as a traytor. A fight betwixt Anthony and the Vitellians; the latter worſted, and fly toward Cremona, where they are totally cut off. Cecinna diſcharged, and ſent to Veſpaſian with the news of the victory. Sabinus ſeizes the capitol. A bloody battle. Vitellius dragg'd through the ſtreets dead drunk; and ſtabb'd to death in the city. The people declare every where for Veſpaſian.

Veſpaſian quits the thought of Alexandria, and takes Antioch in his way to Rome. He ſends Mucianus into Italy with an army.

WHEN Veſpaſian had given the embaſſadors their anſwers, and ſettled all his governments in the hands of fit and careful officers, he chang'd his mind, and went to Antioch; and ſo forward to Rome, rather than Alexandria, as he thought to have done; the latter being ſafe and quiet, and the other miſerably embroil'd by Vitellius, and ſtanding in more need of him of the two. So he ſent Mucianus over land into Italy with an army of horſe and foot, by the way of Cappadocia and Phrygia; for he durſt not venture his troops upon a winter ſea.

AMONG others there was ‡ Antonius Primus, the governor of Meſia, with the third legion that lay in that province; who deſir'd nothing more than to come to an encounter with Vitellius. And ſo Vitellius, on the other hand, ſent Cecinna at the head of a ſtrong army againſt him. As he was upon his march for

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* Ryckius in his notes upon Tacitus, p. 378. diſcovers an error of Joſephus in this place.
† Al. Myſia.
‡ Ryckius in his notes upon Tacitus, p. 502, &c. ſhews us ſeveral errors of Joſephus in what follows.

Cecinna perſuades Vitellius's men to go over to Veſpaſian.

The ſoldiers deſert and repent, and ſeize Cecinna as a traytor.

An encounter betwixt Anthony and the Vitellians. The latter worſted, and and fly toward Cremona, where they are intercepted, and totally cut off.

Cecinna ſet at liberty, and ſent to Veſpaſian, with the news of the victory.

Rome, he met Anthony upon the borders of Italy not far from Cremona; where he ſtopp'd to gaze upon the numbers, the order and the diſcipline of the enemy; but durſt not engage them. He was now at a nonplus what to do. Fight he durſt not, and he could not run away with honour: ſo that he choſe the part of a deſerter rather than of a coward. He call'd his centurions, tribunes, and in ſhort, all his officers together, and made uſe of that occaſion to enter into a deſcant upon Veſpaſian and Vitellius, ſtill derogating from the latter, and elevating the former; with a deſign all this while to draw Vitellius's people over to Veſpaſian. "The former, he ſaid, had but the "name of an emperor; the other, the right "and authority, and the true ſtamp of an imperial character in his very perſon, over and "above the odds of Veſpaſian's choice of men "and numbers; to ſuch a degree, in fine, "that there was no contending with him. "And if it be ſo, ſays he, why ſhould not we "now do the ſame thing before-hand, by "choice, that we ſhall be forc'd to do but "the next hour by neceſſity? Not but that "Veſpaſian is able to do his buſineſs, to all "manner of purpoſes, without your help: "whereas Vitellius is not able to ſtand upon "his own legs, or to protect any party that "adheres to him." Cecinna ply'd his argument ſo far, till he gain'd his point, and carry'd the ſoldiers over to Anthony. But the next night, Cecinna's men, betwixt repentance for what they had done, and for fear of puniſhment in caſe Vitellius ſhould get the better of it, came in a rage with their ſwords drawn up to Cecinna to kill him; and they had certainly done it, if the tribunes had not paſſionately interpos'd on his behalf. So that they ſpar'd his life; but however order'd him to be kept in chains, and ſent away to Vitellius for a traytor. So ſoon as this came to Anthony's ear, he preſently commanded out a party to fall upon them as deſerters. They made a ſhort ſtand; but after the firſt ſhock, they gave ground, and took their flight toward Cremona. But Anthony put in with his horſe betwixt them and the town; and begirting them a-round, made a great ſlaughter upon the place, and gave the ſoldiers the pillage of the town. There periſh'd promiſcuouſly in this ravage foreign merchants and townſmen in abundance; with the whole army of Vitellius, to the number of thirty thouſand and two hundred perſons. There fell of Anthony's men that he brought out of Meſia, four thouſand five hundred; who ſetting Cecinna at liberty, ſent him away to Veſpaſian with the news of the victory; where he was receiv'd with great and unexpected honours to balance the diſgrace of being falſe to his maſter.

Sibinus ſeizes the capitol.

When Sabinus, Veſpaſian's brother, underſtood that Anthony was upon his march toward Rome, it put new life into him; ſo that drawing together the city guards, that night he ſeiz'd the capitol: great numbers of perſons of the firſt quality coming in to them the next day; and among the reſt his nephew Domitian, who had a great hand in the glory of that action.

Vitellius never troubled his head about Anthony, but his main ſpite was at Sabinus, and the reſt that join'd with him in the revolt: and being naturally ſanguinary and cruel, eſpecially where there was noble blood in the caſe, he ſent a body of his own troops to attack the capitol; and there was great bravery ſhew'd betwixt them and thoſe in the temple; but in the end, the Germans, overpowering their adverſaries with numbers, gain'd the hill. Domitian and ſeveral Romans of the higheſt quality eſcap'd in a manner by miracle; but Sabinus was carry'd to Vitellius, who order'd him immediately to be put to death, and all the reſt were cut to pieces; the ſoldiers ſeizing the plunder of the temple, and then ſetting fire to it.

A bloody battle. Vitellius dragg'd thro' the ſtreets drunk, and ſtabb'd to death in the city.

Anthony came up the next day with his army, and the Vitellians gave him battle. They fought in three ſeveral parts of the city, and were all ſlain. After this, came Vitellius out of his palace, wallowing drunk (according to his cuſtom) and overcharg'd with a gluttonous exceſs, where he was taken up and dragg'd through the ſtreets, villify'd with all ſorts of ſcurrilous and opprobrious language, and in the concluſion, ſtabb'd to death in the middle of the city. He had now reign'd eight months and five days; and ſuch was his profuſion, that if he had liv'd longer, the revenue of the empire would not have anſwer'd the charge of his debauches. They reckon upon upward of fifty thouſand men ſlain, over and above thoſe already mention'd: and this great action happened upon the third day of the ‡ month Apelleus.

The people declare every where for Veſpaſian.

Mucianus next day enter'd Rome with his army, and after ſome ſort of ſtop put to the mercileſs rage of Anthony's ſoldiers (who were ſtill ſearching in all corners up and down for Vitellius's men, whom they kill'd as faſt as they found them, without ſo much as examining whether they were guilty or innocent) intimated to the people that they ſhould do well to chuſe Domitian for their governor till his father came up. But the people being now out of danger, and nothing farther to fear, would not hear of any other governor than Veſpaſian; and ſo crying him up to the skies with acclamations, they made a double feſtival of it; one, for the bleſſing of Veſpaſian's coming to the government, the other, for their deliverance from the tyranny of Vitellius.

CHAP. XIV.

Veſpaſian at Alexandria, and courted with addreſſes from all quarters. He ſends away his ſon Titus towards Jeruſalem. Titus's march.

Veſpaſian courted at Alexandria with addreſſes from all quarters

VESPASIAN, at his coming to Alexandria, was entertain'd with the whole hiſtory of what had paſs'd at Rome, and ply'd with gratulatory embaſſies and addreſſes from all quarters, to joy him of his exaltation to the empire. Alexandria is look'd upon as one of the largeſt cities in the world, next to Rome itſelf; and yet upon this occaſion it was too little for the company. The imperial ſtate of Rome being now ſettled and ſecur'd, the people quiet and eaſy, beyond all expectation, and the winter over, Veſpaſian began to bethink himſelf of looking toward the remainder of Judea, and prepare for his journey to Rome. When he had put every thing in order in Alexandria, he ſent away his ſon Titus with his beſt troops, upon an expedition againſt Jeruſalem. He went as far as Nicopolis by land, about twenty * furlongs from Alexandria; and then embarking his troops upon long boats, paſs'd down the Nile, along the banks of the Mendeſian canton, to the city of Thmuis, and went aſhore at Tanis; from thence he went to Heracleopolis, and ſo to Peluſium; where he ſtay'd two days to refreſh his troops, and then march'd away croſs the deſart, and encamped by the temple of Jupiter Caſſius. The next day he went to Oſtracine; a place ſo extremely dry, that the inhabitants have no water but what they fetch from abroad. From thence to † Rhinocorura, where he ſtay'd a while, and then to Raphia, the firſt city upon the borders of Syria, and his fourth ſtage: Gaza was the fifth, and from thence he march'd to Aſcalon, and ſo to Jamnia and Joppa; from Joppa to Ceſarea, with a reſolution to ſtrengthen himſelf with other additional troops.

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‡ i. e. October.

He ſends away his ſon Titus towards Jeruſalem.

Titus's march

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* Twenty furlongs amounted to two Engliſh miles and an half, and thirty geometrical paces, as hath been before obſerved.

† Lat. Rhinocolura.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Wars of the *JEWS.*

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

Three factions in Jeruſalem. Eleazar began the breach, by ſetting up the Zelotes againſt the people. John of Giſchala puts in for himſelf. A fight betwixt John and Eleazar. An encounter betwixt John and Simon. The deplorable ſtate of Jeruſalem, that has neither humanity left in it, nor conſcience. The march and order of Titus's army.

WHEN Titus had paſs'd the deſarts betwixt Egypt and Syria, in ſuch manner as is already ſet forth, he came to Ceſarea; with a reſolution to draw his troops together there, and to form his army. While he was, as yet with his father Veſpaſian at Alexandria, giving orders about the adminiſtration of the empire which God had put into his hands, the factions in Jeruſalem were divided into three parties, and each againſt the other; which for an ill matter, was well enough to ſee a common enemy doing juſtice upon itſelf. As for the domineering faction of the Zelotes (whoſe inſolence was certainly the ruin of the city) we have ſpoken both of the riſe and encreaſe of it very particularly elſewhere; and it was no more, in ſhort, than one ſedition bred out of another. It had ſomewhat in it of the rage of a wild beaſt, that for want of other matter to work upon, preys upon its own bowels, rather than not be doing ſome miſchief or other.

Three factions in Jeruſalem.

Eleazar began the breach, by ſetting up the Zelotes againſt the people.

ELEAZAR the ſon of Simon was the firſt that began the ſeparation in the temple, by ſetting up the Zelotes againſt the people, upon the pretence of being wonderfully offended at the daily inſolencies of John of Giſchala, but at the ſame time doing the ſame cruel things himſelf; and in truth, the main exception was no more than this: that the greater tyrant of the two could not brook to ſubmit to the leſs: ſo that betwixt an inſatiable thirſt after power, and an ambitious impatience of having any body above him; he fell off from his companions and ſet up for himſelf, with Judas the ſon of Chelcias, and Simon the of Ezron; two perſons of great quality and intereſt; and likewiſe with Ezechias the ſon of Chobar, a man nobly deſcended; and every one of them at the head of a train of Zelotes. With this party they took poſſeſſion of the inner temple, and put guards upon the ſacred porches and doors, in confidence that the proviſions of the place, by reaſon of the multitude of their daily oblations, would ſupply them with all neceſſaries; and putting no difference, in fine, as to the common uſe of things, betwixt ſacred and prophane. Being thus poſted, the only thing they fear'd was want of men for the execution of any conſiderable deſign. John was much the ſtronger of the two; but what Eleazar wanted in number, was abundantly made good to him by the advantage of the place, for he had his enemy under him. Now John could not attempt any thing upon him but to his loſs; ſo that betwixt the fear of doing a raſh thing on the one hand, and the impatience of ſtanding ſtill to do nothing at all on the other, he was not a little divided how to behave himſelf. But his ſtomach and animoſity

John of Giſchala ſets up for himſelf, and makes a party.

A fight betwixt John and Eleazar.

moſity carry'd it in the end however from his diſcretion; and he made ſeveral attacks, both with darts and other weapons of that nature, till the temple was polluted with the gore of dead bodies.

An encounter between John and Simon.

The temple polluted with blood.

ON the other ſide, Simon the ſon of Gioras, whom the people in their diſtreſs had invited and entertained for their governor and protector, having in his poſſeſſion the upper town, and the greater part of the lower, carry'd on the aſſault againſt John and his party with the greater vigour, when he ſaw how he was preſs'd at the ſame time from above by Eleazar. But John had the ſame advantage of Simon that Eleazar had of John, who effectually had a double war upon him, and as much the better of the one, as the worſe of the other: for juſt ſo much as Eleazar was too hard for John, whom he had under him; ſo much was he too hard for Simon, who was below him again. So that John had little or no difficulty to repulſe the attempts of Simon from the lower ground; as he defended himſelf the beſt he could from Eleazar that was over his head, with ſlings and machines to caſt darts and ſtones. And theſe engines did execution not only upon the people in arms, but upon thoſe alſo that came out of devotion to worſhip. For it muſt be acknowledg'd that theſe miſcreants, even in the outrage of their impieties, gave admittance to all that offer'd themſelves upon the account of religion; ſaving only that the Jews were moſt expoſ'd to ſtrict ſearches and examinations. And for the ſtrangers that were ſo happy as to eſcape the malice of a military fury, they fell here and there by caſualty and miſchance: that is to ſay, by the random ſhot of ſtones and lances, that reach'd the very altar, and cut off the ſacrificers themſelves in the exerciſe of their holy function, together with a multitude of common worſhippers. Some that came from all quarters of the earth out of devotion to worſhip in this holy place, fell themſelves the ſacrifices, and defiled that altar with their blood, that not only the Greeks, but even the wildeſt of Barbarians had a veneration for. The dead bodies of ſtrangers and of natives, perſons holy and profane, were here promiſcuouſly confounded, and their blood flowing up to the very altar.

AH, miſerable, miſerable city! the fire and ſword of the Romans, when they enter'd thee by force, and endeavour'd the purging of thee by flames for the iniquities of thy faction and apoſtacy, with all the deſolation that enſu'd upon it; all this, I ſay, was nothing to the miſery of thy preſent caſe. Thou wert no longer the ſeat of God, after turning his holy houſe, by thy civil broils, into a ſhambles or a common charnel-houſe; nor could'ſt thou ever expect to come off unpuniſh'd for theſe impious provocations. But it is not yet impoſſible; not impoſſible, I ſay, by a true repentance to appeaſe the incenſed juſtice of a righteous God, that laid this heavy judgment upon thee. But this were better let alone; for private paſſions and complaints are not the buſineſs of an hiſtorian, ſo that I ſhall return to my ſubject, and proceed to the matter of fact that follow'd upon this uproar.

JERUSALEM (as I have ſaid already) was divided into three factions. Eleazar and his party, that had the charge of the firſt fruits and oblations, got drunk and fell upon John. John ſally'd out upon Simon, and the people that aſſiſted him with proviſions, againſt himſelf and Eleazar. When John happen'd to be attack'd at the ſame time by Eleazar and Simon, both together, he divided his forces, and held thoſe in play that aſſaulted him on the city-ſide, with darts from the tops of the porches, plying thoſe in the temple above him with ſtones and arrows from his machines. When at any time his enemies over head gave him a little reſpite (as they did frequently, when Eleazar and his people were either tir'd or drunk) he was then at liberty to make ſtronger ſallies upon Simon and his complices; and ſtill as he beat him further and further into the town, he burnt all before him: magazines, granaries, ſtores, and all houſes indifferently, with whatever was in them, that ſtood in his way. Upon his retreat, Simon follow'd him immediately, and then it was his turn to do the ſame thing over again. They could have done no more if they had been in a direct conſpiracy for the betraying of Jeruſalem to the Romans, by putting it out of condition of defence, in deſtroying all that was neceſſary to preſerve it. And to increaſe the calamity, every thing was burnt to the ground quite round the temple; the city turn'd into a deſart by the very natives of the place, and a field of battle one againſt another. The proviſion of corn, in fine, and other neceſſaries, ſufficient to have maintain'd a ſiege for ſeveral years, was almoſt totally conſum'd; which led inevitably to a famine, and the ruin of the city that they brought upon themſelves.

John ſtands a double attack

Corn and other neceſſaries for life, burnt and deſtroy'd.

The deplorable ſtate of Jeruſalem.

JERUSALEM in the mean time, betwixt the faction within the town, and the beſiegers without, was like a great body worry'd and torn to pieces for a prey. Old men and women were under ſuch an aſtoniſhment for what they ſaw and ſuffer'd, that they pray'd for the ſucceſs of their very enemies, the Romans, and for a foreign war in exchange for a civil. They lay under the impreſſion of a moſt ſcandalous dread and terror. It was now paſt adviſing time, and there was no place left either for repentance, compoſition, or flight; all paſſages were guarded, and the heads of the factions, how mortal enemies ſoever in other caſes, were all of a mind yet in the agreement of killing any man that deſerv'd to live. They ſuffer'd not one man to eſcape, that was but ſuſpected to be a well willer to the Romans; but they were all treated like common enemies. Shouts, and the claſhing of arms were heard day and night. The fear itſelf of evils to come was a great miſery: but then the ſenſe of thoſe evils being come upon them was a much greater, and their daily lamentations were never yet without a juſt ground to work upon. Their fears made them ſmother their ſorrows. Grief is dumb when it comes to be ſtupifying; and that is the tormenting affliction that lies gnawing, like a canker, at the heart, without making any noiſe. There was no ſuch thing left as reverence for the living. The relation was loſt betwixt ſuperior and inferior, and as little regard had to the humanity of burying the dead. And what was the reaſon of all this, but an univerſal deſperation; for he that hath nothing to hope for, hath nothing to fear. Every man that was not of the faction, gave himſelf for loſt,

Neither humanity nor conſcience.

and carry'd his life in his hand, as if he were the next moment to die. The faction all this while fought on, with heaps of carcaſſes under their feet, in a kind of triumphant vanity of oſtentation, as if the horror of the ſpectacle had made the living as hard and inſenſible as the dead. But their heads and their hearts were bent upon wickedneſs; and whatever came into their thoughts that they were able to compaſs, let it be never ſo bloody and cruel, they made no ſcruple to execute it. Witneſs John's perverting to profane uſes thoſe ſacred materials that were ſet apart for the ſervice of God's houſe. The people and high prieſts had once enter'd into a reſolution to raiſe the temple twenty * cubits higher, and to carry up an arch to ſupport the work. To this end king Agrippa, with incredible charge and labour, brought from mount Libanus, certain admirable pieces of timber, both for length and ſize: but the war breaking out, interrupted the deſign. So that John, having occaſion for the materials, had the trees cut out into lengths for his own proper uſe, and then fram'd into turrets for his ſecurity and defence againſt Eleazar and his party, who annoy'd him from the top of the temple. They were raiſed along the wall to the weſtward, over-againſt the great hall, as the only place capable of ſuch a ſtructure, by reaſon of ſo many ſtair-caſes in the way. John flatter'd himſelf that this impious contrivance of his would have laid his enemies at his feet: but God in his providence diſappointed him, by bringing the Romans in upon him, before he could perfect his work.

The march and order of Titus's army.

WHEN Titus had gotten together one part of his army, and order'd the remainder of it up to Jeruſalem, he went to Ceſarea; where he had with him, over and above the three legions, that had formerly made ſuch havock in Judea under his father, the twelfth legion alſo; which was nevertheleſs brave for that unlucky encounter under Ceſtius; nay on the other ſide, burning with impatience for the opportunity of a revenge for that diſaſter. He order'd the fifth legion to meet him by the way of Ammaus, and the tenth by Jericho; while he himſelf march'd with the reſt, in conjunction with a body of royal auxiliaries, larger than ever heretofore, and a great number of Syrians. The detachments that were ſent by Veſpaſian under Mucianus into Italy, out of the four legions, he made good out of two thouſand choice men of the Alexandrian army that he brought along with him, and three thouſand more that follow'd him from the Euphrates: and there was the beſt of friends alſo, both for integrity and council, Tiberius Alexander, formerly the governor of Egypt, but now choſen to command the army; being the firſt man that own'd and ſtood up for Veſpaſian in the infancy of his government, enter'd into a league with him, and ſtood firm to it in deſpite of all the hazards of an uncertain fortune. He was likewiſe qualify'd with all the natural advantages for martial undertakings, that reſolution, generoſity, and wiſdom, could give a man.

CHAP. II.

Titus marches into the enemy's country; and takes a view of Jeruſalem. The Jews make a deſperate ſally. Titus preſerved by providence. His bravery and conduct.

Titus advances into an enemy's country.

TITUS being now advancing into an enemy's country, this was the order of his march. The auxiliaries went firſt; after them the pioneers; and in the next place, thoſe that were to mark out the camp; which were follow'd with the officers baggage, and a convoy: and then came Titus himſelf with his guards; the choiceſt of his men, and his enſign-bearers about him; a body of horſe following them at the head of the machines. The next in courſe were the tribunes, and other officers, with a train of choice men under their command: the Roman eagle after them, with the enſigns of the legions about it, and trumpets before them; the body of the army marching in rank and file, ſix in front; and the common ſoldiers, every man following the legion he belong'd to, with their luggage before them. The mercenaries and their guards brought up the rear. In this order Titus advanced, according to the method of the Roman diſcipline, by the way of Samaria up to Gophna; a place that his father Veſpaſian had formerly taken; and there he found a gariſon, where he took up his lodging that night, and proſecuted his march next morning to a place that the Jews call The valley of Thorns, near the village of Gabath Saul, or, The valley of Saul; where he encamped that evening near thirty † furlongs from Jeruſalem.

Titus marches with a party to take a view of Jeruſalem.

AT this place Titus put himſelf at the head of about ſix hundred choice horſe, and led them toward Jeruſalem to take a view of the town, and learn what he could of the ſtate and diſpoſition of the Jews. For being well aſſured that the people were altogether for peace, and as weary every jot of their oppreſſors as they were of the oppreſſion itſelf; and that they wanted nothing, in fine, but ſtrength and opportunity for a revolt; he did not know but that upon the ſight of him and his army, their hearts might fail them, and they might perhaps bethink themſelves of bringing the matter to terms of accommodation before it came to blows. Poſſeſs'd with theſe thoughts, Titus advanced toward the city, and ſo long as he went forward in the ready way to the walls, there was not one creature appear'd upon the battlements. But upon croſſing over toward the turret call'd Pſephinos, there ſallied out a vaſt number of Jews from the gate over againſt the ſepulchre of Helena, on the quarter they call the woman's tower, that brake quite through the middle of Titus's body, and cutting off the communication betwixt the two divided parties, they could not relieve one another. In this confuſion the Jews ſingled out Titus, with a very ſmall number of his people about him, in a place where there was no going forward for the encloſures, gardens, and ditches betwixt him and the wall; and his retreat was intercepted, on the other hand, by

The Jews make a deſperate ſally upon him.

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* Twenty Jewiſh cubits amounted to full thirty ſix Engliſh feet, that is, twelve yards.

† Thirty furlongs amounted to three Engliſh miles and three quarters, and forty five geometrical paces, as hath been already more than once obſerved.

Titus preſerv'd by a wonderful providence.

The conduct and bravery of Titus.

a ſtrong body of the enemy that was gotten betwixt him and his own people. But Titus's men not knowing the danger their general was in, and believing him to be yet ſafe and in the crowd, ſhifting for himſelf, they had nothing more to do, they thought, but every man to look to one, and ſo to follow their captain. Titus finding, in this extremity, that he had nothing but his ſword and his courage left him to truſt to, call'd out to his fellow-ſoldiers to follow him, and in the ſame inſtant ſpurred deſperately into the enemies body, to force his way thorough to the reſt of his men. Now this was a time and action to give all people to underſtand how far the providence of God interpoſes in the event of wars, and in the perſonal preſervation of emperors and princes. For Titus, who came not out (as I ſaid) to fight a battle, but to make a diſcovery, had not provided himſelf of arms, either for his head or his body, and yet not one dart or arrow, of all thoſe ſhowers that were thrown againſt him, once touch'd him, but were carried off from the mark, as if they had been deſign'd to miſs it; Titus in the mean time clearing his paſſage on both ſides with his ſword in his hand, overbearing all before him, and trampling his enemies under his horſe's feet. This fearleſs reſolution of Ceſar drew the rage of the whole party upon him with fury and clamour; crying out one to another to fall upon him, as the only check to their ſucceſſes. But which way ſoever Titus turn'd, the Jews fled before him; and yet at the ſame time others preſſing him flank and rear, and his companions all the while ſticking cloſe and bravely to him. They found by this time that there was no way to come off but by one ſeaſonable generous charge, quite thorough and thorough. They made the puſh immediately, wherein one of Titus's friends was kill'd, horſe and man; another overthrown and ſlain, and his horſe taken and carry'd off; while Titus, with the remainder of his people, got back again to his camp, without ſo much as one wound. The Jews took ſuch heart upon this temporary advantage, that they look'd upon it as an earneſt of greater things to follow: but their hopes deceiv'd them.

CHAP. III.

Domeſtick factions are united by a foreign war. The Roman ſoldiers being ſurpriz'd without their arms, are beaten from their camp. A skirmiſh betwixt the Jews and the Romans. Titus miſſing, and the Romans at their wits end to know what was become of him. The Jews make a running fight of it.

UPON the coming up of a legion that night from Ammaus to join Ceſar, he marched away next morning early to Scopos; a place ſeven * furlongs to the northward from the city. It ſtands low, and in a fair proſpect both of the town and of the temple; and ſo properly enough called Scopos. He order'd two legions to encamp upon the place, and the fifth legion to withdraw three † furlongs farther off; where they might intrench without any danger from the enemy, being already wearied off their legs with a tedious night's march. Theſe legions were no ſooner at work upon the orders, but the tenth legion came up from Jericho; a place lately taken and gariſon'd by Veſpaſian. This legion was appointed to encamp ſix ‡ furlongs to the eaſt of Jeruſalem, and the mount of Olives; which is over againſt the city, and the valley of Cedron betwixt them.

A foreign war unites the domeſtick factions.

THE factions in the town continued tearing one another to pieces, as the bittereſt adverſaries in the world, till the dread of a foreign war and a common enemy reconciled them again. For, upon the very ſight of the Roman camp, and the order of it, the three ſeditious parties agreed the matter, and united again; reaſoning with themſelves upon the equity and neceſſity of ſuch a compoſition, and expoſtulating one with another, after this manner. "What will be the end of this buſineſs, do you think, if we ſtand ſtill to ſee "ourſelves ſurrounded with forts and troops; "our lives and liberties at mercy, and we all "this while coop'd up within walls, and our "arms a-croſs, the ſame ſpectators of a licen-"tious war, to the advantage of our enemies, "and our own ruin? Nay, ſays another, we "are only valiant againſt ourſelves, and in "cutting one another's throats to make way "for the Romans to a conqueſt without "blood." Upon this they gather'd into parties and cabals; and in that very inſtant betaking themſelves to their arms, made a furious excurſion croſs the valley upon the tenth legion, with horrid clamours and outcries, as they were intrenching their camp. This ſally was ſuch a ſurprize to the Romans, that they were half diſtracted at it; and it was ſo much the greater, upon an opinion, both that the Jews durſt not offer at it, and that their diviſions had made them incapable of ſuch an agreement. But the ſoldiers, in fine, being at work without their arms, the Jews fell upon them unwares; whereupon every man quitted his poſt: ſome ran quite away, others fled to their arms, but were cut off before they could make uſe of them. Upon the credit of this victory ready to their hands, the Jews came flowing in ſtill more and more; and though they were not in truth very numerous, their good fortune made them appear ſo, both to the Romans and to themſelves. Of all nations under the heavens, the Romans are certainly the people that beſt underſtand the art and diſcipline of war, and diſcharge their military exerciſes and duties with the beſt conduct and grace; and yet upon the aſtoniſhment of this unaccountable ſurprize, they trembled; and turning their backs, the Jews follow'd them upon the purſuit: and upon turning their heads as any of the enemy came up with them, ſome they ſtopp'd or repuls'd, others they kill'd, or wounded; for in the heat of their rage they kept themſelves upon no manner of guard. But as the numbers encreas'd on the one hand, ſo of neceſſity muſt the confuſion on the other,

The ſoldiers ſurpriz'd without their arms.

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* Seven furlongs were ſeven eighths of a mile, that is, three quarters and half quarter of an Engliſh mile, and ten geometrical paces and an half.

† Three furlongs amounted to a quarter and half quarter of an Engliſh mile, and four geometrical paces and an half.

‡ Six furlongs amounted to three quarters of an Engliſh mile, and nine geometrical paces.

till

The Romans beaten from their camp.

A ſkirmiſh betwixt the Jews and the Romans.

till in the end the Romans were forc'd totally to abandon their camp; and the whole legion had been entirely cut off, if Titus had not come in the preciſe minute to their ſuccour, and, betwixt reproaches of cowardice on the one ſide, and exemplary bravery on the other, put a ſtop to their flight. Titus took this opportunity of joining the fugitives, with a party of choice men he had about him of his own; and charging the Jews in the flank, he kill'd ſeveral of them upon the ſpot, wounded more, and drove the whole body down into the valley in great diſorder, and not without a conſiderable loſs of men, before they could gain the other ſide of the bottom. Upon their paſſing the valley they made a ſtand, and maintain'd a fight with the Romans a croſs it till mid-day. In the afternoon, Titus enforced the legion with the troops he brought to ſuccour it; and poſting parties up and down to ſecure the Romans againſt excurſions, he order'd the remainder of his forces up the mountain, to encamp and fortify upon the top of it.

The Jews that were within diſtance of obſerving this motion from the walls, took it for a direct flight; and one of their intelligencers gave to underſtand as much by a ſignal from the town, by ſhaking a garment in the air, as a way of intelligence concerted among themſelves. Upon this intimation, the Jews ſally'd forth in ſuch an outrageous fury, that they look'd liker a herd of wild beaſts than a multitude of men. The violence was ſo impetuous that not ſo much as one man in the contrary party durſt ſtand the ſhock; but they were all driven, as if it had been by a blow from an engine, ſome one way, and ſome another, preſſing up the mountain all that was poſſible for refuge. About half way up the hill, Titus made a ſtand, with a few of his generous reſolute friends about him; who, out of the veneration they had for the perſon and dignity of the emperor, beſought him not to expoſe any longer his own ſacred life againſt the worthleſs lives of a deſperate rabble of Jews, whoſe condition was ſuch, that death was the beſt thing could befal them; but rather to conſult his own quality and ſafety; minding him that he was not there in the circumſtances of a ſoldier, but in the character of the ſovereign maſter of the world; and that it was not for him to think of ſtanding alone, when the foundations of the earth ſunk under him. Titus took no more notice of what they ſaid than if he had not heard it; but ſtood upon his guard againſt all oppoſers, and encounter'd all aſſaults: cutting ſome over the face, killing others that preſs'd upon him, and forcing ſome again down the mountain into the valley. The vigour and the reſolution of this prince kept them in ſome ſort of awe, though not enough to fright them into the city again: but opening to the right and left, they attack'd his people on each hand of him; while Titus galling them in the flank, gave ſome obſtruction to the purſuit.

The Romans at their wits end for fear of their general.

The Jews make a running fight of it.

When the Romans, from their camp above, took notice what havock was made of their companions below, it ſtruck them with ſuch an horror and amazement, that the whole legion diſpers'd upon it; taking for granted that the Romans were not able to ſtand before the Jews, and that Titus himſelf had quitted the field; or his ſoldiers (they thought) would never have forſaken him. While they were in the diſtraction of this panick terror, running up and down like madmen, they knew not why, nor whither, there was an alarum given to the whole legion, by ſome that had ſeen Titus labouring for life in the middle of his enemies, calling upon them with outcries to haſten away to the reſcue of their general. This reproach, betwixt the ſhame and the conſcience of having abandon'd their commander, tranſported them to ſuch a violent pitch of rage, that, without any farther thought of ſhifting for themſelves, they fell with all their might upon the Jews, and drove them away before them down the brow of the mountain. Not but that they made their retreat fighting too, and for a while diſputed every foot of ground they loſt; till the Romans, by the advantage of the higher ſtation, drove them by force all to the valley. Titus preſs'd hard upon thoſe he had to do withal, and ſo ſent the legion back to make an end of their trenches; he himſelf ſtaying with his own ſoldiers about him, to keep the enemy at a diſtance. Now if I may be allow'd to ſpeak the juſt truth of the matter, without flattery, envy, or detraction, this was the ſecond time that Titus ſav'd this legion in the ſame day. And the ſoldiers were now at liberty to fortify and ſettle their camp.

CHAP. IV.

The paſchal feaſt at hand. A curſed deſign under the cover of religion. The three factions contracted into two. Titus moves toward Jeruſalem, and orders the levelling of the paſſes.

The paſchal feaſt at hand.

An execrable deſign under the cover of religion.

THE Jews had no ſooner a little breathing-while from the hoſtilities of the Romans, but they fell preſently into civil diſcord again among themſelves. The paſchal feaſt, or the feaſt of unleavened bread, being now at hand; that is to ſay, the fourteenth of the month * Xanthicus, which is the day from whence the Jews date their deliverance out of Egypt; Eleazar cauſed the temple gate to be ſet open, for a free entrance to all people that had a mind to come to worſhip. John made uſe of this religious occaſion and pretext, for a cover to a moſt execrable wickedneſs that he had in his heart. He pick'd out a ſelect number of his own people that were the leaſt known, and moſt of them licentious and prophane: and theſe he ſecretly intermingled with the worſhippers; giving them daggers, and private arms under their coats, with inſtructions how to behave themſelves. The temple was immediately all in a tumult both within and without; and this uproar was looked upon as a general deſign upon the whole multitude, by thoſe that were not of the plot. But Eleazar and the Zelotes knew better; and that the malice of this exploit was principally levelled at them: and thereupon the guards drew off from the gates; others leapt down from the towers without ſtriking a blow, and crept into the temple vaults to hide themſelves. The common people that betook themſelves to the altar, were miſerably deſtroy'd; ſome of them ſqueez'd and trampled to death in the croud; others lay weltering in their blood up and down, or their brains beaten out with ſwords and cudgels. Where any man had a pique at another, it was but making him one of the contrary faction to cover his revenge; and a particular grudge was pretence enough to take away any man's life, or to call him a Zelote. But after all theſe barbarous inhumanities upon the innocent, the guilty found ſome ſort of quarter yet, in a connivance of their eſcapes out of thoſe vaults and holes, where they had abſconded. The Zelotes, being now abſolute maſters of the inner-temple, preſſed harder and harder ſtill upon Simon; the faction being now reduced to two diviſions, that were in three before.

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* i. e. April.

The three factions reduced to two.

Titus moves from Scopos toward Jeruſalem, and gives order for the filling up and levelling all the paſſes.

TITUS was at this time thinking to decamp from Scopos, and to advance nearer Jeruſalem: ſo that in order to his removal, he poſted a competent ſtrength of his beſt troops to prevent and encounter inroads, and gave it in charge to another body of men, to ſee all the ways levelled betwixt that and Jeruſalem. Upon this, the hedges, the walls, and the country people's fences about their gardens, were all taken away, and the trees cut down round about, fruit-trees and all, though never ſo choice; the hollows all filled up, the crags plain'd, and the whole tract of ground from Scopos to Herod's ſepulchre, and the pool of ſerpents (otherwiſe called Bethara) all made ſmooth and even.

CHAP. V.

The Jews lay their heads together to put a cheat upon the Romans. Titus has no faith in the pretence. The Jews out-wit the Romans. Titus threatens his men with martial law; but upon the officers mediation, Titus grants them their pardon. The ſiege of Jeruſalem.

The Jews deſign a cheat upon the Romans.

THE Jews had at this time a plot in their heads, how to put a trick upon the Romans. Some of the boldeſt of the party made a ſtep out of the town, a little beyond the place they call the womens towers; upon a pretence, that they were forced out of the city, for fear of a party within it that was for peace; and that they durſt not venture any farther, for fear of the Romans: but there they kept themſelves as cloſe, and as much out of ſight as they could. There was at the ſame time another party upon the walls, bawling out as loud as they could, and in the name of the inhabitants, for a peace and an alliance with the Romans; imploring them at the ſame time to come over to them, and they would open them the gates. And for the better grace of this impoſture, they counterfeited a ſquabble and a conteſt among themſelves: ſome pretending to preſs out to the Romans; and others caſting ſtones at them to hinder them, and ſtill perſiſting in appearance either by fair means or by foul to make their way. At this rate, after ſeveral feigned attempts and repulſes, they returned back again like mad-men at the diſappointment. The cheat went down well enough with the common ſoldiers, who look'd upon the town to be as good as their own already, and preſs'd ſo eagerly to be in action, as if there had been nothing wanting, but the ceremony of opening the gates to put them in poſſeſſion of it. But Titus had no faith at all in the pretext of this invitation; having made them an offer by Joſeph, but the day before, of as much as they ſeemed now to deſire, and they rejected the propoſal. So that Titus commanded his ſoldiers every man of them to ſtand to their arms, and to maintain their poſts. But in the mean while, ſome of thoſe that were employed upon the trenches, betook themſeves to their weapons in a hurry, and ran toward the gates. The Jews, that pretended to be driven out of the town, let them paſs by without any interruption till they were got up within a little of ſome of the towers near the port; and then following them cloſe upon the rear, they hemmed them in within reach of ſtones, darts, and all manner of ſhot of that quality from the walls; where great numbers of them were kill'd and wounded; being ſo pent up by thoſe that preſſed upon the backs of them, that there was no getting clear of the wall: beſide that, betwixt ſhame and confuſion on the one hand for their diſobedience, and the fear of puniſhment for it on the other, they were hardened into a reſolution of proſecuting what they had begun. But, in fine, after a long diſpute, and with an equal loſs on both ſides, the Romans in the concluſion broke thorough the body of the Jews; who yet purſu'd them in their retreat with lances, and other ſuch-like weapons, as far as the ſepulchre of Helena: and not without inſolent and contemptuous reproaches upon the Romans, for being out-witted, and made ſuch fools of. This they did, waving their bucklers over their heads; leaping and dancing all the way they went, with ſhouts of joy and triumph.

Titus has no faith in the pretence.

The Jews out-wit the Romans.

Titus gives his men a ſevere reproof, and threatens to deliver them up to the law.

WHEN the Romans were thus come off, their officers treated them with menaces and ſcorn; and Titus himſelf received them with a ſpeech of reſentment and indignation, to the following purpoſe. "How comes it, ſays he, "that the Jews, that have nothing but their deſpair for their directors, ſhould yet manage their affairs with ſo much conſideration, ſtratagem and ſucceſs?" The queſtion is anſwer'd in one word: they live in obedience to their ſuperiors, and in good will and union one with another: "Whereas the Romans, that have been hitherto ſo famous for their excellent order and diſcipline, and conſequently for their good fortune, are now fallen off, and deſtroy'd by the headſtrong intemperances of their own folly, in making war without officers; and, which is worſt of all, Ceſar himſelf to be a ſpectator of this. What a ſcandal will this be to the very rules and methods of arms! or what will my father ſay, do ye think, when he ſhall come to hear of it; a general, that in the whole courſe of a long and a military life, never met with any thing like it before? Now ſuch is the ſeverity of martial law, that it makes it capital for any man to depart from the ſtrict rule of diſcipline, even in a ſmall matter; but in this caſe, the whole army is a deſerter. And be it known to you all, that, according to the ſtrictneſs of the Roman conduct, victory itſelf is a ſcan-

“ dal when it is gain'd not under the direction
“ and command of the general.”

The ſoldiers interpoſe on their behalf, and Ceſar pardons them.

Titus delivered theſe words with ſome ſort of indignation; which gave the officers to underſtand, that the law was to be executed: and upon this, the whole body of the offenders gave themſelves for loſt; being ſatisfy'd in their conſciences, that they had deſerv'd the juſtice they fear'd. But, in this interval, the legions did in a manner beſet Titus, with petitions and interceſſions on the behalf of their unfortunate companions; imploring his mercy toward the failings of a few raſh people, for the ſake of a greater number that ſtood firm; and upon an aſſurance that they would attone by their future ſervices for their paſt faults. Ceſar found his intereſt, as well as his inclination, in complying with this mediation; for tho' in the caſe of a ſingle perſon diſobeying orders, it may be requiſite to uſe ſeverity, the ſame reaſon does not hold yet in a multitude. Titus, in fine, forgave and forgot all that was paſt; upon condition, that his people would be more dutiful and cautious for the time to come: and from thence forward he ſet his thoughts at work, how to revenge himſelf on the treacherous Jews.

The ſiege of Jeruſalem.

His firſt buſineſs was to lay all level betwixt himſelf and the town; which was the work only of four days: after which, he ordered the beſt of his troops to advance towards the ramparts, betwixt north and weſt: the foot drawn up in ſeven batallions, and the horſe in three ſquadrons, with archers betwixt them. This being a force ſufficient to prevent or repel all excurſions, the baggage of the three legions, and the train thereunto belonging, were all out of danger.

Titus encamping at the diſtance of two * furlongs from the city, over-againſt the tower called Pſephinos, upon that angle of the wall, where it winds off from the north to the weſtward; intrenching alſo another part of his army toward the tower Hippicos, about two furlongs likewiſe from the city; keeping the tenth legion ſtill where it was, upon mount Olivet.

CHAP. VI.

The deſcription of Jeruſalem. Three walls. The old wall impregnable. Three famous towers. A diſmal conflagration. The magnificence and ſituation of the temple. The womens oratory. The holy ſanctuary. The inner part of it, with the partitions. The candleſtick, table and altar. The outſide of the temple. The roof. The altar before the temple. No unclean perſon ſuffered to enter. The prieſts exemplary in their converſation. The prieſts veil. The Ephod. Fort Antonia.

The deſcription of Jeruſalem. Three walls.

THE city of Jeruſalem was ſurrounded with three walls, ſaving only upon the quarter toward the inacceſſible valleys, where there was but one. It was erected upon two hills; the one directly fronting the other, and a deep valley betwixt them; all cover'd with houſes. The mountain that the upper town ſtands upon, is much the higher and the ſteeper of the two; and for the ſtrength of the ſituation, king David, the father of Solomon that erected the temple, gave it the name formerly of the fortreſs or caſtle; and this is it which we call at this day the upper market.

The lower town.

The lower town is ſeated upon an hill that bears the name of Acra, with a ſteep declivity round about it. There was formerly another hill alſo over-againſt this, ſomewhat lower than the Acra, and divided from it by a large valley: but in the time of the Aſmoneans, their princes filled up this bottom; and cutting off from the hill Acra, they join'd the town to the temple; by which means it overlooked and commanded all the reſt.

The valley of Tyropeon, and the fountain of Siloe.

The name of the valley aforeſaid, that ſeparates the upper town from the lower, is Tyropeon; and it ſtretches as far as to the fountain of Siloe: that affords an excellent water to drink, and great plenty of it.

There are likewiſe without the town two other towns ſeated upon hills, next to inacceſſible, by the crags and precipices every where round about them.

The old wall impregnable.

The oldeſt of the three walls was extremely ſtrong, by reaſon of the depth of the valley below, and the over-hanging of the rock from above, whereupon it was erected. And beſide the natural advantage of the ſituation, it had all the helps that David and Solomon, and ſeveral other princes, could contribute to the further ſtrengthening of it, by art, induſtry, and expence. It began on that ſide, at the tower Hippicos; and ſo to another tower call'd the Galleries, running along by the town-houſe, to the weſt porch of the temple. It paſſed on the other ſide, reckoning from the ſame place, by † Bethſo, down to the Eſſene gate, and ſo ſouthward, by the fountain of Siloe; where it ſtrikes off to the eaſtward, toward the pool of Solomon; and thence by Ophlas, to the eaſt porch of the temple.

The ſecond wall begins at Genath, a gate belonging to the former wall; and ſo runs on, upon the north ſide of the city, to the fort Antonia.

The third wall began at the tower Hippicos, and ſo ran northward to that of Pſephinos; over-againſt Helena's ſepulchre, the queen of Adiabena, and mother of king Izates; keeping along by the royal caves, from the tower at the corner, toward that which they call the Fullers-monument; whence it came up to the old wall in the vale of Cedron: and this was the compaſs of it. This wall was the work of Agrippa, for the ſecurity of that part of the town that he had built, which was otherwiſe naked and defenceleſs. The city was by this time grown ſo populous, that the place was too narrow for the inhabitants; ſo that by little and little they crept out into a kind of ſuburbs, and on the north ſide of the temple next the hill, their buildings encreas'd extremely.

There was a fourth mountain that fronted Antonia, with ditches cut out, of a prodigious depth betwixt them; inſomuch, that there was no coming at the foundation of Antonia, to undermine it: beſide that, the ſinking of the trench added ſo much to the height of the tower. They gave the fourth mountain the name of Bezeth, or the New-town; being an enlargement only of the former. When this place came to be inhabited, the people earneſtly deſired to have it fortified: and Agrippa, the father of this king of the ſame name, modelled his deſign, and ran up this wall about it; as you have heard. But upon a ſuggeſtion of fancy, that Claudius Ceſar might perhaps take ſome offence and jealouſy at the pomp and oſtentation of ſo magnificent a work, Agrippa went ne farther than the laying of the foundations, and ſo dropp'd the project: but if he had gone on, Jeruſalem could never have been taken.

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* Two furlongs amounted to a quarter of an Engliſh mile, and three geometrical paces.

† Beriſo.

THE ſtones of this wall were twenty * cubits in length, and ten over; and ſo hard and firm withal, that they were proof either againſt mining or battery. The wall was alſo ten cubits thick, and it would have been anſwerably high in proportion, if the fear of Claudius (as I told you) had not put a ſtop to Agrippa's deſign. The Jews, 'tis true, carry'd up the wall afterwards to twenty cubits, with battlements of two † cubits at the top, and parapets of three; which in all make ‡ five and twenty cubits. The wall was fortified with towers of twenty cubits ſquare, every jot as ſubſtantial as the very wall; and not inferior, for ſtrength and beauty, to the ſtones and workmanſhip of the temple itſelf. Theſe towers were raiſ'd twenty cubits above the wall, with winding ſtair-caſes leading up to them; lodgings and eating rooms on the top, and ciſterns for rain-water. Upon the third wall there were ninety towers all of a make, and at the equal diſtance of two § hundred cubits one from another. The middle wall had only fourteen towers; the old wall, ſixty; and thirty ** three furlongs was the compaſs of the whole city.

The third wall was all over a wonderful piece of workmanſhip from one end to the other; but yet not comparable to the tower call'd Pſephinos: it ſtands upon the angle of the wall, north-weſt of the city, upon that quarter where Titus had encamp'd. The height of it was ſeventy †† cubits; and ſo advantageous a proſpect, that in a clear day one might ſee Arabia from it, the ſea, and the uttermoſt confines of the Hebrews. The figure of it was with eight angles. Just againſt this was the tower Hippicos, and there were near at hand two other towers of Herod's erecting upon the old wall, which for ſize, curioſity, and ſtrength, were looked upon as the moſt famous maſter-pieces in the world: for the king, over and above the natural greatneſs of his mind, gratify'd the impulſe of his inclination alſo, in doing all he could for the good and glory of the city. He dedicated his three towers to the honour and memory of the three perſons he had the greateſt eſteem for in the world; his brother, his friend, and his wife: the two former having ſignaliz'd themſelves by dying gloriouſly in the field of battle; the other being put to death by himſelf, out of a ſpirit of jealouſy.

Three famous towers to the honour of his brother, his friend, and wife. Hippicos, Phaſaelus, and Mariamne.

THE tower of Hippicos (the name of one of his friends) had four angles, five and twenty cubits over, and thirty ‡‡ in height, and the whole body of it ſolid. Above this was a platform of ſtones accurately jointed; and a receptacle for rain water, of twenty cubits deep. Over this terras were yet two ſtories of five and twenty cubits each, and divided into ſeveral chambers or quarters; and over that building were battlements of two cubits high, and parapets of three cubits all around; amounting in the whole to the height of eighty §§ five cubits.

HEROD call'd the ſecond tower Phaſael, by the name of his brother. It was forty ** cubits ſquare, and in height, after the manner of a pillar; all maſſive within from top to bottom. And above this was a porch of ten cubits high, ſupported with arches, and ſet out with other curioſities. Over the middle of this porch was another, with rich baths and apartments to it, ſuitable to the magnificence of the royal founder. On the top of it were battlements and fortifications; the whole height of the tower falling little ſhort of ninety †⸸ cubits. It had at a diſtance ſome reſemblance of the watch-tower of Pharos, the famous ſea-mark to thoſe that ſailed toward Alexandria; only much the larger of the two, and at this time the reſidence of Simon, that tyrannical oppreſſor.

HEROD gave the third tower the name of the queen Mariamne, his wife. It was twenty cubits ſquare, length and breadth, and five †‡ and fifty cubits high. It muſt be allowed, that the ſtructure, the rooms, and the furniture, of the two other towers, were rich and pompous; but they were yet as much below the curioſity, the beauty, and the ornament of this, as this fell ſhort of the ſtrength and dignity of the other two: the king rightly diſtinguiſhing betwixt the maſculine virtues of the two heroes, Hippicos and Phaſael, and the ſoft tenderneſs of a fair lady in the perſon of Mariamne.

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* Twenty cubits amounted to full twelve, and ten cubits to full ſix Engliſh yards.

† Two cubits were ſomething upwards of three Engliſh feet, and three of five Engliſh feet.

‡ Twenty five cubits amounted to ſomething more than forty five Engliſh feet; that is fifteen yards.

§ Two hundred cubits amounted to three hundred ſixty four Engliſh feet; that is to one hundred twenty one yards and a foot.

** Thirty three furlongs amounted to four Engliſh miles and half a quarter, and forty nine geometrical paces and an half.

†† Seventy cubits amounted to ſomething upwards of one hundred and twenty ſeven Engliſh feet; that is to forty two yards and a foot.

‡‡ Thirty cubits amounted to ſomething upwards of fifty four Engliſh feet; that is to eighteen yards. 50

§§ Eighty five cubits amounted to ſomething more than one hundred fifty four Engliſh feet; that is to ſeventy one yards and a foot.

** Forty cubits amounted to ſomething more than ſeventy two Engliſh feet; that is to twenty four yards.

†⸸ Ninety cubits amounted to ſomething more than one hundred ſixty four Engliſh feet; that is to fifty four yards and two feet.

†‡ Five and fifty cubits amounted to ſomething more than one hundred Engliſh feet; that is thirty three yards and one foot.

Now as to theſe three towers, the height was prodigious; and yet the place they were rais'd upon, made it ſeem much more than it was. For the old wall they ſtood upon, was itſelf erected upon a very high piece of ground: and theſe turrets again were advanc'd upon the top of a mountain, that was yet thirty cubits higher than the antient wall. Neither were they leſs admirable for the materials they were made of, than for the ſtructure. The ſtones were neither common, nor of a weight to be removed with hands; but of white marble cut out into into planks of twenty cubits long, ten in breadth, and five cubits deep; and ſo artificially put together, that there was no joints to be ſeen; but every diſtinct tower look'd like one entire piece.

The palace royal.

THIS was on the north-ſide of the city, and juſt within it there ſtood a royal palace, ſo rich and curious, that it is not for the tongue of man to expreſs it: beſide that, it was all encloſed with a wall of thirty cubits in height, and turrets of the beſt work and maſters, planted at equal diſtances one from another round about it; with ſplendid lodgings and treating-rooms to receive an hundred perſons. There was an incredible collection of the choiceſt marbles for variety and beauty, that could be gotten for money. The beams and timbers that ſupported the roofs were for length and thickneſs beyond imagination; and ſo were the ornamental additions toward the finiſhing of the work. There were a world of chambers with commodious paſſages, and contrivances innumerable; for ſight as well as for convenience; the whole being magnificently ſet out and furniſh'd, with all the advantages of gold and ſilver, and whatever elſe was precious. There were alſo porches and galleries in abundance, leading in a kind of circle from one to another, and in each of them a row of pillars. Now for the diſtances betwixt thoſe pillars that lay to the open air, nothing could be more agreeable than the proſpect of ſo many groves and nurſeries of ſo many ſeveral plants; long and pleaſant walks, beſet with ciſterns, fountains pipes, and brazen figures to ſpout out water, with volaries of tame pigeons gathering about it for refreſhment. But it is impoſſible for any man to do this palace right in the deſcription of it; beſide that my heart bleeds at the very thought of the ſtory, to conſider what a devaſtation hath been made here by an impious crew of incendiaries and traytors. For this conflagration was not the work of the Romans, but of a band of wicked miſcreants, as we have already obſerv'd upon the beginning of this ſedition, who burnt all from the fort Antonia; and then carrying it on to the palace, ſet fire to the roofs of the three towers.

A diſmal conflagration.

THE temple was built, as I ſaid, upon a very hard rock, which was ſo ſteep on all hands, that at firſt there was ſcarce ground ſufficient on the top of it for the temple, and the encloſure that was to be about it. But when king Solomon erected this fabrick, he order'd the running up of a wall to the eaſtward of it, to keep up the earth: and having ſo far ſecur'd it, he built a porch upon the rampart. There was not as yet any other fortification; but the people carrying up earth from time to time afterwards to ſupply the defect, the hill came by degrees to be enlarged. They brake down ſome time after this the north wall, and took in as much ground there too, as ſerved in time to come for the foundation of the whole temple.

THE deſign ſucceeding ſo much beyond expectation, they encompaſs'd the hill with three walls; but with a prodigious expence of time and treaſure: for it was not only a work of many ages; but the whole maſs of religious oblations from all parts of the world, to the honour and ſervice of God and his worſhip, was ſpent upon this undertaking, reckoning the charge as well of the upper as of the lower temple; which latter was erected upon a foundation of at leaſt three [*] hundred cubits deep, and in ſome places more; but the depth did not appear, in regard that the valley was now fill'd up to the very level of the ſtreets in the city. The ſtones provided for this mighty undertaking, were of forty cubits in length; which gave them to underſtand, that there was nothing impoſſible where there was money and good-will; and that conſtancy, time, and patience, could work miracles.

The ſituation, magnificence, and ſtructure of the temple.

AS the foundations were wonderful, ſo the dignity of the ſuperſtructure was not inferior to that of the ground work. The galleries above were all double, upheld by pillars of white marble all of a piece, and five and twenty cubits in height, and wainſcotted with cedar; which, for the curioſity of the work, and the ſmoothneſs of the grain, was a delightful entertainment to the ſpectator, without need of any additional ornaments either of painting or carving. They were all thirty cubits over, and ſix [†] furlongs the whole compaſs of them, including the tower Antonia. In the open air, where there was no covering over head, the ground was pav'd and chequer'd with all ſorts of ſtones: but the way to the ſecond temple was lin'd on each hand with ſtone balluſters, delicately wrought and poliſhed, of three cubits high. In this paſſage there were alſo ſeveral pillars orderly diſpos'd, with inſcriptions and precepts upon them in Latin and Greek, upon the ſubject of continence and chaſtity, and forbidding ſtrangers to enter into that holy place. For the ſecond temple was call'd holy, and it was fourteen ſteps above the firſt. The figure of it was four-ſquare, with a wall of its own; which, though forty cubits without, was yet but five and twenty cubits within, the place being cover'd with the ſteps that led to mount it. Now this wall being built upon an advance ground, with ſtairs to it, part of the inſide was ſo blinded with the mountain that it could not be diſcerned.

AT the top of theſe fourteen ſteps, there was a plain level of three hundred cubits up to the wall; and from thence, five ſteps more to the gates of the temple. There were alſo four from the north, as many from the ſouth, and two from the eaſt.

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[*] Three hundred cubits amounted to ſomething upwards of five hundred and forty ſix Engliſh feet, that is one hundred and eighty yards and two feet.

[†] Six furlongs amounted to three quarters of an Engliſh mile, and nine geometrical paces, as hath been before obſerved.

The womens oratory.

The women had an oratory, or a worſhipping place by themſelves, with a partition wall to it, and two gates; one to the ſouth, the other to the north; which were the two only paſſages of entrance to the women: neither were they permitted to paſs their own; for that place was free indifferently to women inhabitants, as well as ſtrangers that came thither upon devotion. The weſt ſide of it was a dead wall, without any door at all. Betwixt the aforeſaid gates, and over-againſt the wall within near the treaſury, there were galleries with ſtately pillars to ſupport them, plain and ſimple, and not much inferior to thoſe below.

Some of theſe gates were plated all over with gold and ſilver; poſts, front and all; but there was one, without the temple, of Corinthian braſs; which is much the moſt curious metal of the three. There were double doors to every gate, each thirty cubits high, and * fifteen broad. They were wider within, and withdrawing-rooms on each hand, of thirty cubits ſquare, after the manner of turrets; and upward of twenty cubits high; and each of them borne up with pillars of twelve † cubits in thickneſs, the other gates being of the ſame dimenſions in proportion. As to the Corinthian portal on the eaſt-ſide of the temple where the women came in, it was undoubtedly the largeſt, and the moſt magnificent of them all; for it was fifty ‡ cubits high, the gates forty; and the gold and ſilver plates upon it more ſubſtantial than thoſe that Alexander, the father of Tiberias, laid upon the other nine. There were fifteen ſteps from the wall that parted the men and the women to the great gate; which was five ſhort of thoſe that led to the other gates.

The holy ſanctuary.

The temple itſelf; that is to ſay, the holy temple or ſanctuary, was placed in the middle, with twelve ſtairs up to it. The height of it was an hundred § cubits, and the breadth as many in the front; but backward it wanted forty of the number. For upon the entrance, there were two additions raiſed (like two ſhoulders) of twenty cubits each. The height of the firſt gate was ſeventy cubits, and five and twenty over; but it had no doors to it, being a figure of heaven, open and viſible to the whole world. The front and outſides of it were all over gilded; and nothing to be ſeen in the inſide of the temple neither, which had not likewiſe a dazling luſtre.

The inner part of it, with the partitions.

The inner part of it was divided into two partitions. The firſt of them in ſight was open to the top, which was ninety ** cubits in height, forty in length, and twenty over. The inſide of the gate was, as I ſaid, plated all over with gold, and the wall gilded every where about it. There were alſo leaves and branches of vines over head, and cluſters of grapes equal to the bigneſs of a man, that hung dangling down all of gold too. The other partition of the temple being ciel'd above, appear'd the lower of the two. The doors to it were of gold, five and fifty cubits in height, and ſixteen †† broad, with a piece of Babylonian tapeſtry hanging before them, of the ſame dimenſions, and interwoven with blue, purple, and ſcarlet, moſt artificially put together, and wrought to admiration. And the mixture was not a bare curioſity neither, but a myſtical alluſion to the four elements, either by the colours, or by the matter they were made of; the ſcarlet repreſenting the fire, the ſilk the earth that produc'd it, the azure, the air, and the purple, the ſea from whence it comes. So that this veil or hanging was an emblem of the univerſe, only excepting the celeſtial ſigns.

This entrance leads you into the lower part of the temple; the height and length of it ſixty ‡‡ cubits, and the breadth twenty. This length of ſixty cubits was then ſubdivided into two unequal parts, one of forty cubits, and the other of twenty. The former part of forty cubits, had in it the three wonderful rarities that had been celebrated over the whole world, the candleſtick, the table, and the altar of incenſe. The candleſtick had ſeven branches, (all out of the ſame ſtem) with ſeven lights, repreſenting the ſeven planets. The twelve loaves of ſhew-bread upon the table pointed at the twelve ſigns in the Zodiack, and the courſe of the year. By the thirteen ſorts of perfumes in the cenſer upon the altar of incenſe (divers of theſe odours being extracted out of the deep of the inhoſpitable ſea) we are given to underſtand that God is maſter of the univerſe, and that all things are made for his honour and ſervice.

The candleſtick, the table, and the altar, three pieces of art.

The inner part of the temple, being only twenty cubits in height, was divided by a veil alſo from the other, and nothing at all in it; neither was any man permitted to enter in, or ſo much as look into it; and it was called the ſanctuary, or the Holy of Holies. Upon the ſides of this lower temple there were ſeveral lodgings, leading from one to another, with three ſtories over head, and paſſages into them out of the great portal. Now the upper part being narrower than the other, could not have the convenience of the ſame order of chambers; but it was forty cubits higher, though the leſs ſplendid of the two. The height, in fine, upon the whole, was an hundred cubits, and the plan only ſixty.

The outſide of the temple.

The beauty and curioſity of the temple, on the outſide, was agreeable and charming beyond imagination; being fac'd every where with ſubſtantial golden plates, that ſparkled like the morning ſun; and every jot as dazling to the eye to gaze upon them. Where there was no gilding, the ſtructure was all ſo delicately white, that it look'd at a diſtance to travellers like a marble mountain, or a pillar of ſnow.

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* Fifteen cubits amounted to ſomething more than twenty ſeven Engliſh feet, that is nine yards.

† Twelve cubits amounted to ſomething more than one and twenty Engliſh feet, that is ſeven yards.

‡ Fifty cubits amounted to ſomething more than ninety one Engliſh feet, that is thirty yards and a foot.

§ An hundred cubits amounted to ſomething more than one hundred and eighty two Engliſh feet, that is threeſcore yards and two feet.

** Ninety cubits amounted to ſomething upwards of one hundred and ſix four Engliſh feet, that is fifty four yards and two feet.

†† Sixteen cubits amounted to ſomething more than twenty nine Engliſh feet, that is ten yards lacking a foot.

‡‡ Sixty cubits amounted to ſomething upwards of one hundred and nine Engliſh feet, that is thirty ſix yards and a foot.

The roof.

THE roof of the temple was cover'd and arm'd all over with pointed ſpikes of gold, to keep off the birds from neſtling upon it and fouling it. There were a great many ſtones in this building, of forty * five cubits long, † five in height, and ſix ‡ cubits broad.

The altar before the temple.

THE altar before the temple was †‡ fifteen cubits high, and ſquare; and four angles to it like horns. The aſcent to this altar was on the ſouth-ſide, and very difficult by reaſon of the declivity of the paſſage. There came no hammer upon it, nor any iron-tool in the working of it.

THERE was a partition rais'd of ſtone work, curiouſly wrought, and of one cubit in height, encloſing the temple and the altar, and ſeparating the people from the prieſts.

No unclean perſons admitted into it.

No people troubled with the Gonorrhea, and no lepers were ſuffer'd, either in the temple, or in the city. No women were allow'd to come near the temple in the time of their courſes; and even when they were over, not to paſs further than as we have ſaid above. Neither were men permitted to enter the inner temple without being firſt purify'd, and even then alſo, they were not to mingle with the prieſts.

THOSE of the § ſacerdotal race, that were hinder'd by any defect from the exerciſe of their function, took their places yet with thoſe that had none, and had their allowances in common with the reſt; only under the diſtinction of a lay habit: for no man is allow'd to wear the veſtments of a prieſt, but he that actually executes the office.

The prieſts exemplary in life and converſation.

THE prieſts that ſerved in the temple and at the altar, were to be perſons exemplary in their lives and converſations, and without either ſcandal or blemiſh: Their clothing fine linen; temperate and abſtemious in their eating and drinking, for the reverence of the holy function. The high-prieſt went up with the other prieſts to the altar every ſeventh day, and upon the firſt day of every month, and upon all publick anniverſary feſtivals; where he officiated in a veil girt about him, and hanging down over part of his thighs; with a linen veil under it that reach'd down to the ground: and over both theſe, he wore a large violet colour'd garment, fring'd at the bottom; and golden bells and pomegranates interchangeably faſten'd to it: the bells repreſenting the thunder, and the pomegranates the lightning. His pectoral was ty'd about him with party colour'd ribbons; as gold colour, purple, ſcarlet, linen and violet: which were the colours alſo, as I have ſaid already, of the veils of the temple.

The prieſts veil.

And the myſtery of it.

The Ephod.

THE mixture of the Ephod was the ſame too, only more of gold in it; and in the ſhape of it, not much unlike that of a breaſt piece. It was bound together with two golden buckles in the figure of aſps, and ſet with ſardonyx ſtones, the largeſt and the richeſt that were to be got, with the names of the twelve tribes of Iſrael inſcrib'd upon them. There were alſo four rows of precious ſtones, hanging down in the order of three and three in a row: that is to ſay, a ſardonyx, topaz, emerald, carbuncle, jaſper, ſapphire, agat, amethyſt, a lynx ſtone, onyx, a beryl, and a chryſolite; with the ſame names upon them reſpectively as before.

HE had upon his head a ſilken tiara, with a crown over it of violet colour; and another crown over that of gold, with the ſacred vowels engraven upon it.

THE high-prieſt's ** every day's habit was not ſo rich and magnificent; but this was only made uſe of for the ſolemnity of once a year; and that for him alone too, and when he enter'd into the holy of holies; which day was ſtrictly obſerv'd as a religious faſt. But I ſhall have occaſion hereafter, and elſewhere, to be more particular upon the ſubject of the city, the temple, and our laws and cuſtoms, as there ſhall be occaſion for it.

The fort of Antonia.

THE fortreſs of Antonia was built in an angle, betwixt the two galleries of the firſt temple, looking weſt and north. It was rais'd upon a rock of fifty cubits in height; inacceſſibly ſteep on all hands; and, in fine, Herod's maſter-piece, both for magnificence and contrivance. The rock was faced and cruſted with thin ſcales of marble from the bottom to the top, both for ornament and for ſecurity-ſake; for it was ſo ſlippery, that there was no going up or down. This tower was encloſ'd with a wall only of three cubits high; and within that compaſs ſtood the caſtle of Antonia of forty cubits; with the ſtate, ſplendour, and conveniences of a court, lodgings, and offices for all purpoſes; ſpacious halls, and places of parade for the uſe and ſervice of a camp. So that for matter of neceſſaries, it was rather a city than a fort; and for the magnificence, it look'd like a palace. It was, upon the whole, the reſemblance of a tower, and encompaſſed with four other towers at equal diſtances one from another, and one from every corner: three of them of fifty cubits in height; and the fourth, that look'd to the ſouth and eaſtward, of ſeventy cubits; and from thence they had the view of the whole temple. From the place where the galleries join'd, there were upon the right and left two pair of ſtairs; which ſerv'd for a paſſage to the ſoldiers into the temple: for when the Romans were maſters of Jeruſalem, there were guards poſted ſtill upon that quarter, to prevent ſeditions upon their publick feſtivals and meetings. The temple commanded the city, as Antonia commanded the temple. This place had a guard upon it, and Herod's palace was as good as a fort to the upper town. The mountain Bezeth (the top mountain of them all) was cut off, as I ſaid before, from Antonia, and join'd to part of the new town: beſide that it was the only blind upon the north ſide of the temple. This is all I have to ſay at preſent of the city and the walls; being to ſpeak further of them hereafter.

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* Forty five cubits amounted to eighty two Engliſh feet, that is twenty ſeven yards and a foot.

† Five cubits amounted to ſomething more than nine Engliſh feet, that is three yards.

‡ Six cubits amounted to ſomething above ten Engliſh feet, that is three yards and a foot.

†‡ See this, and the other meaſures not here explained, reduced to Engliſh meaſure in the preceeding Chapters.

§ See Selden de Synedr. Hebr. p. 102. l. 3. c. 11. Ed. Amſtel.

** Cuneus confutes this opinion of Joſephus, in his Rep. Hebr. l. 2. c. 1. See Bonfrerius upon Leviticus, who gives another reading of the text.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Simon ſifteen thouſand ſtrong. John in poſſeſſion of the temple. Simon maſter of the upper town, and Monobazus of the hill Acra. The Romans at the gates, and the factions in the town as violent as ever. Titus views the place where to give the aſſault. Nicanor baſely wounded, and Titus meditates a revenge. A ſiege reſolv'd upon, and the manner of it. Titus orders three attacks. The factions fall heavy upon the Roman enginiers. Titus ſupports the machines. The Romans worſted by ſurprize: but a party of Alexandrians recover the honour of the day. Titus finiſhes the work. John the Idumean ſlain by an Arabian.

Simon fifteen thouſand ſtrong.

SIMON had a body of ten thouſand men, beſide Idumeans; which were five thouſand more; fifteen thouſand in all: ten thouſand of them under fifty captains, and Simon himſelf the commander in chief: the other five thouſand under twenty officers; and theſe were the moſt daring mutinous part of the whole faction. The principals among them were James the ſon of Soſas, and Simon the ſon of Cathlas.

John with ſix thouſand men poſſeſs'd of the temple.

JOHN was now in poſſeſſion of the temple, with ſix thouſand men, under the command of twenty captains; and there came in to him (all quarrels apart) four and twenty hundred of the Zelotes; who liſted themſelves under Eleazar, whom they had formerly ſerv'd, and Simon the * ſon of Jair.

Simon maſter of the upper town,

and Monobazus of the hill Acra.

IN this oppoſition of the two parties the people were a common booty, and the leaſt ſeditious were a prey to them both. Simon was now maſter of the upper town, and the great wall as far as Cedron, and ſo likewiſe of the old wall that runs out to Siloe; and the bending to the eaſtward goes on to the palace of Monobazus. This Monobazus was the king of the Adiabenians, a people beyond Euphrates. He was poſſeſs'd alſo of the hill Acra, the ſeat of the lower town, as far as the royal reſidence of Helena the mother of Monabazus.

The Romans at the very gates, and the ſedition in the town as hot yet as ever.

JOHN all this while had the command of the temple, and ſome places about it; but for Ophlas, and the vale of Cedron, and what lay betwixt him and Simon, it was all conſum'd to aſhes, and of no other uſe or ſervice than for a field of battle. The Romans were at this time drawn up before the very gates; and yet the ſedition within the walls continued as fierce and furious as ever. The ememy's preſſing upon them brought them now and then, by fits, to their ſenſes again: but upon the leaſt intermiſſion, they preſently relaps'd, and broke out into factions and diviſions among themſelves; contending afreſh again upon the foot of their former pretenſions. Now this was the greateſt ſervice to the Romans they could have poſſibly done them; for they treated one another worſe than they were treated by the common enemy: having this comfort yet in their miſery, that they had no new calamity to fear. They were put to harder extremities, 'tis true, before the city was totally deſtroy'd; but the Romans did yet a greater thing than the taking of the place: for whereas the ſedition did but deſtroy the city, they deſtroy'd the very ſedition; which was a far greater work than the bare demoliſhing of the walls. So that, in ſhort, the Jews themſelves brought this ruin upon their own heads, and the Romans were only the executioners of divine juſtice upon them for their impieties; as will better appear in what follows.

Titus takes a view of the place where to give the aſſault.

WHILE matters were at this paſs in the city, Titus with a party of choice horſe took the whole tour of the walls, to conſider upon what quarter it lay moſt expos'd to an attack. There was no coming at it he ſaw, for either horſe or foot, by the way of the vallies; and on the other ſide, the firſt wall was ſo firm, that it was proof againſt their battering engines. He bethought himſelf a while, and after a little pauſe pitch'd upon that part of the line toward the ſepulchre of John the high-prieſt, as the place that lay the moſt expoſed to an aſſault; both as the firſt wall was lower there, and likewiſe cut off from the ſecond wall; the fortifying of that place being neglected, in regard that the new city was not as yet peopled enough to attend it: beſide (he conceived) that they might paſs from thence to the third wall, and ſo to the upper town; and, with the help of Antonia, take the very temple itſelf.

Titus's friend Nicanor, at the ſame time, baſely wounded for adviſing a peace. Titus in revenge reſolves upon a ſiege in form, and to carry it by force.

WHILE Titus was a conſidering and weighing theſe things within himſelf, a particular friend of his, Nicanor by name, was wounded in the left ſhoulder by an arrow from the wall, as he was labouring with Joſeph (being an excellent ſpeaker) to bring the Jews over to deſire a peace. Titus was ſo tranſported at the ungrateful behaviour of theſe people toward their beſt friends and adviſers, that he immediately took up a reſolution of beſieging the town in form, and taking it by force. Upon this, he gave the ſoldiers the pillage of the ſuburbs; ordering them to make uſe of the rubbiſh and ruins for works and platforms. He divided his army into three bodies, aſſigning to all his troops their work and ſtations. He diſpoſed of his archers and ſlingers upon the mounts, in the middle of the body; with engines to caſt ſtones and other ſhot before them; which ſerv'd them to two purpoſes, either to repel the enemy's ſallies, or to hold them in play upon the walls. The trees were all cut down, and the ſuburbs laid naked in an inſtant; and the timber employ'd upon fortifications. All hands, in fine, were at work on the Roman ſide; and the Jews were not idle neither.

John's people do their parts; but he himſelf dares not appear.

A combat, and the manner of it.

THE people that had been formerly expoſed to robberies and murders, finding the faction ſo wholly taken up in their own defence, began to flatter themſelves with ſome proſpect of eaſe, in the very hope that the Romans themſelves, if they got the better of it, would effectually revenge their quarrel, by putting it into their power to do themſelves juſtice. John's people made a very vigorous oppoſition to the beſiegers; but he himſelf durſt not ſtir out of the temple for fear of Simon. Now Simon, being poſted next the enemy, was never out of action. He planted all along the wall the ſhot and engines that he had formerly taken from Ceſtius, and out of the fort of Antonia. But his people made little advantage of it, for want of underſtanding the right uſe and management of them; only ſome little ſkill they had got from here and there a deſerter among them. But yet the Jews made uſe of them however, to gall the enemy from the ramparts, with ſtones and arrows: ſallying out alſo in ſmall parties, and coming to handy blows with the Romans: who on the other ſide cover'd their workmen with hurdles and * Gabions. The Roman legions had every one of them wonderful machines, to diſappoint the inſults of an enemy: the tenth eſpecially; not only for the caſting of larger ſtones, but for throwing them farther. Every ſtone was of a talent † weight; and did execution not only at hand, but to the top of the walls or ramparts; though it were at a full ‡ furlong diſtance: and where it fell, it carry'd a whole file before it. The Jews were ſeveral ways advertiſed of theſe ſtones: firſt, as they were white, and eaſily diſcern'd in their paſſage; ſecondly, by the noiſe they made in the air; and thirdly, by the notice that was given from thoſe that were ſet to watch them: for there were people plac'd up and down upon the towers, to obſerve the playing of theſe engines; and ſtill as any of them were diſcharged, the watch man cry'd out in his mother tongue, (THE STONE COMES) which gave every man time to look to himſelf, and get out of harm's way, ſo that the ſtone often fell without doing any manner of execution. The Romans after this, diſcoloured the ſtones, that they might not be diſcover'd in their courſe; and by the help of that invention, killed ſeveral Jews ſometimes at one blow. But this was not enough yet to divert the Jews from oppoſing the progreſs of the Romans in their fortifications; for they perſiſted night and day in doing all that was poſſible to be done, by policy and courage, to obſtruct their proceeding.

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* Lat. Arini fil.

Titus advances with his rams, and orders three attacks.

So ſoon as the Romans had completed their works, they caſt down a line and plummet, to take meaſure of the diſtance betwixt the mount and the wall: which could not be done otherwiſe; for there was no abiding near it for the ſhot and darts that were ſhower'd down from above. When they found the place juſt fit for the rams, Titus order'd them to be brought up, and the other machines to be advanced nearer the wall, that they might have more liberty to play: and hereupon, they ſet three batteries at work at a time upon three ſeveral parts of the wall. The terrible noiſe and knocking of theſe engines was heard all over the city; with the cries of citizens upon the terror of it, and the faction itſelf trembling under the apprehenſion. The divided members of this ſedition, finding themſelves now to be all under one common danger, bethought themſelves of joining in one common defence: crying out one to another, that at this rate they were only doing the enemies work; and if they could not agree to make a firm and laſting union among themſelves it, would behove them however at preſent to join unanimouſly in a confederacy againſt the Romans. Simon, upon this, ſent away a herald to thoſe that had ſhut themſelves up in the temple; with commiſſion to tell them, that ſo many of them as had a mind to quit the temple, and advance to the wall, had free liberty to do it. John did not much confide in the good faith of the meſſage; but left his people to their own freedom.

The factions propoſe joining in one common defence:

They match immediately up to the walls is a full hody, and fall deſperately upon the Roman enginiers

The factions united immediately upon this overture; and, forgetting former animoſities, march'd directly up to the walls in a full body. So ſoon as they had poſted themſelves for their purpoſe, they fell to work with their fires and torches upon the Roman engines: preſſing furiouſly alſo upon thoſe that had the ordering of them, and plying them with darts and other weapons of offence without intermiſſion. In this heat of rage and reſolution, the Jews leap'd down deſperately from the walls in troops, upon the very engines, tore off their covers, and broke in upon the guards that were ſet to defend them, doing ſome execution by ſkill, but more by an outragious boldneſs.

Titus ſupports the machines.

But Titus, who never fail'd his friends in a time of need, clapt a party of horſe and archers upon the guard of the machines, to keep off the fire, and holding the Jews in play upon the walls, to leave the engineers at liberty to do execution. But all this battery made little or no impreſſion yet: only the ram of the fifth legion ſhook the corner of a tower, but without any damage to the wall itſelf; for the tower being much higher than the wall, it tumbled down without drawing any part of the wall after it.

The Romans worſted by a ſurprize. And beaten to their camp.

The Jews having for ſome ſhort time intermitted their ſallies, the Romans took it to be either out of fear or wearineſs; and ſo went their way careleſly up and down the works and camp as in a ſtate of ſecurity. But the Jews taking notice of this from the town, and how the Romans were ſcatter'd and out of order; they made a furious excurſion upon them out of a ſally-port from the tower Hippicos; ſet fire to their works, and, in the heat of this ſucceſs, puſh'd the beſiegers back to their very camp. The alarum paſſed immediately through the whole army, and the Romans far and near drew preſently together to the relief of their companions: but the daring hardineſs of the Jews was not yet able to ſupport itſelf againſt the diſcipline of the Romans. They over-ran at firſt all that they met withal; attacking thoſe that they found in a body: but the heat of the conflict was about the engines; how to burn them on the one ſide, and to ſave them on the other. The air was torn with uncertain outcries from both parts; and this encounter upon the ſhock, coſt many a brave man his life. But the Jews were much the bolder and the more adventurous of the two. The fire had by this time laid hold of the machines; and they had certainly been deſtroy'd with all that belong'd to them, if they had not been ſupported by a choice party of Alexandrian troops; who behav'd themſelves that day to a miracle, and had a great ſhare in the honour of the action.

A party of Alexandrians puts a ſtop to the purſuit, and recovers the honour of the day.

Titus finiſhes the work, and forces the Jews into the city.

These troops gave the Jews a ſtand; till the general himſelf, with a brave body of horſe, broke in upon them. He cut down twelve men with his own hand, and drove the reſt

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* Gabions were baskets about four foot diameter, and five or ſix foot high, which being filled with earth, were placed about the batteries, &c.

† An Hebrew talent weighed an hundred and fourteen pounds and fifteen penny weight troy.

‡ A furlong was one hundred and twenty five geometrical paces, that is half a quarter of a mile.

before him into the city. This exploit was the ſaving of the engines.

John the Idumean, a famous officer, ſlain by an Arabian.

THERE was a Jew taken alive upon this encounter; whom Titus ordered to be crucify'd in ſight of the walls, to try how far ſuch an exemplary terror might work upon them. But for all this, after his departure, one John, an Idumean officer, as he was talking with a ſoldier of his acquaintance before the walls, was ſhot with an arrow quite thorough the heart by an Arabian, to the great grief of all that knew him, Jews and Zelotes; having the reputation of a worthy man to all purpoſes, both for wiſdom and valour.

CHAP. VIII.

A tumult occaſion'd by the fall of a tower in the night. The Jews fear nothing elſe. The ram made the firſt breach. The Jews quit the firſt wall, and betake themſelves to the ſecond. They make ſeveral bold ſallies. The diſcipline of the Romans is too hard for the hot-headed raſhneſs of the Jews. The Jews are proof againſt all hardſhips. Simon's men had a ſtrange veneration for their maſter. A glorious action of Longinus.

A terrible tumult in the Roman camp, occaſion'd by the fall of a tower.

THE next night there happen'd a moſt dreadful tumult in the Roman camp. Titus had order'd the raiſing of three towers, of fifty cubits in height, to be erected upon three ſeveral ramparts; ſo as to have the command of the town wall. In the dead of the night one of theſe towers fell of itſelf down to the ground; with ſo dreadful a clatter, that the ſurprize frighten'd and alarm'd the whole army. The Romans could not tell what to make of it; but ran preſently to their arms, and put all the legions into a confuſion, and uproar. Some fancy'd the Jews were attempting ſomething againſt them: ſome, in fine, ſurmiſing one thing, ſome another; till they came in the end (no enemy appearing) to have a jealouſy one of another, and every man to demand the WORD of his next neighbour, with the ſame formality and ſtrictneſs as if the Jews had been in poſſeſſion of the camp. They lay under the conſternation of this panick terror, till Titus had learnt out the whole matter, and made the truth of it publick by proclamation over the whole camp. This, with much ado, put an end to that confuſion.

The Jews ſtand firm againſt all difficulties but the towers.

THE Jews all this while cheerfully ſuſtained all other difficulties, but that of the towers; which was in truth not to be diſputed or avoided. From thoſe turrets they were gall'd with all ſorts of machines, by archers, ſlingers, &c. and no remedy. For firſt it was impoſſible for them to carry up their platforms to the height of theſe towers; and then they were too ſtrong and too heavy to be over-turn'd: and there was no burning of them neither; for they were all plated over with iron. So that all the Jews had to do, was to get out of the reach of the Roman darts, arrows, and ſtones, without making any oppoſition to the force of the rams; which, by little and little, and the ſhock of repeated ſtrokes, in the concluſion did the work. The Romans had one terrible machine, which the Jews called Nicon, or the Conqueror; and it was this ram that made the firſt breach. The beſieged were by this time ſo ſpent with watching and fighting (having been upon duty all night) that betwixt levity and ill advice, they came to an agreement among themſelves to quit the firſt wall; having two other yet to truſt to. Upon this, they retir'd, and the Romans mounted the breach that Nicon had made; and after that opened the gates to the whole army; the Jews being all withdrawn to the ſecond wall. It was now the ſeventh * of the month Artemiſius, when the Romans made themſelves maſters of the firſt wall: the greater part of it they deſtroy'd; and ſo likewiſe the north quarter of the town, which Ceſtius had ravaged before.

The ram, or that which they call the Nicon, made the firſt breach.

The Jews quit the firſt wall, and withdraw to the ſecond.

TITUS being now remov'd to a place they call'd the Aſſyrians camp, poſſeſſed himſelf of all betwixt that and the valley of Cedron; ſomewhat more than a bow-ſhot from the ſecond wall: reſolving from thence to begin his attack; which he went in hand with immediately. The Jews poſted themſelves orderly upon the wall, and made a gallant reſiſtance. John and his companions commanded in the fortreſs Antonia, and the north-ſide of the temple from the ſepulchre of Alexander. Simon and his party maintain'd the paſſage from the monument of John the high-prieſt, to the gate by which water is convey'd to the tower of Hippicos. The Jews made ſeveral deſperate ſallies, and came many times to a cloſe fight with the Romans, hand to hand; but the Roman diſcipline was too hard for the unskilful temerity of the Jews, and beat them back with loſs: only upon the walls they had the better of them. The Romans had both fortune and conduct on their ſide; but the Jews ſupported themſelves by a boldneſs reſulting from deſpair, and by a natural hardneſs againſt either fatigue or danger. And it is farther to be conſider'd, that the Jews fought for life and ſafety, the Romans for ſpeedy victory; and they were neither of them to be tired out; for approaches, aſſaults, ſallies, forlorns, and combats of all ſorts, were their daily exerciſes. They began at the dawn of day, and ſo continued till night parted them; when both ſides were kept waking; the one for fear of their walls, the other for fear of their camp; all night in arms, and the next morning by day-light ready for a battle. The Jews valu'd themſelves ſo much upon the contempt of death, and hazards, that they made an emulation of it who ſhould dare moſt, as the only way to ingratiate themſelves with their ſuperiors. Such was the fear and reverence they had for Simon, that all and every man that he had about him, would have dy'd at his feet, if he had but ſaid the word; nay, and have been their own executioners too. Now for the Romans, they were ſo wonted to victory that they did not know what it was to be overcome. So that they needed no other encouragement to do bravely, than experience and ſucceſs: beſide, that war was familiar and habitual to them, by

They make ſeveral bold ſallies.

The Roman diſcipline too hard for the brutal temerity of the Jews.

The Jews are proof againſt all manner of fatigues or dangers.

A ſtrange veneration that Simon's men had for their maſter.

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* i. e. The fifth of May.

the continual exerciſe of arms in the ſervice of a glorious empire; which with the preſence and aſſiſtance of a martial prince, over all the reſt, could not but inſpire them with a more than ordinary courage. What could be more infamous than cowardice, with a martial emperor for a witneſs of it? or what more charming on the other ſide, than the honour and reward that naturally follows great actions, in the bounty and eſteem of Ceſar? This ardour and ambition of men's ſignalizing themſelves, tranſported ſeveral heroical ſpirits, 'tis true, into the attempt of things extravagant, and beyond their force.

A glorious action of Longinus.

There was at this time a ſtrong body of the Jews drawn up before the walls, and they were come already within diſtance of exchanging blows and lances with the Romans. In this inſtant of time, one of the Roman horſemen (Longinus by name) ſpurr'd into the middle of the enemy's army; where he killed two of the beſt men they had: one of them, as he was coming to engage him, he ſtruck thro' the jaws with his lance, and he ran the other thorough the body afterward with the ſame weapon; coming off to his party at laſt without a wound. He made himſelf famous by this action, and provoked others to a generous emulation of following his example. The Jews all this while were ſo intent upon doing miſchief, that they never heeded what they ſuffer'd; and reckon'd upon death as nothing, if they had but one life in exchange for another. But Titus had an eye upon the ſaving of his men, as well as the gaining of a victory, and look'd upon the heats of an inconſiderate raſhneſs, but as another ſort of deſperation: neither would he allow any exploit for true valour, that was not govern'd by caution and prudence, and with the leaſt danger to his men, and the moſt to his enemies.

CHAP. IX.

Caſtor, a bold, a crafty, and a treacherous Jew. He deſires a treaty, and Titus embraces the motion. The whole ſtory a cheat from firſt to laſt. Caſtor makes an eſcape from the very flames. Miſtaken mercy is cruelty.

Caſtor and ten more with him lay cloſe behind the battlements.

A bold, a crafty, and a treacherous Jew.

Caſtor deſires a treaty.

Titus accepts of the motion.

Five of the ten divide; one half ſeemingly for it, and the other againſt it.

The whole ſtory a cheat from firſt to laſt.

THE ram being now pointed againſt the middle of the tower on the north-ſide of the city, Titus pour'd in ſuch ſhowers of arrows upon the defendants, that they all quitted their poſts: only one ſly crafty Jew, whoſe name was Caſtor, and ten of his people with him, lay ſkulking behind the battlements. But when they had lain ſtill a-while, they felt a ſhock that made the tower ſtagger under them. Upon this, they got up; and Caſtor, in the language, poſture, and tone of a ſupplicant, addreſs'd himſelf to Titus for quarter, and begg'd to be ſpar'd. Titus was ſo good-natur'd as to fancy the Jews had now enough of the war, and ſo put a ſtop both to the battery and the archers; telling Caſtor at the ſame time, that if he had any thing to ſay, he was ready to hear him. Caſtor made anſwer, that there was nothing he deſir'd ſo much as a treaty. With all my heart, ſays Titus; and if all your companions be of the ſame mind, I am ready to grant you your pardon. Upon this offer, five of the ten pretended to join with Caſtor; the other five cry'd out, that ſo long as they might die free, they would never live ſlaves. During this diſpute, there was nothing farther of hoſtility. But Caſtor in the mean time ſends privately to Simon, to make the beſt of his time, and to conſider what was to done, and leave it to him to illude the Roman general a-while, under the pretext of adviſing his companions to a peace. Caſtor acted his part ſo to the life, that there were ſwords drawn upon it, blows given, and men ſeemingly kill'd: but the whole ſtory was a cheat.

Titus, and thoſe about him, were all amazed at the inflexible obſtinacy and boldneſs of the Jews; and not without a compaſſion for their miſery: but being upon the lower ground, they could not ſee ſo diſtinctly what was done above. While this paſs'd, Caſtor was wounded with an arrow near his noſtrils; who preſently drawing it out, held it up to Titus, as an appeal to him for juſtice. This prince reſented the injury to ſuch a degree, that he bad Joſeph (ſtanding next to him) go to Caſtor from him, and give him all aſſurances in his name of amity and fair quarter. Joſeph begg'd his excuſe, and not only declin'd going himſelf, but diſſuaded his friends alſo that would have gone; telling them, that this pretended ſubmiſſion was nothing but treachery. But one Eneas, however, a deſerter to the Romans, would needs be venturing for all this; eſpecially upon Caſtor's invitation; who bad him bring ſomewhat along with him to put a ſum of money in, that he intended to preſent him. Eneas was forward enough to go upon theſe terms; and had no ſooner put himſelf in a poſture to receive the preſent, but Caſtor dropp'd a great ſtone down from the wall, which Eneas had much ado to avoid; but it wounded the man that ſtood next him. This treachery gave Titus to underſtand the danger of unſeaſonable good nature; and that a ſteady rigour is the beſt defence againſt fair words and plauſible pretenſions. So that to revenge himſelf upon Caſtor and his companions, for the affront they had put upon him, he betook himſelf to his batteries again with greater violence than before. When Caſtor and his people found the tower tottering, and juſt ready to ſink under them, they put fire to it; and ſo made their eſcapes into a vault thorough the very flames. This exploit gave them a mighty reputation among the Romans, for men of reſolution and courage; upon an opinion, that in this action they were no other than * devotees.

Caſtor makes his eſcape thorough the very flames.

Titus made himſelf maſter of this part of the wall within five days after the taking of the firſt: and now finding the way open to the ſecond wall, he drove out the Jews before him, and with a thouſand choice men entered the town, among the clothiers, braſiers, ſaleſmen, and all the croſs narrow paſſages up to the wall. Now if Titus had immediately broken down the greater part of of this wall, as by the laws of war he might have done ; the victory would have coſt him little or nothing : but conſidering the miſerable neceſſities of the Jews on the one hand, if they ſtood it out, and the ſecurity of their retreat on the other hand, if they had a mind to be gone ; Titus relented yet once again, in confidence that they would better bethink themſelves, and never imagining that they could be ſuch ungrateful monſters, as to be treacherous to a man that had taken ſo much care for their preſervation.

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* A devotee, in this ſenſe, is one who voluntarily offers himſelf up to death for the good of his country.

Miſtaken mercy is cruelty.

CHAP. X.

Titus a prince of tenderneſs and humanity. The ſpite and malice of the factions. A ſharp fight, and the Jews get the better of it. Titus recovers the day. The Romans get the ſecond wall, and loſe it again. The famine a greater calamity than the war. The ſecond wall holds out three days ; and Titus maſters it upon the fourth.

TITUS being now entered the town, would not ſuffer ſo much as one priſoner to be kill'd, or one houſe to be burnt : and he was ſo fair to the faction themſelves too, that if they had a mind to fight it out, he left them at liberty ſo to do ; provided only that they ſhould not force and oppreſs the people. He promis'd the inhabitants alſo at the ſame time, to maintain them in their lawful poſſeſſions, and to give them back again what had been taken from them. Theſe propoſals were generally acceptable ; ſome deſiring the city might be ſpar'd for their own ſakes, others that the temple might be ſpar'd for the city's. But this humanity and tenderneſs was all imputed by the faction, to the want of courage in the general : for Titus, they ſaid, had only offer'd theſe conditions, becauſe he deſpair'd of ever winning the other part of the city ; the faction threatning death at the ſame time, to any man that ſhould but open his mouth for a peace or a treaty. The Romans were no ſooner got into the town, but the Jews annoy'd them all manner of ways ; by blocking up the narrow paſſes, galling them from the houſes, and forcing the guards by ſallies from the walls to quit their towers, and retire to the camp. Never was ſuch a confuſion and outcry as betwixt the ſoldiers within the town, in the middle of their enemies, and thoſe without the town, for fear of their companions within. The Jews being both more in number, and better acquainted with the by-ways and ſecret paſſages than the Romans, they were too hard for them upon all encounters : and the breaches not being wide enough to march out many abreaſt, they were ſo put to it in the croud, that, if Titus had not come in juſt as he did, ſcarce a man of them had got off. But upon ſetting a body of archers at the end of every ſtreet ; and Titus poſting himſelf ſtill where there was moſt danger, with Domitius Sabinus for his ſecond (a brave man upon the main, and one that did wonders in that action) they held the Jews in play with their darts and lances, till they brought off their men, under the cover of that diverſion. Thus were the Romans, after the gaining of the ſecond wall, beaten out again.

The humanity and tenderneſs of Titus.

The malice and calumny of the faction.

A ſharp fight, and the Jews too hard for the Romans.

Titus recovers the day.

The Romans gain the ſecond wall, and loſe it again.

THE reſolute part of the citizens had the vanity to flatter themſelves, upon this ſucceſs, into an opinion, either that the Romans would never dare to look them in the face again ; or if ever it ſhould come to a battle, that they themſelves were invincible. Now if theſe wicked men had not been judicially infatuated, they would have conſidered, that the Romans, whom they had lately repulſed, were but a ſmall handful, to the vaſt numbers they were yet farther to encounter : to ſay nothing of the famine that ſtill encreaſed more and more upon them every day. For the publick ruin ſerv'd hitherto only for the nouriſhment of theſe people, and the blood of the citizens for their drink. Good men, in fine, fell into great neceſſities ; and not a few dy'd, even of famine itſelf : but the loſs of theſe people was ſome ſort of conſolation to the faction ; and they only wiſh'd well to thoſe that would have a war with the Romans. As to the reſt, they look'd upon them only as an uſeleſs unprofitable burden to the publick ; and this was the kindneſs they had one for another.

A famine worſe than the war.

THE Romans made another attempt to recover the wall again, which they had gotten and loſt ; and for three days ſucceſſively, without intermiſſion, they ply'd the aſſault with one attack upon the neck of another, and were as valiantly repulſed. But on the fourth day, Titus gave ſo furious a charge, that they were not able to ſtand it any longer : and upon this puſh, he got poſſeſſion of the wall, demoliſhed the northern part of it, and immediately placed gariſons in all the towers to the ſouthward.

The ſecond wall ſtands it out three days, and Titus carries it the fourth.

CHAP. XI.

Titus victuals and prepares for action. He tries council and argument as well as force. Joſeph harangues the Jews. A ſtarving famine in the city. Inſtances of God's providence toward the oppreſſed : as in the caſe of Pharaoh Nechao, the Egyptian bondage, the plagues of Egypt, the Aſſyrians taking the ark, Sennacherib's mighty army, Jeruſalem deſtroy'd by Zedekiah, and the ſtory of Antiochus Epiphanes. God is merciful to the penitent. Joſeph's generous reſignation. The miſeries of the famine. Jeruſalem was effectually burnt by the Jews.

TITUS's heart was now ſet upon ſtorming the third wall ; but not looking upon it as a work of time or difficulty, he bethought himſelf of trying what might be done by gentler methods towards the reducing them again to their duty and their reaſon ; in hope that, betwixt force and famine, they might be prevailed upon to hearken to better counſels : for their booty and proviſion was well nigh ſpent on the one hand, and Titus in as much eaſe and plenty as his heart could wiſh on the other : inſomuch, that upon a day of general muſter, Titus order'd his troops to be drawn up and paid in ſight of the enemy ; the foot advancing with their ſwords drawn, and the led horſes ſo glorioully capariſon'd, that the whole field ſparkled with gold and ſilver. Nothing, in fine, could have been a more agreeable charming ſight to the Romans, or a more terrible one to the Jews; who were gotten in ſwarms together upon the old wall, on the north-ſide of the town: beſide that the houſes were all crouded, and the whole city cover'd with people, gazing at the bravery of this pomp: which was ſuch, in ſhort, that it ſtruck a damp into the very boldeſt of the factious Jews, and would, in all probability, have brought them over to the Romans, if they had not been conſcious to themſelves of having committed too many unpardonable outrages againſt the people; beſide that it was certain death on the other hand, to give over the diſpute. So that they rather choſe to die like men of honour by the chance of war, than tamely by a butchery. But the fates had ſo order'd it, that the innocent were to fall with the guilty, and the city itſelf with the faction.

Titus ſpends four days in victualling his camp; and on the fifth prepares for action.

When Titus, after this, had paſs'd away four days in victualling his camp, without any act of hoſtility, he divided his army upon the fifth day into two bodies; and finding no diſpoſition in the Jews to a peace, he fell to caſting up of works againſt the fortreſs Antonia, near John's monument, in hope of gaining the upper town from that quarter, and then making himſelf maſter of the temple from Antonia: for without taking the fort, the city, though taken, could not be maintain'd. Againſt each of theſe two places, he advanced two attacks, and poſted a legion at every mount to cover the workmen. They that wrought next the monument, were galled by the Jews, and by Simon's people; and the other againſt Antonia were yet harder put to it by John's party, and his bands of Zelotes; who had both the higher ground, and the advantage of their machines, an engine which by daily uſe and practice they were now come perfectly to underſtand. They had three hundred croſs-bows, and forty ſlings for ſtones, which very much annoy'd the Romans, and put a check to the progreſs of their deſign.

He tries perſuaſion and advice, as well as force

Titus did ſo far preſume upon his fortune, that he reckon'd the town as good as his own beforehand; but ſtill, however, as he ply'd the ſiege on the one hand, he did not forget to make trial of perſuaſion and advice, as well as force, to bring the Jews to reaſon, on the other. And conſidering, that words in many caſes are of greater efficacy than arms, he made it firſt his own requeſt to the Jews to conſult their own ſafety, by ſurrendering the city into his hands, which he could make himſelf maſter of at pleaſure; and then left the reſt to Joſeph, upon an opinion, that the humanity of ſuch an office from the lips of their own countryman, and in their own language, might probably find better ſucceſs. Joſeph, in purſuance of Titus's commiſſion and appointment, took a walk about the town; and at laſt, making a ſtand upon a riſing ground, within hearing of the enemy, and out of reach of their ſhot, he deliver'd himſelf to them in words to this effect.

Joſeph harangues the Jews.

I AM now to beſeech you, my dear friends, ſays Joſeph, as you love your lives and liberties, your city, your temple, and your country, let your tenderneſs appear upon this occaſion, and learn to be merciful to yourſelves from your very enemies and ſtrangers. The Romans, you ſee, have ſo great a veneration for holy things, that they make a conſcience of laying violent hands upon any thing that is ſacred, and without pretending to any part, or intereſt in the communion: whereas, inſtead of defending the religion you were brought up in, you are engaged here in a direct conſpiracy to deſtroy it. Do you not ſee that your ſtrengths are all beaten down already, your weakneſſes expoſed, and your walls defenceleſs; and that in this condition it is morally impoſſible for you to hold out any longer againſt ſo formidable a power? neither is it a new thing, in caſe of the worſt, for the Jews to be ſubject to the Romans. It is a glorious cauſe, 'tis true, when liberty is the queſtion; provided it be early enough, and before that liberty is either forfeited or loſt; but for people to talk of ſhaking off the yoke, after they have once ſubmitted to it, and continued in that obedience till they became ſlaves by preſcription; this is not the way to live free, but rather to die with infamy. It would be a ſcandalous bondage indeed, to ſerve a maſter that a man of honour would be aſham'd to own; but it is another caſe to be ſubject to a people that have the whole world at their feet. As, where's that ſpot in the univerſe, that has eſcaped the dominion of the Romans; ſaving only where extreme heats or colds have rendered the place intolerable and uſeleſs? Fortune is effectually gone over to them; and the great diſpoſer of empires himſelf, hath in his providence at preſent made Italy the ſeat of the univerſal monarch. Beſide, that it is according to the ſovereign law of nature, that governs in beaſts, as well as in men, to give way to the ſtronger, and to ſubmit to the longer ſword. This was it that made your anceſtors, though in power and politicks much your ſuperiors, to pay an allegiance to the Romans: which they would never have done, if they had not been thoroughly convinced that it was God's will to have it ſo. But to what end is it for you now to diſpute a point any longer, that's as good as loſt already? for if the walls were yet entire, and the ſiege rais'd, famine alone would do the work. It has begun with the multitude, and the ſoldiers turn will be next; and every day ſtill worſe than other: for the calamity is inſuperable, and there is no fence againſt hunger. Wherefore, you ſhould do well to bethink yourſelves in time, and to take wholeſome advice before it be too late. The Romans are naturally a generous enemy, and ready to forgive and forget all that's paſt; provided you do not carry on the affront to an unpardonable extremity. They are not a people to ſacrifice their intereſt to their revenge, and to charge themſelves with the incumbrance of a depopulated city, and a deſolated province; but rather for receiving you with open arms into their friendſhip. But if ever you come to be taken by ſtorm, you muſt expect to be put to the ſword every man of you; thoſe eſpecially that, in defiance of the emperor's grace and mercy, ſhall continue obſtinate to the laſt. And for your third wall, what have you to look for from it, but the fate of the other two that are gone before? or what if your works were abſolutely impregnable?

A pinching famine in the city.

pregnable? the very want of bread, as I told you, would do the office of the ſword, and ſubdue you to the Romans.

WHILE Joſeph was thus reaſoning the matter with them, they return'd him only bitter and contemptuous reproaches from the walls, for his good-will; and not without darts and ſtones to accompany their revilings: ſo that when he ſaw they were not to be wrought upon, either by admonition, or by affliction, he betook himſelf to the hiſtory of former times, for precedents and arguments to his preſent purpoſe.

Several inſtances of God's providence in favour of the oppreſſed.

AH! miſerable and unthankful wretches that you are, ſays he, to forget your beſt friends, and to encounter the Romans with carnal and common weapons, as if the victories you have formerly obtained, had been the effect of your own wiſdom and virtue! Can you ſay, that God, the great creator of heaven and earth, ever failed of protecting the Jews when they were oppreſs'd? Will you never be wiſer? Do but conſider whence you come, where you are, and what you are a doing; and how glorious a protector it is that you provoke by theſe outrages. Why do you not call to mind the divine exploits of your illuſtrious anceſtors, and the wonderful deliverances that God hath wrought for them by the ſacredneſs of this holy place? It gives me a horror to think of expoſing the hiſtory of God's miraculous diſpenſations to a people ſo unworthy of the bleſſing; but yet, upon this occaſion, I ſhall diſpenſe with that ſcruple, to ſhew you that the war you are now engaged in, is not ſo much againſt the Romans, as againſt God himſelf.

The cauſe is rather God's cauſe, than the Romans.

Pharaoh Nechao.

PHARAOH NECHAO, a king of Egypt, carry'd away with a mighty army, Sarah, the queen and mother of us all. Now you would have thought perhaps that Abraham, the huſband of Sarah and our common father, having at that time the command of three hundred and eighteen lieutenants, and troops innumerable under them, ſhould have attempted the righting of himſelf by arms: but he choſe rather to lie quiet; offering up his prayers toward this holy place which you have polluted, to implore God's aſſiſtance. And what came of it, but the king's ſending the queen back again untouch'd to her huſband, the ſecond night after ſhe was taken away; the Egyptian in the mean while, contracting a veneration for the place, which you have defiled with the blood of your countrymen; till in the end, finding himſelf haunted with frightful dreams and viſions, he poſted away back again into his own country; but firſt ſcattering large donatives of gold and ſilver among the people, in token of the reverence he had for a nation ſo much in God's favour.

The Egyptian bondage.

WHAT ſhall I ſay now of our predeceſſors tranſporting themſelves into Egypt; their four hundred years bondage under a foreign tyranny, and their ſubmitting with patience and reſignation to God's good pleaſure, even at a time when they were ſtrong enough to have redeem'd themſelves by force! To tell you now how the Egyptians were infeſted with ſerpents, and tainted with all manner of diſeaſes; how the fruits of the earth were blaſted, the Nile corrupted, and ten plagues immediately ſucceeding one another, would be no more than what every body knows: but thoſe of our anceſtors that God had deſign'd to the prieſthood, were conducted out ſafe and ſound, without either blood or danger, under the guard of a ſpecial providence.

The plagues of Egypt.

The Aſſyrians taking the ark.

AND ſo when the Aſſyrians forced away from us the holy ark, how did Paleſtine, Dagon, and the whole nation that was concerned in it, rue the ſeizure of it! Their guts became putrid and rotten, and the pain of the gripes intolerable; inſomuch, that their bowels and their excrements came away together. And what was the end of it, in the concluſion, but the bringing of the ark back again to us with the ſound of muſical inſtruments, and with the ſame ſacrilegious hands that took it away, to expiate in ſome degree for the wickedneſs! This was the work of God himſelf in favour of our anceſtors, for caſting themſelves entirely upon his providence and mercy, without having any recourſe to common means.

Sennacherib's mighty army.

AND what became of Sennacherib the king of Aſſyria, and his prodigious army, when he ſat down before this place, accompany'd with the whole ſtrength of Aſia? was he cut off by the arm of fleſh, or any human power? No. But when the Hebrews were peaceably and quietly at their prayers, the angel of God confounded in one night that army: and the Aſſyrian found a hundred and eighty five thouſand of his men dead upon the place next morning, the reſt flying in a fright from the unarmed Hebrews, that had no thought of purſuing them.

The captivity of Babylon.

YOU know likewiſe that our people were ſeventy years captives in Babylon, without making any attempt toward the recovery of their liberty, till God put it in the heart of Cyrus to diſcharge them, and to diſmiſs them into their own country; where they began to offer ſacrifices again to God, as their only deliverer and preſerver. But to be ſhort, What great thing did our forefathers ever bring to paſs, either with arms, or without, but by God's particular direction, and aſſiſtance in the execution of his orders? If they ſtay'd at home, they were victorious without fighting; it being God's pleaſure that it ſhould be ſo; and when they fought in a confidence of their own ſtrength, they never ſucceeded. As for inſtance; when the king of Babylon laid ſiege to this city, our king Zedekiah gave him battle contrary to the advice of the prophet Jeremy; and what was the event of it, but the routing of his army, the taking of Zedekiah priſoner, and the deſtruction both of city and temple before his face? Do but obſerve the difference now betwixt the moderation of that prince and people, and of yours. The prophet told them plainly, that they were fallen under God's diſpleaſure for their wickedneſs; and that, if they did not deliver up the city, it ſhould be forced from them by aſſault; and yet for all this foreboding, neither prince, nor people, offer'd him any violence. To ſay nothing now of what paſſes within your walls; (an iniquity, in truth, not to be expreſs'd) I ſhall only take notice how barbarouſly I myſelf have been treated by you both in words and actions; and what's my crime, I beſeech you, but the honeſt liberty of telling you your faults, and adviſing you for the beſt? But you have not patience to hear the very ſtory of your own daily practices.

Jeruſalem deſtroy'd by Zedekiah.

The caſe of Antiochus Epiphanes.

It was much the ſame caſe too, when Antiochus, called Epiphanes, laid ſiege to this city. Our foreſathers, having many ways incurred God's high diſpleaſure, preſs'd the enemy to a battle, without waiting for his divine direction and aſſiſtance: The Jews were totally defeated, the town taken and pillag'd, and the ſanctuary, for three years and ſix months, wholly abandon'd. In few words, what was it but the ſtubborn croſſneſs of our own people that firſt irritated the Romans againſt the Jews? Whence are we to date our ſlavery, but from our own ſeditious countrymen; when the two factions of Ariſtobulus and Hyrcanus, in an ambitious heat of competition, brought Pompey into the city, and made the Jews that were unworthy of liberty, ſlaves to the Romans? When they had held it out three months, they render'd the place; though in a much better condition to defend it than you are, and infinitely ſhort of what you are in tranſgreſſing and prophaning the laws and religion of our country. We all know what was the end of Antigonus the ſon of Ariſtobulus; in whoſe reign, the Jews were puniſh'd with another judicial captivity for the ſins of the people. And did not Herod the ſon of Antipater likewiſe beſiege Jeruſalem with the aſſiſtance of Soſius a Roman general, and at the head of a Roman army? After ſix months the town was reduc'd, and ſack'd by the enemy, as the juſt judgment upon the party for their iniquities.

Here is enough ſaid to ſhew that this way of arms and ſieges, hath been ever fatal to our brethren; and that the end of ſuch a war would be certain ruin. And therefore it ſeems reaſonable to me, that thoſe that are in poſſeſſion of this holy place, ſhould entirely remit themſelves to the conduct of God's providence; who will never be wanting to them that ſerve him, and keep his commandments. But you for your parts lead your lives in a direct oppoſition to his holy will, in leaving undone what you are commanded to do, and in doing what you are forbidden. How much have you more to anſwer for, than thoſe that you have ſeen taken off by a vindictive juſtice in the career of their wickedneſs! As for the ſecret ſins of theft, fraud, treachery, and adultery, you look upon them as trifles, and not worth the ſpeaking of. But you value yourſelves upon oppreſſion, murder, and other ſins of the firſt magnitude, that were hardly ever heard of before. Nay, and you have made the holy temple itſelf the ſcene of your wickedneſs; a place ſo ſacred, that the Romans themſelves have a veneration for it, notwithſtanding the inconſiſtencies of their religion with ours. And yet this place, that the very Romans have ſo great a reverence for, is polluted and blaſphem'd by thoſe who have been train'd up to the temple worſhip. With what face now can you pretend to expect aſſiſtance from a power that you have ſo impiouſly provok'd? But you take it for granted that you are juſt, humble and righteous; and your hands as clean as our king's were, when he ſtretch'd them out to implore ſuccour from heaven againſt the Aſſyrian, and when the return of his prayer was, the next night, the utter ruin of the enemy's army. Now if you will have it that the Romans behave themſelves as the Aſſyrians did, you may expect that God will deal with them after the like manner. But this is quite another caſe: for the Aſſyrian compounded for a ſum of money to ſave this city; and then broke his oath, and ſet fire to the temple: whereas the Romans only demand a yearly tribute; and no more neither than what our fathers pay'd to their fathers. Let this be made good to them, and the temple and city have nothing to fear: but you ſhall enjoy your families, your liberties, and your eſtates; with the free exerciſe of your religion, and under the regulation of your own laws. You muſt be mad to imagine that God will treat tyrants and murderers, and men of moderation and juſtice, all alike; eſpecially when puniſhment and vengeance are but the work of a moment to the Almighty.

The Aſſyrians, you ſee, were deſtroy'd the firſt night they came before the town; and if it had been the will of God to ſet the one free, and to chaſtiſe the other, he would have pour'd down his wrath upon the Romans, as he did upon the Aſſyrians: either when Pompey firſt forced Jeruſalem; or Soſius, after him; or when Veſpaſian harraſs'd Galilee; or now at laſt upon the attack of Titus. But neither Pompey, nor Soſius, met with any ſignal oppoſition from heaven; and they both ſucceeded in their enterprizes upon the place. As for Veſpaſian, he advanced himſelf to the empire upon the credit of the war he made upon us. And what do you think of almoſt a miracle, wrought in favour of Titus? Siloa, you know, and other fountains without the city, were drawn ſo low before Titus came hither, that water was hardly to be got for money; but ſince his arrival here, the ſprings are grown ſo full again, that there is ſufficient for the Romans, to all manner of purpoſes: and not only for themſelves, and their cattle, but for the gardens too. The ſame thing happen'd at the time when the king of Babylon, before mentioned, march'd up to Jeruſalem with his army; took the town and city, and laid them both in aſhes: now this prodigy was the forerunner of that ruin and conflagration. Not that I take the wickedneſs of thoſe days to have been comparable to that of the preſent age: but it looks as if God had abandon'd his own houſe and people in favour of the enemy. Make it the caſe now of the maſter of the houſe, and a vicious and debauch'd family. If he be a virtuous man, he'll ſhift his quarter, and never endure to be under the roof with that ſort of people. How can you imagine then, that God will countenance your abominations? an all-ſeeing God, that ſearches the privacies of your hearts, and reads your thoughts in their very conception? But alas! you have no privacies at all, no reſerves; but make your very enemies the confidents of all you do. You live in a kind of competition who ſhall be the lewdeſt, and value yourſelves upon an oſtentation of your wickedneſs.

God is merciful to the penitent.

But God is not inexorable to thoſe that confeſs their miſdoings, and truly repent; which is the courſe that you muſt take, if ever you hope for mercy. Wherefore caſt away your arms; let your hearts bleed for the judgments you have brought upon your country. Do but look well about you, and conſider the ſweetneſs of the place, the glory of the city, and the majeſty of the temple that you are now about to betray, with the ineſtimable maſs of treaſure that is there depoſited, in donatives, and oblations from all parts of the world. Can any man have the heart now to think of expoſing theſe magnificent curioſities to fire and pillage? or of ſeeing thoſe excellencies deſtroy'd, which of all things under the ſun are beſt worth the preſerving? If you were not harder, and more inſenſible than ſtones, this reflection would move you; or, if nothing elſe will work upon you, bethink yourſelves of your parents, your wives, your children, and your families, that are at this inſtant upon the brink of periſhing, either by famine or by the ſword. It will be ſaid perhaps, becauſe I have a wife of my own, a mother and a family, (of ſome credit formerly) concern'd in the common hazard, that it is for their ſakes, and my own intereſt, that I give this council. But if either the ſacrificing of their lives, or mine, or both, may conduce to your ſafety, I am ready to deliver them up all, upon condition that you will be wiſer, and honeſter, when we are gone.

Joſeph's generous reſignation for the good of the country.

THIS diſcourſe of Joſeph drew tears from his own eyes; but the factions were not one jot ſoften'd with it, neither did they judge it ſafe at any rate to cloſe with the Romans: but, on the contrary, the common ſort were ſtagger'd at it, and made it their buſineſs too, how to ſave themſelves by flight. To this end, they ſold what they had that was valuable, though at eaſy rates, and ſwallow'd the gold for fear of being robb'd upon the way: by which means they ſupply'd themſelves with neceſſaries when they got over to the Romans; Titus, in the mean time, leaving the ſtragglers at liberty to go whither they would. And this diſcharge was ſtill a greater encouragement to their eſcape; for they got clear of the city broils without being ſlaves to the Romans. But John and Simon, and their companions, clapt a ſtrict guard upon the paſſes, and took as much care to keep the citizens from going out, as the Romans from coming in: ſo that the leaſt ſuſpicion, or pretence of a ſuſpicion, was enough to take away any man's life that they thought fit to ſuſpect. And it was all one to the rich whether they ſtay'd or attempted to fly: for they that had any thing to loſe, were ſure to fall under a jealouſy; and that jealouſy was death.

THE rage of the faction, and the pinch of the famine encreaſed daily; and when there was no corn any longer in ſight, they broke open houſes for it. If they found any upon the ſearch, the owners were ſeverely handled for denying it; or, if none, they were put to the torture to diſcover their ſtores. Nay, they drew inferences of guilt from the very bodies of the miſerable; and to be hail and ſound, was made an argument of private ſtores and plenty. The conſumptive were diſpatch'd out of hand; though no need, one would think, of putting them to a violent death, who were ready to die for want of bread. There were ſeveral of the better ſort that ſold all they had in the world for a buſhel of wheat; and others of the poorer, for the ſame proportion of barley: and then ſhutting up themſelves, with their purchaſe, in ſecret hiding-holes, ſome fell to feeding on the corn without grinding, and ſome again ſtay'd the baking of it; according as they were more or leſs preſs'd by hunger or danger. There was no ſuch thing as the ceremony of ſetting or ſpreading a table; but happy was he that could ſnatch a bit from the coals betwixt raw and roaſted. Never ſo miſerable a calamity, or ſo lamentable and horrid a ſpectacle; where the ſtrongeſt ſtill far'd beſt, and the weaker had nothing more to do than to bemoan their misfortunes: ſtarving being certainly of all deaths the moſt deplorable, as it takes away all ſenſe of [*]ſhame, tenderneſs, and reſpect. Wives forc'd away the meat out of the very mouths of their husbands; children did the like by their parents; and what was yet more barbarous, mothers by their infants; taking away from them, as they lay languiſhing in their arms, the very laſt ſupport of life: and this could not be done ſo privately neither, but ſome body or other was ſtill at hand to take away that from them again which they had taken from others. Wherever they ſaw a houſe ſhut up, they concluded there was eating in that houſe; and preſently forcing the doors, they tore the meat ready chew'd out of the very throats of the people, juſt as they were about to ſwallow it, though to the hazard of choaking them. They had no mercy either for age or ſex; but beat the old men that offer'd to defend what proviſion they had got, and dragg'd the women by the hair, for endeavouring either to keep or to conceal any thing. Neither did ſucking children eſcape any better; but they were torn away from the mother's breaſts, and daſh'd againſt the ground: ſo that infancy and grey hairs had the ſame quarter. There could hardly be a more unpardonable affront, when any of theſe freebooters were abroad upon adventure, than for him that was purſu'd to outrun his purſuer, and to eat his own bread before the other could come up. They ſpar'd for no manner of cruelty, provided they might but get ſomething to ſtay their ſtomachs: as the putting of people to exquiſite pains in their private and moſt ſenſible parts; thruſting up pointed ſticks into their bodies, and other ſuch like torments, not to be mentioned without horror: and all this for the diſcovery, perhaps but of one ſingle loaf of bread, or an handful of flour that they had conceal'd. And their tormentors were not hungry neither; for the tyranny would have been more pardonable, if they could have pleaded neceſſity in their excuſe. But this was purely a wanton piece of inhumanity, when they were victualed themſelves with ſix days proviſion before-hand. Some poor wretches, that had given the Roman guards the ſlip, and crept out of the town by night for herbs and ſallad, had the ill hap to fall into their hands when they thought themſelves out of all danger; where they were ſtripp'd of all they had, and glad at laſt, after a thouſand importunities and prayers, only for part of their own again, for which they had run ſo great a hazard, to compound for their lives. This was the treatment they receiv'd from the common ſoldiers; but perſons of quality were carry'd to the uſurpers themſelves: ſome of them put to death for treaſon, and a deſign of betraying the city to the Romans, upon the teſtimony of falſe witneſſes;

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[*] See Spanheim's notes upon Callimachus, p. 718.

and this was ſtill one of the articles, that they had a mind to go over to the enemy. Thoſe that Simon had pillag'd were carry'd to John, and John's priſoners to Simon, as if they had been quaffing healths one to another, and ſharing their carcaſſes betwixt them. They were divided, in fine, who ſhould be uppermoſt; but perfectly well agreed in the methods of their tyranny and uſurpation. They went halves in their robberies, and he was reckon'd the greater knave of the two that cozen'd his companion of any part of his moiety in the booty, to which they were both equally entitled.

The burning of the city was their own act.

IT would be endleſs to run through the hiſtory of their iniquities; but to comprize all in a little, I am verily perſuaded, that there never was ſo miſerable a city, or ſo barbarous a people, upon the face of the earth: in fine, the better to palliate their inhumanity to ſtrangers, they revil'd the very nation of the Hebrews, and own'd themſelves (as in truth they were) for a company of ſlaves and ſcoundrels, vagabonds and baſtards. In the concluſion, they laid the city in rubbiſh and aſhes; nay, and the burning of the temple was effectually their act too, both in the haſtening of it, and by the forcing of Titus, even againſt his inclination, upon thoſe extremities. As the upper town was in a flame, the Romans gave many inſtances of a generous compaſſion, (as will be ſeen hereafter) but not ſo much as a ſigh, or a tear to be heard of among the Jews. But of this farther in its proper place, with remarks upon the whole matter.

CHAP. XII.

The Jews miſerably tortured and crucify'd. Titus ſevere in his own defence. Scandals caſt upon the Romans. The Jews hard and reſolute. The Romans raiſe four mighty works. The Jews ſet fire to the bulwark. Simon attempts the other mounts. A brave action of three Jews. The Romans beaten from their works. Death without mercy for a Roman to quit his poſt. A bloody fight upon mounting the engines. Titus begins to deſpair of carrying his point.

The miſerable diſtreſs of the Jews.

TITUS, all this while, ply'd his works daily; but not without loſs of men from the walls. It was the Jews practice to ſteal out the night, and look abroad for proviſions; and not without ſome ſoldiers among them, that could not get wherewithal in the city to anſwer their neceſſities. Theſe people were moſt of them poor, and durſt not deſert for fear of having their wives and their childrens throats cut that they left behind. Neither durſt they take their families along with them for fear of diſcovery. Titus being aware of theſe difficulties, ordered out a detachment of horſe to way-lay the Jews in the vallies. Hunger had made them deſperate, and ſo venturing out, they fell into the enemy's ambuſhes. When they found themſelves beſet, they were than forced to fight upon neceſſity, for fear of ſome puniſhment worſe than death itſelf; beſide that it was now too late to think of begging quarter. In ſhort, they were maſter'd; and after expoſing them to all manner of tortures, they were crucify'd in the ſight of the beſieged. Titus was not at all pleas'd with the ſeverity of this rigour; eſpecially conſidering there did not paſs a day wherein they did not take at leaſt five hundred Jews priſoners: but he did not find it ſafe, either to diſcharge ſo many obſtinate priſoners that he had now at mercy, or to ſpare men enough to look after them from the ſervice of the army: beſide the hope he had, that the terror of ſuch an example might move them to bethink themſelves, leſt it ſhould come to be their own caſe. They were all crucify'd, but in ſeveral ways and poſtures: ſome, to expreſs their rage; others, their hatred; and ſome again, their mockery and contempt: but the number of the priſoners was ſo great, that they wanted room for more croſſes, and croſſes for the bodies. And ſo far was the horror of this execution from ſoftening the faction, that, as they ordered the matter, it wrought a clear contrary effect by the help of this invention. The friends and relations of the fugitives, and thoſe that had but the leaſt inclination to a peace, were dragg'd out to the walls, to ſhew them what they were to truſt to that went over to the Romans; poſitively maintaining all the while, that the men they ſaw in chains were not priſoners of war, but deſerters, that ſued for mercy. This device kept a great many from deſerting, till the truth came to be known; though ſome there were that immediately ſlipt away to the enemy to avoid ſtarving, which they look'd upon as incomparably the more miſerable death of the two.

Tortur'd and crucify'd in the ſight of the beſieged.

Titus forced upon ſeverities in his own defence.

Priſoners of war they pretend to be deſerters that could get no quarter.

TITUS, upon this, cauſed ſeveral of his priſoners hands to be cut off, and ſo ſent them away to John and Simon, in ſuch a plight, that they might neither look like deſerters, nor be taken for ſuch; adviſing them at the ſame time to put an end to the war, without forcing him upon the deſtruction of the city; for it was not yet too late, upon a ſeaſonable ſubmiſſion, to preſerve their lives, their country, and their temple, entirely to themſelves. But Titus advanc'd his works all this while; quickening and encouraging the workmen, being reſolved very ſuddenly to follow his words with effects, and to gain his point by force, which he could not compaſs by reaſon and perſuaſion.

The obſtinate malice and reſolution of the Jews.

THE Jews, in the mean time, caſting out a thouſand curſes from the walls, againſt both Veſpaſian and Titus, declared one and all their contempt of death, and how much their liberties were dearer to them than their lives: and that, provided they might plague the Romans, they car'd not what became either of themſelves or of their country; which Titus told them, were in danger to periſh. And as for their temple, they look'd upon the world to be much the more magnificent ſtructure of the two; or however, they made no doubt but God would take care of his own houſe; and upon him they depended for protection, in deſpite of all their threatnings, which God would never ſuffer to take place. This was the ſubſtance of their outragious and unmannerly reply.

ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes was by this time come up, attended with a train of armed troops; having one company, among the reſt, of ſtout young fellows for his guard, all about the ſame age; accoutred and train'd up after the Macedonian way; from whence they took the name of Macedonians: not for their birth, neither did the greater part of them anſwer the character of that people. Of all the princes that were ever ſubjected to the Roman empire, the king of Camagena was undoubtedly the moſt proſperous and ſucceſsful, for the former part of his life; but in his latter days his fortune forſook him, and verify'd the old ſaying, "That "no man is to be pronounc'd happy before his "death." He had a ſon of a martial enterprizing ſpirit; of a robuſt body, and bold to the degree of raſhneſs. This ſon of his was ſaying one day, that he wonder'd the Romans ſtood trifling before the walls at that rate, and did not rather puſh it to an attack. Titus anſwer'd him with a ſmile, that the way was open to any man that had a mind to't. The word was no ſooner out, but Antiochus led up his Macedonians to the aſſault, and gave proof both of his valour and conduct in the management of the action: but his followers however were almoſt all of them kill'd, or wounded; having made ſuch boaſts before-hand what wonders they would do, that they could not in honour quit the undertaking. This gave the young men to underſtand, that the Macedonian courage would never do the buſineſs without Alexander's fortune: ſo that they were forc'd to quit the attempt, and bring off the remainder of their men as well as they could.

The Romans raiſe four mighty works in ſeventeen days.

It was upon the twelfth of the month * Artemiſius, that the Romans began the platforms formerly mention'd; and upon the nine and twentieth that they finiſh'd them, after ſeventeen days hard labour; for there were four of them in all, and they were mighty works. There was one toward Antonia, that was rais'd by the fifth legion, over againſt the middle of the Struthian pool: there was another caſt up by the twelfth legion, within twenty cubits of the former. The tenth legion, (which was more conſiderable than the other two) threw up another work to the north, over againſt the pool call'd Amygdalon; and at thirty cubits diſtance from the laſt was a fourth mount, erected by the fifteenth legion, not far from the monument of John the high-prieſt.

These works were no ſooner up and perfected, but John cauſed a mine to be wrought under that which look'd toward Antonia, and ſeveral wooden props to be ſet up all along the trench, to keep the weight of the earth above from falling; dawbing the wood-work with a bituminous matter that would take flame immediately. So that John had now no more to do, but to ſet fire to the pillars; which when the props were gone, brought down the whole bulwark with a moſt hideous noiſe. There was no fire to be ſeen at firſt, but only a ſmothering duſt and ſmoke, till the flame at laſt broke thorough all oppoſition, and ſhew'd itſelf. This was ſo aſtoniſhing a ſurprize to the Romans, that it put them to their wits end to receive ſuch a baffle, when they made themſelves ſure of their point. Neither was it to any purpoſe to think of quenching the fire, when their ramparts were gone.

The Jews ſet fire to the bulwark.

Simon attempts the other mounts.

It was but two days after, this that Simon and his people made an attempt upon the other mounts; where the Romans had already planted their rams, and began to batter. There was one Jeptheus of Garſis, a city of Galilee; Megaſſarus, a domeſtick of queen Mariamne's; and one of Adiabena, the ſon of Nabateus, who from a misfortune he had was called Agiras; which ſignifies lame: theſe three men, with torches in their hands, flew directly to the machines; and breaking through the enemies troops, with no more concern than if they had been among their friends, ſet fire to them; and in deſpite of all oppoſition, with darts and arrows, they purſu'd their deſign till their engines were all in a flame. Theſe were reputed three of the braveſt men that appear'd in that war.

A glorious action of three Jews.

Upon the mounting of the fire, the Romans diſpatch'd away a detachment from the camp to the relief of their companions; but the Jews, in the mean time, pour'd their ſhot upon them from the walls; and without any regard to their own lives or perſons, fought it out hand to hand with thoſe that were endeavouring to put a ſtop to the fire. The Romans did all they could to ſave their rams; the covers of them being conſumed already: and the Jews ventur'd into the very flames to hinder them; and would not let go their hold, though the iron-work of them was burning hot. The fire paſſed from thence to the ramparts; and there was no help for it. Upon this, the Romans finding themſelves encompaſſed with flames, and no hope left them of ſaving the works, withdrew into their camp. The Jews had ſo many enforcements out of the city, that the encreaſe of their number made them more and more preſſing and inconſiderate: inſomuch, that in the heat of their ſucceſs, they advanced to the very camp itſelf, and attack'd the guards. Now the office of theſe guards, according to the rule of the Roman diſcipline, was to do duty by turns, and relieve one another; and not a man of them, upon pain of death without mercy, to quit his poſt, under any colour whatſoever. Theſe people having this charge before-hand, either to fall like men of honour, or to ſuffer an infamous death as deſerters; they made a generous reſiſtance, and brought ſeveral of thoſe back again, betwixt neceſſity and ſhame, that had abandon'd their ſtation; and with their engines, put a ſtop to the excurſions of the Jews from the city. They made their ſallies without any guard or defence for their own ſecurity; fighting all they met, at a venture, and caſting themſelves like madmen upon the very points of the enemies pikes, and falling in pell-mell among them. The Jews, in fine, gain'd more upon the Romans by a raſh hardineſs, than by pure courage: and the Romans, on the other hand, gave way rather to the ouragеous boldneſs of the Jews, than for the apprehenſion of any miſchief they could do them.

The Romans beaten from their works; and their batteries deſtroy'd.

Death for a Roman to quit his poſt.

Titus, at his return from Antonia, where he had been to find out a commodious ground for advancing his attacks, gave the ſoldiers a ſevere rebuke, for ſuffering themſelves after the gaining of the enemy's works, to be diſtreſs'd in their own, and in a manner beſieg'd by thoſe that were no better than priſoners themſelves. Titus, upon this, with ſome of his choice troops, ſurrounded the Jews, and charged them in the flank; while they, on the

A ſharp fight upon the diſmounting of the engines.

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* i. e. May.

other ſide, maintain'd their ground with a wonderful reſolution. Upon the engagement of the two bodies, it rais'd ſuch a duſt and clamour, that there was nothing diſtinctly to be either ſeen or heard; and neither friend nor foe to be known aſunder: neither were the Jews thus obſtinate out of any confidence in their own ſtrength, but out of deſpair of ſafety; while the Romans were ſo enrag'd, on the other ſide, betwixt the nicety of military honour, and the paſſion they had for the perſon of the emperour, which was then in danger, that if the Jews had not retreated into the town juſt as they did, they had undoubtedly been all cut to pieces: but ſtill the loſs of their bulwarks went to the heart of the Romans; and to find it the work but of one hour to deſtroy what had been ſo long a raiſing. This diſappointment, together with the diſmounting of their engines, put them out of all hope of ever gaining the place.

Titus in deſpair of gaining his point.

CHAP. XIII.

Titus conſults a council of officers. Some for puſhing it to a battle; ſome for making good the ramparts; others for intercepting proviſions. Titus orders the running up of a wall: The courſe and compaſs of it; and this wall finiſhed in three days.

Titus calls a council of war.

Some for a main battle.

WHILE things were in this poſture, Titus call'd a council of his chief officers to adviſe him what to do. Some warm men among them were of opinion for a general aſſault, and falling on with the whole army; for there had been nothing done as yet they ſaid, but in skirmiſhes, and parties; and if it came once to a main battle, the Jews would never be able to ſtand the dint of the very darts and arrows. The more conſiderate part were for renewing and repairing their ramparts; others for having no works at all, but only watching the victualers, and keeping the city from proviſions; and ſo committing the reſt to the famine, which would do the buſineſs of the ſword without ſtriking a blow. There is no beating of people out of their reſolution that have a mind to die. Now Titus, 'tis true, thought it diſhonourable to lie ſtill at the head of a formidable army, altogether without action; and to fight with a people ſo bent upon their own deſtruction, a great piece of folly and imprudence. As for the erecting of new works, he found it morally impracticable for want of materials; and ſo, for the watching of all paſſengers, to ſecure the avenues; for it was not a thing to be done, in regard both of the compaſs of the town, and the difficulties of the places: or, if the high-ways were all block'd up, the Jews would yet find out other private conveyances in caſe of neceſſity; and by the advantage of knowing all the ſecret paſſages, leading to and from the city; ſo that if the Jews ſhould find out means of conveying relief into the city by ſtealth, it would but protract the ſiege, and leſſen the honour of the victory by the delay. Or let it be granted now, that all this may be done, and the reputation of the Romans, together with the ſafety of the army, be provided for, both in one, diſpatch is yet to be prefer'd to glory: but the ſure way to do the thing at laſt, with caution and expedition, muſt be by running a wall quite round the city. By this means all excurſions will be prevented, and the Jews either forc'd to deliver up the place in the depth of their deſpair, or weaken'd by the pinch of their neceſſities, into an incapacity of defending themſelves: whereas otherwiſe, the diſpute will be endleſs. "But this ſhall not hinder me, ſays Titus, from giving orders for the repairing the works; eſpecially when the weaker part of thoſe that are left, are already ſufficient to put a ſtop to the courſes of the enemy. This may be look'd upon perhaps as a project of inſuperable difficulty; but if it had been leſs, it would not have ſtood with the dignity of the undertaker: neither are great things to be brought about without labour, but by the more immediate aſſiſtance of an Almighty power."

Some for repairing the ramparts. Others for no ramparts at all, but rather for intercepting proviſions.

Titus orders the erecting of a wall about the town, and diſpoſing the whole army into their proper ſtations.

TITUS made an end of what he had to ſay, with an order to his officers immediately to ſet about the erecting of this wall, and to enter upon it with a regular diſtribution of the whole army into their proper ſtations. The word was no ſooner given, but the ſoldiery were all tranſported by a kind of divine impulſe into a generous emulation of outdoing one another: for after the meaſuring of the ground, and the dividing of the legions, the ſame ſpirit of competition ran through the whole body. The common ſoldiers with their ſerjeants, the ſerjeants the like with their captains, the captains with their colonels, the colonels with their lieutenant-generals, and all in ſubordination to Titus; who was ſo intent upon his buſineſs, that he never miſs'd a day of taking a round and viewing the whole work.

The courſe of the wall.

TITUS began this wall at a place called the Aſſyrians camp, where he himſelf had his quarter. He carried it forward to the lower Cenopolis, and ſo by the way of Cedron to mount Olivet, which he enclos'd on the ſouth as far as the rock Periſtereon; together with a neighbouring hill that overlooks the vale of Siloah. From thence he turn'd his point a little to the weſtward, and ſo on to the valley of the fountain. He took his way next to the ſepulchre of Ananus the high-prieſt; and ſo encloſing the mountain where Pompey had formerly encamp'd, he return'd to the northward, and paſs'd on to a village called Erebinthonicus; took in Herod's ſepulchre toward the eaſt, and there joined one end of the wall to the other where he began.

The compaſs of it.

THE compaſs of this wall was nine and [*] thirty furlongs; thirteen forts built on the outſide of it, and every fort ten [†] furlongs about. But the moſt incredible part of the ſtory was the finiſhing of an encloſure in three days, which might well have taken as many months. Upon the perfecting of this work, there were guards poſted in all the forts, that did duty every night under their arms. Titus went the firſt round himſelf, Tiberius Alex-

The wall finiſh'd in three days.

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[*] Thirty nine furlongs amounted to four miles, three quarters and half quarter, and eighty two geometrical paces and an half, Engliſh meaſure.

[†] Ten furlongs amounted to an Engliſh mile and quarter, and fifteen geometrical paces.

ander the ſecond, and the commanders of legions the third. The ſoldiers and the watch ſlept by turns; but keeping a continual guard in the caſtles all night.

CHAP. XIV.

The miſerable diſtreſſes of a devouring famine. The Romans make oſtentation of their plenty, to enflame the envy of the Jews. Four ramparts raiſed at Antonia larger than the former.

The diſmal ravage of a devouring famine.

THE ſhutting up of the Jews in the town put them to the utmoſt degree of deſpair; for the famine was now ſo outrageous, that it ſwept away whole families. The houſes were ſtrew'd with the carcaſſes of women and children, and the narrow lanes with the bodies of old men that lay dead there; young men walked the ſtreets like ſo many ghoſts. There was no ſuch thing as burying the dead: ſome wanted ſtrength to do the office; others wanted will, as being diſcouraged, partly by the great number of them, and partly in regard they did not know but their own turn might be next. Some there were that expir'd themſelves in the very act of burying others; and ſome again haſtened away to their graves before their time, to make ſure of a reſting place while they were yet living. And yet in the depth of all this miſery, there was not heard ſo much as one groan or outcry; but all other paſſions were ſtifled in the pain of a tormenting hunger. Thoſe that dy'd laſt, ſtood gazing with dry eyes, and ghaſtly looks, upon thoſe that were out of their pain before them. The city was all wrapt up in a profound ſilence, and heaps of dead bodies piled together up and down in the night. But the moſt deplorable part of the ſtory, was the inſolence and brutality of the free-booters: inſomuch that the famine itſelf was nothing to it. They broke into houſes, which at that time were no better than charnel-houſes; ſtript the dead to their very skins, and then made themſelves ſport with their nakedneſs; trying the temper of their ſwords upon the bodies of the miſerable wretches as they lay half dead. If any man called for a hand or a ſword, to diſpatch him out of the way, and deliver him from the miſery of the famine, he was repulſed with an inſenſible cruelty and neglect. As they came to the point of death, they ſtill clos'd their eyes toward the temple; and it went even then to the hearts of them to leave theſe wretched miſcreants yet among the living, that had ſo lewdly prophan'd that holy place. When they were now no longer able to endure the putrid corruption of the dead bodies, order was given to have them all interred at the publick charge: but for want of room to diſpoſe of them, theſe impious monſters caſt them down head-long from the walls into the vallies; which was ſo horrid a ſpectacle, that Titus, upon taking the round of the place, finding the ditches ſo filled and annoyed with rotten carcaſſes and peſtilential vapours, ſtretched out his hands to heaven in an appeal to Almighty God, that he had no hand in making it ſo. This was the ſtate and diſpoſition of the city at that time.

WHILE the faction was now ſo coopt up within their walls, that there was no ſtirring out of the town; beſide the double mortification they endur'd of famine and deſpair, the Romans at the ſame time, paſs'd their days merrily, and at eaſe, in an abundance of all ſorts of neceſſary proviſions, out of Syria, and the neighbouring provinces; inſomuch that ſeveral of the Romans, out of an invidious oſtentation of their ſtores, came up to the very walls, to irritate and inſult the wants on the one ſide, with expoſing the plenty on the other. But all wrought nothing upon the inſenſible hearts of the ſeditious; inſomuch that Titus, in pure compaſſion to the remainder of a miſerable people, reſolved to go on immediately with caſting up new works afreſh, and haſtening the diſpatch as faſt as he could. The only difficulty was the providing of wherewithal to carry it forward; for the wood near the city was all cut down already for the former works and deſtroy'd, ſo that they were now forced to fetch all their timber for a ſecond ſupply at ninety * furlongs diſtance from the place; and there were four ramparts erected at the fortreſs Antonia larger than the former. Titus loſt no time, and having the faction now at mercy, he gave them to underſtand as much. But they went on ſtill without the leaſt ſign of remorſe, and with as little regard to their own bodies and ſouls, as if they had been the bodies and ſouls of other people: for the dead they tore to pieces like dogs, and choak'd up the ſick and languiſhing in priſons.

The Romans make an oſtentation of their plenty, to reproach the Jews in their extream neceſſities.

Four ramparts erected at Antonia, larger than the former.

CHAP. XV.

Matthias recommends Simon to the city. Simon murders him in requital, by the hand of Ananus the worſt of men. Ananias put to death. Judas in a plot to deſtroy Simon. Simon ſurprizes the town. Joſeph wounded, and reported to be kill'd. Titus reſcues him, and he recovers. The Jews ſwallow their gold. Two thouſand of their bellies ript up in one night. Titus tranſported at ſo horrid an outrage. The love of money is the ſtrongeſt of all appetites.

Matthias brings Simon into the city.

WHEN Simon had firſt put Matthias to the torture, he put him afterwards to death; and this was the requital he made for getting him admitted into the city. This Matthias was the ſon of Boethus, a prieſt, in high eſteem with the people, and no man generally better belov'd. The Jews were hardly uſed (it ſeems) by the Zelotes; and upon John's joining with them, Matthias moved the calling in of Simon to their aſſiſtance; but without any caution, or conditions, or any bargain before-hand whatſoever, not apprehending any treachery from him. Simon had no ſooner made himſelf maſter of the town, but he treated Matthias as one of the greateſt enemies he had, and imputed the advice he gave for the opening of the ports, to groſs ſimplicity, and over-ſight: ſo that upon this, he was arraign'd and accus'd for holding intelligence with the Romans, and a ſentence of death paſs'd upon the father, and his three ſons, (the fourth having made his eſcape to the Romans) without ſo much as hearing what he had to ſay for himſelf. The only favour this venerable old man had to deſire of Simon, in return for the obligation of letting him into the town, was, that he himſelf might die firſt; but Simon refuſed that grace, and commanded the father to be laſt executed, to keep him ſo much the longer in pain. Matthias, in the concluſion, was put to death upon the bodies of his ſons, and in the ſight of the Romans, according to Simon's order to Ananus, the ſon of Bamadus, the moſt inhuman miſcreant Simon had about him. Neither did he content himſelf barely to execute the deteſtable ſentence; but in a frolick of inſolence, and deriſion, when he was juſt upon the point of ſtriking the ſtroke, "You would fain have gone over to the Romans, ſays he to Matthias, and let them bring you off now if they can." But in ſhort, to conſummate the inhumanity, the bodies were all refuſed burial, by the ſpecial command of Simon himſelf.

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* Ninety furlongs amounted to eleven Engliſh miles and a quarter, and an hundred thirty five geometrical paces.

Simon in requital puts Matthias to the torture, and then murders him upon the bodies of his three ſons.

Ananus, the vileſt of men, the executioner.

Ananias put to death, and Joſeph's father made priſoner.

There was alſo Ananias a prieſt, the ſon of Maſbalus, nobly deſcended; and Ariſteus, a native of Ammaus, and ſecretary to the council; who, with fifteen more of the principals of the people, were all put to death. The father of Joſeph was alſo made a priſoner, with a proclamation upon it, that no man ſhould preſume to come at him upon pain of treaſon. Nay, it was made death alſo, without either trial or mercy, but ſo much as to pity them.

Judas the ſon of Judas in a plot to deſtroy Simon.

It fell out after this, that Judas, the ſon of Judas, an officer of Simon's, and a commander of one of the turrets, lamenting the brutal oppreſſion of a miſerable people, and alſo not forgetting in the firſt place his own preſervation, took an occaſion to confer with half a ſcore of the truſtieſt friends he had, upon that ſubject. "How long, ſays he, are we to crouch under the burden of this tyranny, or what hope of ſafety is there in the ſervice of ſo falſe, and ſo cruel a maſter! We have ſword and famine to encounter, and the enemy as good as within our walls already; Simon, of all men living the moſt ungrateful. We live in a perpetual fear of puniſhment from him; and the Romans, on the other hand, are moſt certainly men of faith and honour: ſo that we have no more to do, but to deliver up the walls, and to preſerve ourſelves, and our country, both in one. Neither has Simon any cauſe of complaint, only he ſuffers a little ſooner."

When the ten men were come to an agreement, Judas betimes ſent the remainder of his people ſeveral ways, for a blind to his deſign; and about the third hour of the day, called out to the Romans from the turret, and gave them to underſtand the reſolution they had taken: ſome gave no heed to it; others no credit; and ſome again thought it not worth their while to maſter a place they might get without danger. By this time Titus had drawn ſome troops up to the wall; but Simon, having got intelligence of the deſign, immediately ſurpriz'd the turret; and killing the guard, in the very view of the Romans, tumbled the bodies down the wall. While Joſeph was walking up and down there, and doing the Jews the beſt offices he could by his interceſſion and advice, it was his fortune to be knock'd down with a ſtone from the battlements: whereupon the Jews made a deſperate ſally, and had carry'd him off a priſoner, if Titus, in that inſtant, had not ſent a party to his reſcue. During this skirmiſh, they got away Joſeph, before he was well come to himſelf again. The faction took it to be as they wiſh'd it; and mightily overjoy'd they were in the belief that Joſeph was ſlain. The rumour paſs'd for current through the city, and put the inhabitants into a diſmal conſternation, for the loſs of their mediator and patron among the Romans. The tidings of Joſeph's death being brought to his mother in priſon, ſhe told her guards that ſhe heard as much, and that ſhe ſhould never ſee him more. Upon this occaſion, the women condoled with her; and ſhe herſelf deploring her own misfortune, that in bearing a ſon, who, ſhe hop'd, would have bury'd the mother, ſhe was not now in condition to pay thoſe funeral rites to her ſon. But the mother was not long the worſe, nor the faction long the better, for the miſtake of a falſe report. For the danger of Joſeph's wound was quickly over; and upon returning to his poſt again, he gave them all to underſtand, that, in a ſhort time, they ſhould pay dearly for what they had done: but ſtill animating the people all along to return to their obedience. The ſight of Joſeph put his friends in countenance again, and caſt as great a damp upon the hearts of the faction.

Simon ſurprizes the town.

Joſeph wounded with a ſtone, and ſaid to be kill'd. Titus reſcues him, and he recovers.

In this extremity there were ſeveral deſerters went over to the Romans: ſome leapt the wall, and made their eſcape that way; others got off under a colour of attacking the enemy with ſtones. But inſtead of avoiding one calamity within the town, they fell into a worſe without; and the ſurfeits they contracted in the camp, were much more mortal than the famine they left at home. For being empty with a long famine, and puffed up with a dropſical diſtemper, they could not come to their eating again, but by little and little, without danger of burſting: and the moſt miſerable part of the ſtory is yet behind.

The Jews carry off gold in their guts.

Upon this report two thouſand of their bellies were ript up in one night.

There was a fugitive ſurprized among the Syrians, in the very act of ſearching for gold, that had been ſwallow'd, and paſſed thorough him, as I ſaid before: now the faction put all people to the ſcrutiny; and there was ſuch plenty of gold in the town, that twelve * Atticks at preſent were as much worth as five and twenty heretofore. The fame of this diſcovery was preſently all over the camp, and that the Jews who deſerted had conceal'd gold in their guts: whereupon, the Arabians and the Syrians ript up two thouſand of their bellies in one night for their treaſure: which I take to have been the moſt barbarous butchery the Jews ever ſuffer'd.

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* Admitting (which is moſt probable) that the author here means an Attick drachme, the value of twelve in ſilver amounted to ſix ſhillings and ten pence half farthing, and in gold to five pound nine ſhillings and ſix pence; and of twenty five in ſilver to fourteen ſhillings and three pence, and in gold to eleven pounds eight ſhillings and three half-pence Engliſh money. This valuation is made from Dom Calmet's tables, whom in theſe affairs we have chiefly follow'd, tho' it is the loweſt that has been made by any author; ſome, of good authority, having valued them at near one ſeventh higher.

Titus tranſported to the higheſt degree.

Titus was ſo tranſported at the brutality of this action, that he had certainly order'd his horſe to ſurround them, and put every man of them to death with darts, that had a hand in it, if the number of the guilty had not been ſo much greater than that of the ſlain. Hereupon he called his officers together, as well Romans as auxiliaries, and finding ſeveral of his own people concern'd in the outrage, he enter'd into an angry expoſtulation with them upon the whole matter. "Is it poſſible, ſays he, to " the Romans in the firſt place, that any ſoldier " of mine ſhould be guilty of ſo unmanly a " cruelty, for a doubtful and uncertain ad- " vantage, and not bluſh at the thought of ſo " infamous and ſcandalous a purchaſe?" And then again to his auxiliaries. "Can you " think it reaſonable, ſays he, that the inſo- " lencies, the murders, and the inhumanities " of the Syrians and Arabians, in a foreign " war, where they take all manner of licence, " ſhould be imputed to the Romans, and " the malice of the one laid at the others " door?"

The love of money the moſt powerful of all appetites.

Now Titus could not altogether excuſe his own people, and was ſo tranſported at it, that he threatened death without mercy to any man that ſhould preſume to commit any of thoſe outrages over again: appointing the legions alſo at the ſame time, to make a ſtrict ſearch after all ſuſpected perſons, and he himſelf would have the hearing of the cauſe. But avarice will ſtand all hazards. Beſide that, cruel people are naturally covetous, and the love of money is the moſt inſatiable of all appetites. Fear and precaution, 'tis true, in ſome caſes may be brought to hear reaſon: but when a people are given up once to a ſpirit of reprobation, the ordinary ways and means of ſecurity turn to their deſtruction: and what Ceſar ſo ſeverely prohibited in publick, was nevertheleſs executed upon the Jewiſh deſerters in ſecret. Only their cuſtom was, upon any fugitives coming over, firſt, to make ſure that none of the Romans ſhould be within ſight, and then cut up the Jews bellies for the execrable booty: and when they had done, they found little more, in fine, than vain hopes. This horrid practice however frighted the Jews out of their deſertions, and greatly reduced the number of them who were already come over to the Romans.

CHAP. XVI.

John advances from pillage to ſacrilege. The very race of the Jews rooted out. Six hundred thouſand dead bodies carry'd out of the city.

From plunder John advances to ſacrilege.

WHEN the pillage fail'd, John advanced to ſacrilege; ſeizing to his own uſe ſeveral donatives and oblations, with divers neceſſary veſſels for the ſervice of God's worſhip; as cups, diſhes, tables, &c. to the very pieces that Auguſtus, and the empreſs, dedicated to the honour of the holy temple; which the Roman emperors had ever a great veneration and eſteem for, though a Jew, at that time, had prophan'd it, and ſtript it of the very bounties of ſtrangers; encouraging his companions to take all manner of liberty with holy things: "For it was but reaſon, he ſaid, " that they, who fought for the temple, " ſhould live by't". So that he made no ſcruple of diſtributing among the people the holy wine and oil, that was reſerv'd in the inner part of the temple for ſacrifices: and as John made the diſtribution, the multitude took their parts of it, drinking, and anointing, without any difficulty. My heart is full, and I cannot forbear giving it vent. I am perſuaded, that if the Romans had delay'd the calling of theſe wicked people to an account, this city would either have been drown'd, or ſwallow'd up with an earthquake, or have been deſtroy'd with thunder and lightning, like Sodom; the Jews being much the wickeder people of the two: inſomuch, that for their ſtubbornneſs and iniquity, the whole race of them was rooted out.

The race of the Jews rooted out.

It would be endleſs to recount the ſeveral inſtances of their miſery. Manneus, the ſon of Lazarus, had the command of one of the city gates; and going over to Titus, he gave him this account: that from the time of Titus's encamping before the town (from the fourteenth of * Xanthicus to the firſt of Panemus) there paſs'd thorough that gate one hundred thouſand fifteen hundred and eighty dead bodies, and this was no more than what fell to his ſhare to take notice of, by virtue of a commiſſion to that purpoſe: beſide what were bury'd by their relations; that is to ſay, thrown out of the city, having no other way of burial. After this, upon the computation of divers men of quality that deſerted, there were ſix hundred thouſand poor people carry'd out of the gate; beſide others innumerable, that for want of friends to carry their carcaſſes out of the city, were pil'd in heaps, and ſhut up in large houſes. Wheat was by this time valued at a talent † a buſhel; and now ſince the walling up of the town ſo cloſe, that they were cut off from all proviſion, to the value of a ſingle ſpire of graſs, they were brought to that pinch of extremity, that they were glad to rake vaults and ſinks for ſuſtenance, and to feed upon ox-dung, and other naſtineſs, enough to turn a body's ſtomach but to look upon it. The bare ſtory of the calamity drew pity from their very enemies; but the faction in the city, that both ſaw and felt their ſufferings, were not ſo much as ſenſible that their own rebellious obſtinacy had been the cauſe of it. But they were hurried on, under the fatality and impulſe of a blind infatuation, to the irreparable ruin both of themſelves and of the city.

Six hundred thouſand dead bodies carry'd out of the city.

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* From the fourteenth of April to the firſt of July.

† The value of a Jewiſh talent in ſilver, which we ſuppoſe to be the talent here meant, amounted to three hundred and forty two pounds three ſhillings and nine-pence of Engliſh money.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Wars of the *JEWS.*

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

The ſtate of Jeruſalem. From a civil war they advance to a foreign. A paradiſe turn'd into a deſart. The Jews outdo the Romans. They attempt the firing of their engines, but fail. Jeruſalem aſſaulted. The Jews make a bold defence. The Romans fall to mining. Titus to his army. The Jews firm in all extremes. Titus's opinion of a future ſtate. An encouragement to his ſoldiers to do their duty. A gallant action of Sabinus.

The ſtate of Jeruſalem.

THE ſtate of Jeruſalem was every day worſe and worſe; and the faction ſtill more and more fierce and turbulent, as they grew more and more miſerable: the famine having now taken poſſeſſion of great and ſmall, all alike. It was a ſad ſpectacle to ſee how the ſtreets were cover'd with dead bodies, the air infected, and the very paſſages choak'd up with carcaſſes that were trampled under foot like the ruins of a fought field; and without any conſideration either of terror or pity, or how ſoon it might come to be their own caſe. They began with cutting one another's throats, and advanced from a civil war to a foreign; as if divine providence had not made haſte enough to perfect their deſtruction. For they did not contend ſo much for any hope they had of victory, as in a tranſport of rage and deſpair.

From a civil war to foreign

THE Romans, upon this pinch, were hard put to it for materials to finiſh their works; but yet, upon cutting down all the woods within ninety furlongs of the city, they made a ſhift in one and twenty days to raiſe their platforms. But never was known ſo diſmal a change of things, from a paradiſe to a deſart; and, inſtead of the moſt delicious country under the heavens, for curious gardens, plantations, and houſes of pleaſure, not ſo much as a tree or a cottage left ſtanding, or any thing to be ſeen but the marks of deſolation and ruin: inſomuch that ſtrangers could not forbear weeping, to ſee the difference betwixt the old Jeruſalem and the new. For the war had ſo far deface'd the beauty and the glory of the place, that it was hardly to be known again; and people enquir'd for Jeruſalem in the very heart of the city itſelf.

A paradiſe turn'd into a deſart.

Not a ſtick of wood left within ninety furlongs of the town.

UPON perfecting the mounts, the Jews and the Romans were both equally ſolicitous for the event. The Jews were either to deſtroy them once again, or to loſe the city, and one diſappointment more on the other hand would put the Romans out of condition to repair them: for there was no more wood to be gotten, and the ſoldiers were quite harraſs'd out with the fatigue of the ſervice. Not but that the Romans all this while, were more afflicted for the calamity of the city, than the citizens for themſelves; who kept up their courage yet in deſpite of all difficulties. But when the Romans found themſelves over-reach'd by ſtratagem, their inventions eluded, the wall proof againſt their machines, and themſelves worſted, in fine, at handy-ſtrokes, their very hearts fail'd them; eſpecially having to do with an enemy, that inſtead of ſinking under the diſcouragements of faction, famine, war, &c. rather gather'd ſpirit from the oppoſition. "What would not theſe people do, ſaid the "Romans, if they had fortune on their ſide; "that behave themſelves with this bravery, "in defiance of all oppoſition!" Upon this conſideration,

The Jews too hard for the Romans.

“conſideration, the Romans doubled their guards.

They attempt the firing of the Roman engines, but fail.

John and his people in the caſtle of Antonia, did all that was to be done, before the rams were mounted, to prevent the danger of a breach. But it was ſo much labour loſt, for the deſign they had of ſetting fire to the mount with flaming torches, came to nothing. The truth of it is, they did not behave themſelves like Jews, either for union or vigour, and ſo were forc'd upon a retreat. But as they fell ſhort of themſelves, on the one ſide, ſo the Romans alſo went beyond themſelves on the other, in planting ſo ſtrict a guard on the bulwarks, that there was no poſſibility of doing any execution by fire: beſide, that they were reſolv'd every man of them to die upon the ſpot, rather than to ſubmit to ſo irreparable a miſchief as the loſing of that poſt; for nothing could have put the ſoldiers in a greater confuſion, than to ſee brave men outdone by policy, their courage baffled by a hot-headed temerity, military diſcipline and experience confounded by popular outrage, and the Romans, in fine, overcome by the Jews. While the Jews advanc'd, the Romans were ready with their darts to encounter them; and the foremoſt that fell did not only hinder his next man, but the exemplary danger of the one, ſerv'd for a warning to the other. As for thoſe that preſs'd upon the enemy's weapons, ſome of them were ſurpriz'd at the dignity of the Roman order, others at their numbers, and ſome again march'd off with their wounds: ſo that in the concluſion, they all quitted their ground, every man ſhifting the blame off to his fellow.

They blame one another.

Jeruſalem aſſaulted.

The Jews make a bold defence.

The Romans fall to mining

The aſſault was given on the firſt of the month * Panemus; and the Jews being now drawn off, the Romans advanced with their rams toward Antonia, in defiance of all they were able to do, by fire, ſword, ſtones, and all other ways of hoſtility whatſoever. Not but that the Jews depended much upon the ſtrength of their walls againſt the battery of the machines: but they did what they could however to keep the Romans at a diſtance from fixing them. The inference they drew from this way of management was, that the Jews were conſcious to themſelves that Antonia was in danger, and that this apprehenſion made them beſtir themſelves ſo much. They continu'd the battery, and the wall ſtood hitherto firm; but the Romans fortifying themſelves under the defence of their bucklers againſt the ſhot and ſtones from above, they apply'd themſelves to digging and mining; and when, with indefatigable labour, they had looſen'd four ſtones under the foundation of the work, the night drawing on, they betook themſelves on both ſides to their reſt. In this interim, that part of the wall that John had undermin'd for the deſtruction of the former works, fell down all on a ſudden. This unexpected accident was a ſurprize to both parties. The Jews, that had reaſon to be troubled at it, eſpecially when they might have foreſeen and prevented it, were yet in as good heart as if Antonia had been their own ſtill: and the joy of the Romans, on the other hand, for an accident that appear'd ſo ſeaſonable, was as quickly daſh'd upon the ſight of another wall, that John had carry'd up within the former; only the latter appear'd to be the leſs defenſible place of the two, both as the ruin of the one facilitated the paſſage to the other, and as the work of the new wall could not yet be ſo firm and ſettled as that of Antonia. But there was no thought of ſcaling it, and coming off alive.

Titus was not now to learn the force of reaſoning, and fair words, upon the minds of men of arms and honour; or how generous ſpirits might be wrought upon by plauſible inſinuations of artifice and addreſs, into not only the neglect of danger, but the very contempt of death itſelf. With this thought in his head, he ſummoned the flower of his army together, and ſpake to them after this manner:

Titus to the flower of his army.

“My brave fellow-ſoldiers, ſays he, there can be no place for encouragements, where there is no danger: neither would it become me to offer it, as if you wanted it, or you to take it. Exhortations are more properly for doubtful caſes, wherein all brave men will adviſe themſelves. It will be a hard work, I muſt confeſs, to maſter the wall we have here before us: but great ſouls are given us for great and glorious exploits; and death is an advantage when it is follow'd with immortal fame for a reward: beſide that it ſhall be my care to reward thoſe that deſerve it. In the firſt place, I would have you think of that for your encouragement, that works a contrary effect upon others. I ſpeak of the inſuperable patience and conſtancy of the Jews in the worſt of fortunes. As what can be more ignominious, than for the military Romans, that ſtudy war in peace, and are ſo wonted to conquer, that it is almoſt natural to them to be victorious; for theſe, I ſay, to be beaten out of their ſtrength and courage by the Jews, and at the latter end of the day too, with God's providence moſt evidently on their ſide, and the enemy nothing to ſupport them, but the fury of their own extravagant deſpairs; beſide that they ſuffer daily under the judicial vengeance of God's high diſpleaſure in our favour: witneſs their factions, famine, ſiege, and the ruin of their walls, even without battery; which are but ſo many declarations from heaven againſt them, to our advantage. It will not become us therefore to truckle to our inferiours, and to caſt off the divine protection. Shall the Jews that have been train'd up to ſlavery, and conſequently have little or no credit to loſe upon that account; ſhall theſe people, I ſay, have the bravery to charge into the middle of the Roman troops, and look death in the face, rather than run the riſk of the ſame condition over again; and all this, out of mere oſtentation and vanity, without the leaſt hope or proſpect of ſucceſs? and ſhall we, on the other hand, that are effectually the lords and maſters of the univerſe, and in a manner entitled to a right of conqueſt; ſhall we, I ſay, lie ſtill and idle, without ſo much as one bold attempt upon our adverſaries, waiting only in our arms, till hunger and fortune ſhall give up the enemy, without any difficulty, into our hands? 'Tis but taking Antonia once, and the town is our own. Or, in caſe we ſhould

The Jews firm and ſteady in all extremes.

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* i. e. July.

“ meet with any reſiſtance from within
“ (which I do not expect) it would not be
“ worth the ſpeaking of; for the advantage
“ of the higher ground lays the enemy
“ at our feet without all hope of recovery.
“ I do not take upon me here to celebrate
“ the hiſtory of thoſe heroes, that having
“ ended their days in the field of battle,
“ ſhall yet live in the memory of future ages
“ to perpetuity. As for thoſe worthleſs
“ wretches that think of going down body
“ and ſoul into the grave together, I wiſh
“ them a death ſuitable to that abjection of
“ mind. No man of ſenſe and ſpirit can be ſo
“ far ignorant of the ſtate of ſouls departed,
“ as not to underſtand that thoſe that fall by
“ the fate of war, are immediately tranſlated
“ into the heavens among the ſtars, to appear
“ from thence, to their poſterity, like good
“ angels, or influences to prepare them on the
“ other ſide for thoſe manſions of bliſs. But
“ for thoſe that die in their bed, as we ſay,
“ or of ſome bodily diſeaſe, their ſouls, from
“ that inſtant, are buried in darkneſs, let them
“ be never ſo purify'd from pollution, and
“ their names and memories for ever ſunk and
“ forgotten. Now ſince ſo it is, that death is
“ inevitable, and that the ſword compar'd
“ with any diſeaſe is the eaſier death of the
“ two, how mean and degenerous a cowardice
“ would it be to withdraw the uſe of a
“ life from the ſervice of the publick, which
“ is an indiſpenſible debt to nature, and a
“ man's country?

Titus his notion of a future ſtate.

“ **This** may look, perhaps, as if I took
“ the ſtorming of this wall to be certain death;
“ but reſolution is above danger; and he that
“ fears nothing, deſpairs of nothing. The fall
“ of the firſt wall has open'd a way to the
“ reſt; and the ſecond will be eaſily overborne,
“ if you do but encourage and ſupport
“ one another: only ſtand firm, and your very
“ numbers will do the work: and who knows
“ at laſt but you may carry your point without
“ blood too. You are to prepare however
“ for a vigorous oppoſition, and to aſſure
“ yourſelves, that upon any advantage, either
“ by ſtratagem, or by force, they will never
“ be able to withſtand us. And for him that
“ firſt mounts the breach, it ſhall be my care,
“ whether he lives or dies, to crown him
“ with honours and rewards.”

He that does well ſhall be ſure of honour and reward.

These words of Titus caſt ſuch a damp upon the ſpirits of the army, that there was but one man in the field had the heart to anſwer the end of this diſcourſe. His name was Sabinus; a Syrian born, and a ſoldier of the guards; and a man eminent both for courage and execution: one that had never ſeen him before, would hardly have taken him for a military man, either by his make, or by his outward appearance: he was a little black man; but had a ſoul too large for his body. This man made his reverence, and addreſs'd himſelf to Titus in words to this effect. “ I
“ do here (ſays he) make a tender of myſelf
“ to Ceſar with all my heart, for the firſt man
“ to give the aſſault. May Ceſar's fortune
“ anſwer Sabinus's good-will. Or if I ſhould
“ miſcarry in the attempt, what I loſe one
“ way, I get another, in the honour of laying
“ down my life for my maſter; which
“ makes it all one to me whether I live or
“ die.”

A glorious action of Sabinus, one of the guards to Titus; and the glorious end he made.

Upon theſe words, with his ſword drawn in his right hand, and his ſhield over his head in his left, he advanced toward the wall about the * ſixth hour of the day, at the head of eleven men, who follow'd him purely in emulation of his virtue. Sabinus, in this action, encounter'd all the enemies ſtones and ſhot, with a ſpirit more than human; and ſeveral of his followers were knock'd down upon that attack. But this did not hinder Sabinus yet from preſſing forward upon the enemies darts and arrows, till he had mounted the wall, and forced the Jews to abandon their ſtation, for fear of an enforcement of greater numbers to over-power them. But what ſhall we ſay now to the ſpiteful malignity of fortune, that takes delight to croſs all virtuous undertakings? for when this heroe was juſt upon the perfecting of his work, he was moſt unluckily overborne with the fall of a ſtone. The Jews looking behind them upon the noiſe, and finding Sabinus lying alone there, and in a manner ſenſeleſs, they all fell upon him with their darts. He defended himſelf upon his knees, with his buckler over his head, as long as he could, and revenged himſelf upon his enemies with his ſword; killing ſome, and wounding others, till in the end, being able to ſtrike no longer, he breathed his laſt under a ſhower of their darts.

The bravery of this man deſerved a more propitious fate; he but died yet as great as he lived. Three of his companions were cruſhed to death with ſtones from the top of the wall, and there were eight more carried off wounded to the camp. This action paſſed upon the third day of the month † Panemus.

CHAP. II.

The Romans find the guards aſleep at Antonia, and cut their throats. A terrible fight upon it, with a great ſlaughter and confuſion. A battle of ten hours; and the Jews get the better of it.

TWO days after this, there were got together twenty of the guards of the platforms, the enſign of the fifth legion, two horſemen, and a trumpeter; and making a ſilent march over the ruins up to Antonia, in the dead of the night, without any oppoſition, they found the advance guards faſt aſleep, cut their throats, and ſo taking poſſeſſion of the wall, the trumpet ſounded. Upon this alarm, the reſt wak'd and fled, without waiting to ſee what numbers had entered the place; but betwixt fear and fancy, they gave them for granted to be very ſtrong. Titus immediately, upon this notice, put himſelf at the head of the choiceſt troops he had about him, and ſo took his way up to the ruins. The Jews were ſo terrify'd at this ſurprize, that ſome of them made for the inner temple; others, toward the mine that John had wrought to ſupplant the

The Romans march up to Antonia, find the guards aſleep, and cut their throats.

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* i. e. Our twelve o'clock, or noon.

† i. e. July.

A ſharp fight upon it.

With a great ſlaughter and confuſion.

A battle of ten hours, and the Jews carry it.

Roman works: but the two factions of John and Simon giving all for loſt, if the Romans ſhould get the temple, there follow'd a fierce and an obſtinate fight upon it, before the very doors of the place; the one fighting for life, the other for victory. Launces and darts were of little or no uſe on either hand; but the diſpute was now decided by the ſword. In this confuſion, there was no diſtinguiſhing who and who were together; but all crouding, without either order or diſcipline: and ſuch a medley of outcries, that there was no underſtanding one another. The ſlaughter was great on both ſides, and the ground covered with arms and carcaſſes. There was no place either to run away, or to purſue: but as they had the better, or the worſe of it, they advanced, or retired; ſhouting and exulting on the one hand, and lamenting on the other. The front of both armies was of neceſſity either to kill, or to be kill'd; for there was no diſtance left betwixt them for a retreat. The battle, in fine, laſted ten hours: that is to ſay, from the ninth [*] hour over night to the ſeventh next day. But the furious obſtinacy of the Jews carried it from the reſolution and conduct of the Romans; and it was well for them they did ſo, for their laſt adventure was at ſtake. But the Romans, in the concluſion, contented themſelves for the preſent, that they had gotten Antonia, with only one part of their army; for the legions, upon whom they chiefly depended, were not as yet come up.

CHAP. III.

A brave exploit of one Julian a centurion; and as notable a misfortune. The Romans ſhut up in Antonia. The names of the Jews that ſignalized themſelves upon this occaſion.

A brave exploit of one Julian a centurion.

An eminent misfortune of his; and as remarkable a death.

THERE was one Julian, a native of Bithynia, and a centurion; a man well born, and one who for skill in martial diſcipline, corporeal puiſſance, and undaunted reſolution gave ſignal proof of his being the moſt accompliſh'd ſoldier I ever heard of in the whole war. This Julian, as he was ſtanding by Titus in Antonia, and the Romans at that time giving way to the Jews, he took his opportunity, and made a deſperate leap on a ſudden into the thickeſt of the enemy, and ſo gave them chace in his ſingle perſon up to the innermoſt corner of the temple. This prodigious action put the multitude into ſuch an amazement, that there was more in it (they thought) than the bare force of fleſh and blood. But Julian purſu'd his courſe; ſome he overturn'd, others he overtook, and put to death: nothing, in ſhort, was more agreeable to Ceſar's friends, or a more dreadful ſpectacle to his enemies. But there was a fatality yet that befel this man, not to be foreſeen, or avoided. For having his ſhoes ſtudded with iron nails, after the faſhion of other ſoldiers, as he was running upon the pavement, he got a ſlip; and the Romans, upon the claſh of his arms, broke into an outcry, for fear he might have done himſelf ſome miſchief. The Jews at the ſame time fell upon him with ſwords and darts, while he fenc'd off ſeveral blows with his buckler; and ſtill as he try'd to get up again, he was borne down with multitudes. And yet, ſuch was the proof of his arms, that even at his length upon the ground, they had ſome difficulty to diſpatch him. But, what with loſs of blood and other weakneſs, no mortal daring to ſuccour him, he gave up the ghoſt.

The Romans ſhut up in Antonia.

The names of the Jews that ſignalized themſelves in this action.

CESAR was moſt ſenſibly touch'd, to ſee ſo brave a man made ſo publick and ſo deplorable a ſpectacle; and eſpecially to find himſelf under the utter impoſſibility of ſaving a perſon he had ſo great a mind to preſerve. But there were others that might have relieved him, if they had but had the courage to attempt it. Julian, in fine, after a long ſtruggle with human frailty, and leaving ſeveral of his enemies wounded behind him, departed this life, to his everlaſting honour, both with friends and foes. The Jews at laſt carry'd off the dead body, and after another repulſe to the Romans, ſhut them up in Antonia. The Jews that ſignaliz'd themſelves in this action, were Alexas, and [†] Gyphtheus, of John's party: and of Simon's faction, there were Malachias, and Judas the ſon of Merton: James the ſon of Sozas, captain of the Idumeans; and Simon and Judas the ſons of Jair.

CHAP. IV.

Titus invites John out to a fair battle. John's ribaldry in return. John deliberates upon the matter. Jechonias's piety and prudence. The fate of Jeruſalem draws on; and God puniſhes the Jews by the hand of the Romans. The Jews give it out that the Romans put all the deſerters to death; but Titus proves the contrary. Titus has no hand in theſe abominations.

Titus makes ready to march, and clears the way for his army.

He invites John out to a fair battle for the ſaving of the temple and city.

TITUS, being now reſolved to tear up the foundations of Antonia, and to level the ways for the more commodious march of his whole army, he called for Joſeph, and (underſtanding that on that day, which was the ſeventeenth of the month [‡] Panemus, the ſolemnity of their daily ſacrifice could not be obſerv'd for want of a congregation, and that the people were much troubled at it) ſent him to John a ſecond time upon the ſame errand: that is to ſay, if John had a mind to fight, let him bring what numbers he pleas'd, and he ſhould have the liberty to put it to a battle; provided only that the city and the temple might not be expoſed in the common ruin, and that he would give over prophaning God's holy name and worſhip. Or, if he had a deſire to revive the religious ſervices that had been for ſome time diſcontinued, he might appoint which of the Jews he pleas'd to officiate.

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[*] That is, according to our diviſion of time, from three in the afternoon till one o'clock next morning; for the Romans began their day at our ſix in the morning, which they called the firſt hour: their ninth hour therefore muſt be our three in the afternoon, and their ſeventh next day our one in the morning.

[†] Al. Tiptheus.

[‡] i. e. July.

Now Joſeph did not thing it ſufficient to acquit himſelf of this commiſſion to John alone; but mounting an eminence where he might be furtheſt heard, he communicated Ceſar's pleaſure to the Jews in Hebrew, as loud as he could deliver it; begging of the Jews all the while to have compaſſion of their country, and to prevent the burning of the temple, before it was too late; with liberty to ſolemnize their prayers and ſacrifices, as formerly.

John's execrable ribaldry in return.

The people gave Joſeph a ſorrowful hearing, without ſo much as one word ſpeaking. But John, after ſeveral virulent and opprobrious invectives againſt Joſeph, ſuperradded this irony; "That there was no danger of Jeruſalem, if it was the city of God".

Joſeph reaſons the caſe according to his commiſſion.

"No doubt of it, ſays Joſeph, (interrupting him with a loud voice) you have made a conſcience of keeping every thing pure and holy, and of paying your duty to that God from whom you pretend to look for help. What would you think of that man now, but as the worſt of enemies, who ſhould rob you of your daily bread? And yet at the ſame time you make no difficulty at all of robbing Almighty God of his daily ſacrifices and oblations. And what's your quarrel after this to the Romans, but for ſtanding up in defence of your own laws and worſhip, which you yourſelf ſuppreſs? Never was there ſo miſerable a turn of religion and ſtate! ſtrangers and enemies do the office of your beſt friends; and the Jews themſelves, both by blood and education, crueller than Barbarians one to another. But repentance is never out of ſeaſon, let the caſe be never ſo deſperate. As in the inſtance of Jechonias the king of the Jews; who, when the Babylonians made war upon Jeruſalem, quitted the town upon choice, before it was taken, and gave up himſelf, mother, and relations, for hoſtages, to ſave the holy city and temple from being laid in aſhes. The name and honour of this prince ſtand upon record to this day, in an anniverſary ſolemnity, to the memory of that illuſtrious action. I cannot recommend you to a more pertinent or ſeaſonable precedent: and let your diſtreſs or offence be what it will, my life for yours, the Romans ſhall pardon it. Wherefore conſider well with yourſelf, who it is that adviſes you; what they are to whom I paſs this promiſe; what moves me to it; and in whoſe name I undertake it. Heaven forbid that I ſhould ever ſubmit to be ſo mean a ſlave, as to forget what I owe to the place of my nativity, and to the laws of my country! And after all this, what do I get for my good-will now, but freſh indignities, railings, and injuries? And all this is not yet ſo bad neither as I deſerve, for endeavouring to preſerve a race of people that fate and providence are reſolved to deſtroy. What can be clearer than the frequent predictions we meet with in hiſtory, pointing at the deſtruction of this miſerable city; and that the time of it is then near at hand, when the Jews are tearing out the hearts one of another? Now this is ſo far come to paſs, that not only the houſes, but the temples, are polluted with the blood of your own tribes. And what is all this now, but the divine judgment of God, puniſhing the Jews by the hand of the Romans, which will probably end in purging the city by fire?"

A memorable inſtance of Jechonias's piety and prudence.

The fate of Jeruſalem near at hand. God puniſhes the Jews by the hands of the Romans.

Joseph could go no further for ſobs and tears, which put the Romans into a tender admiration at the ſoftneſs and humanity of his very diſpoſition: but the more Joſeph lamented, the more implacable were John and his conſederates againſt the Romans; inſomuch, that they lay in wait to enveigle Joſeph into a ſnare, and take him priſoner. But his diſcourſe wrought very effectually upon ſeveral of the nobility. There were diverſe of the factious alſo, that finding the caſe deſperate, and giving all for loſt, would have gone over to the Romans, if they durſt have ſtirr'd for fear of their own guards. But others there were, that taking their opportunity, ſtole from their companions and deſerted, in which number were the high-prieſts, Joſeph and Jeſus; the three ſons of Iſmael, that had his head cut off at Cyrene; four ſons of Matthias; and one ſon of another Matthias, who made his eſcape to the Romans, after Simon the ſon of Gioras had put the father and three of his ſons to death, as has been ſaid already. There were alſo a great number of perſons of condition that deſerted with the prieſts, who were graciouſly received by the emperor, but ſent away to Gophne for the preſent, with a promiſe of large poſſeſſions to be diſtributed among them at the end of the war. Titus gave them this aſſignment by themſelves, to avoid the uneaſineſs of a mix'd converſations among people of different manners, laws, and cuſtoms; and they were very thankful for the allotment.

Several of the better ſort give their companions the ſlip.

When they were all withdrawn to their colony, and none of them ſeen any longer in the city, the faction rais'd a ſpiteful and ſlanderous report, how the Romans kill'd all the deſerters as faſt as they came over to them, with a deſign to fright others from leaving their companions. This invention ſucceeded once again, as before; but Titus, being now aware of the ſtratagem, call'd them all back again from Gophne, and order'd them to take the tour of the walls with Joſeph, and ſhew themſelves to the town, which brought over more proſelytes to the Romans than ever. As they were gather'd together upon this occaſion, they planted themſelves in the ſight of the Romans, and preſſing the faction with importunities and lamentations, begg'd of them either to take the Romans into the town, and deliver their country; or otherwiſe quit the temple, to prevent the firing of it; which the Romans would never agree to but upon the laſt extremity. This did but make the faction more and more outragious againſt the fugitives, with their ſtones, darts, arrows, ſlings, and other hoſtile engines; which being planted at the very gates, made the temple look more like a caſtle than an houſe of religious worſhip; and the dead bodies lay every where ſo thick about it, as if it were a common burying-place. They broke alſo into the holy ſanctuary, with their arms ſtill warm and reeking in the blood of their countrymen, and advanced to ſuch a degree of extravagance, that the Romans pay'd a greater reverence to the Jewiſh rites and ceremonies, than the Jews did to their own. There was not a man in Titus's army, that had not a veneration for the

The Jews give out that the Romans kill all the deſerters.

But Titus proves it a manifeſt impoſture.

temple itſelf, and for the God that was worſhipped there, and that did not heartily wiſh to ſee the faction repent while there was yet place left for mercy.

TITUS was ſo ſenſibly touch'd with the caſe of theſe wretched people, that he made one trial more yet, how far John, and his confederates, might be wrought upon by reaſon. "Tell me, ſays he, you inhuman miſcreants! "what were all the bars and partitions for, "about this holy place, with the Latin and "Greek inſcriptions upon theſe pillars, for"bidding all people, upon a penalty, not to "paſs this encloſure? Neither have we our"ſelves been leſs tender of your privileges, in "making it death for any man to paſs theſe "bounds, not excepting the Romans them"ſelves. How comes the ſanctuary after this, "to be prophaned with aſſaſſinations and mur"ders, and the temple defil'd with blood, "foreign and domeſtick. I appeal to all the "Gods of my country, and to the late patron "of this holy temple, (who hath now forſaken "it,) to my army, to the Jews that have "join'd with me, and finally to yourſelves, "that I am innocent of all theſe abominations: "and I do ſacredly promiſe, that, if you will "but comply in quitting this holy place, no "man ſhall approach to offer it any indignity; "but that I'll preſerve and protect your tem"ple even whether you will or no."

CHAP. V.

Titus forced upon the war. He forms his party, and poſts himſelf upon fort Antonia. An attack in the night, follow'd with a diſmal uproar and confuſion. Day-light brings them into order again. A drawn battle at laſt. Several Jewiſh heroes that fought bravely. Four mounts erected. A bloody diſpute. A famous action of one Pedanius. The Jews fire the temple-galleries. A phantaſtical challenge. Jonathan kills Pudens; and Priſcus kills Jonathan.

TITUS, upon this occaſion, made uſe of Joſeph for his interpreter; but the faction made a wrong conſtruction of it, and imputed the fairneſs of the application rather to fear, than good-will, and the Jews grew inſolent upon that miſtake. When Titus found they had no regard, either to the temple, or to themſelves, he reſolved, though much againſt his mind, to carry on the war. But he could not draw up his whole army againſt them, becauſe there was not room ſufficient; ſo that he detach'd thirty out of every company, with a tribune at the head of every thouſand, and Cerealis to command them all in chief. With this detachment they were to have fallen on upon the enemy's guards about the ninth * hour of the night, and Titus himſelf to have led on the attack: but upon a council of war, the officers were all of opinion for Titus rather to poſt himſelf upon the fort Antonia, where he might ſee and obſerve how his men acquitted themſelves, without running the riſque of any common danger in his own perſon; beſide, that it would inſpire his people with a new ſoul, to ſhew their bravery in the ſight of their general.

Titus forced upon a war.

He forms his party.

Poſts himſelf upon fort Antonia, within view of the action.

TITUS, in fine, render'd himſelf to the reaſons of his officers and friends; and ſo withdrew to a watch-tower in Antonia, where he might ſee and judge of the whole action; charging his officers at the ſame time to take ſtrict notice who did well, or ill, that he might ſee them rewarded, or puniſhed accordingly. The matter was no ſooner ſettled, but order was given, and an hour appointed, for the attack. The Romans did not find the enemy aſleep this time, as was expected; but the advance guards came preſently to blows, with a confuſion of clamours; and, upon wakening their fellows, brought them on the multitudes to ſecond them. The Romans ſtood the firſt ſhock; but the numbers that follow'd fell indifferently upon their own people, without knowing friend and foe aſunder: for betwixt the noiſe of the uproar, and the darkneſs of the night, they knew neither voices nor faces apart; but following the impulſe only of a blind rage and paſſion, they fell foul upon what came next in their way at a venture. But the Romans keeping themſelves in orderly bodies all this while, under the cover of their bucklers, and knowing one another by the word, or ſignal, made a tolerable ſhift in the conflict; whereas the Jews moved not one ſober ſtep backward or forward; but miſtaking their enemies for their friends, and their friends for their enemies, deſtroy'd more of their own men than the Romans themſelves did. But upon break of day, ſo ſoon as the light ſhew'd them their errors, they betook themſelves to a more regular way of combat, and fell to their darts and arrows, both ſides as freſh and vigorous as if they had done nothing all night. Now the Romans, who had Titus for the judge, witneſs, and ſpectator, of their behaviour, and looked upon the bravery of that day's action as the foundation of their future fortunes, fought one and all in a noble ſtrife and emulation, who ſhould do beſt; while the Jews at the ſame time had their own lives and the temple at ſtake, with the tyrant John at the head of them, cajoling ſome with fair words, and treating others with menaces and blows. This fight was moſt of it hand to hand, but with various changes backward and forward; for there was hardly any room either for flight or purſuit. Antonia was, in effect, but a kind of theatre to the battle; Titus and his friends the ſpectators; calling out to the actors one while to follow their advantage, other while to ſtand their ground, as they ſaw occaſion; and there paſſed nothing that eſcap'd their obſervation. The diſpute laſted, in fine, from the ninth hour of the night, to the † fifth the next day; both ſides maintaining their ground, and coming, in the concluſion, to a drawn battle. There were ſeveral noble Romans that behaved themſelves like heroes; and the moſt remarkable captains of the Jews were as follows. Of Simon's party, there were Judas the ſon of Merton, Simon the ſon of Joſias, Jacob the ſon of Soſa, and Simon the ſon of Cathlas, Idumeans. And then of

An attack ordered at a ſet hour in the night.

And follow'd in the dark with a diſmal uproar and confuſion.

Day-light brings them into order.

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* That is our three in the morning.

† That is from our three in the morning till eleven, being eight hours.

John's diſciples, there were Gyphtheus and Alexas; and of the Zelotes, there was Simon the ſon of Jair.

The paſſes about Antonia level'd.

Four mounts erected.

IN the compaſs of ſeven days, the foundations of Antonia were all turn'd up to the bottom, and a broad way cut out for the legions to march up to the wall; where they immediately fell to work upon four mounts: the firſt, over againſt the corner of the inner temple that looks north and eaſt: the ſecond, againſt the gallery, to the northward betwixt the two gates: the third, toward the weſt porch of the outward temple; and the fourth, toward the north porch. But it was an infinite charge and labour, the bringing of the materials an hundred * furlongs from the place; beſide the many ſurprizes they met withal by the way; for the Romans were over confident and careleſs, and the Jews raſh and deſperate enough to venture upon any thing.

IT was the practice of ſeveral of the Romans, when they went out a foraging, to turn their horſes looſe a grazing; and it was then a common thing for the Jews to ſally out upon ſo fair an opportunity, and carry them off. This happen'd ſo often that Titus imputed it at laſt rather to the negligence of the Romans, than to the daring induſtry of the Jews. And he found himſelf much in the right too; for upon the putting of one ſoldier to death for the loſs of his horſe, it ſecured all the reſt; for the ſoldiers took care never to loſe their horſes afterwards.

An attack, and a bloody diſpute upon it.

WHEN they had now raiſed their platforms, and put themſelves in condition to mount their attacks againſt the temple, there came down the next day a rabble of a faction, that were ready to ſtarve in the city for want of pillage. This ſeditious crew about the eleventh † hour of the day, made an effort upon the Roman guards toward the ‡ mount of Olivet, in hope of either taking them at unawares, or finding them withdrawn to repoſe themſelves. The Romans ſaw the ſtorm a coming; and taking the alarm in time, drew out all the ſtrength they were able to make, and put a check to a moſt deſperate attempt they had projected upon the wall. It came, in ſhort, to a bloody diſpute, and there were great things done on both ſides; the Romans valuing themſelves upon the reputation of their prowefs and military conduct, and the Jews flattering themſelves in the force of a fool-hardy and a miſtaken valour. The one fought for ſhame, the other upon neceſſity: for the Romans looked upon the Jews to be now as good as nooſed, and could never have wip'd off the diſgrace, if they had let them go again: and the Jews, on the other hand, had no hopes of coming off, but by forcing the Romans, and breaking down the wall.

A wonderful exploit of one Pedanius.

THERE goes a wonderful ſtory of one Pedanius, a Roman cavalier, which is thus: The Jews happen'd to be routed once, and purſu'd by the beſiegers into the valley: this ſame Pedanius puſhing full ſpeed after them, overtook a corpulent young man and heavy arm'd, ſpurring for life. He took him off from his horſe by the leg, in the middle of his courſe, and carried him away a priſoner, for a preſent to Ceſar. Titus was in high admiration at the prodigious ſtrength of this man; but the priſoner was put to death upon it, for the villany of the attempt; Titus's heart at the ſame time being ſet upon the diſpatch and finiſhing of the great work.

The Jews ſet fire to the temple galleries.

THE Jews finding themſelves every day weaker and weaker, the war hotter, and the contagion ready to ſeize the very temple itſelf, the Jews did in this caſe, as men do in peſtilential diſtempers, by cutting off the infected parts, to ſave the body. According to this allegory, the Jews began with ſetting fire to that part of the gallery, that reaching from the north to the eaſt, faced Antonia: where they made a gap of near twenty †† cubits, and wrought the final deſtruction of the holy place with their own hands.

ON the four and twentieth of the month abovementioned, the Romans put the ſame gallery in a flame; and when the fire had gain'd fourteen ** cubits, the Jews took down the roof of it, and ſo went on ſtill cutting off all communication with Antonia: not but that they might have hindered the burning of it, if they would, as they ought to have done; but their way was to regulate the miſchief they did by their own convenience: and all this while there paſſed daily skirmiſhes and encounters, every where about the temple.

A fantaſtical challenge of one Jonathan.

THERE was at this time a contemptible figure of a man, that was a Jew; a dwarfiſh puny-look'd fellow, and as deſpicable for his fortune and family, as otherwiſe; and his name was Jonathan. He went out one day to the monument of John the high-prieſt, and there talking vain-gloriouſly of himſelf, he made a challenge to any man of the whole Roman army to meet him with his ſword in his hand. There was no body appeared to take him up; but ſome deſpiſed him; others, as it falls out many times in thoſe caſes, were afraid of him: ſome were not for fighting, they ſaid, with a man that had a mind to die; nor others with men in deſpair, that fear neither God nor man; or, where there is honour to be loſt on the one ſide, and none to be gotten on the other: beſide that a brute and a man are not upon equal terms. When this inſolent ſcoffing Jew had waited a long time for a champion, deſcanting upon the cowardice of the Romans, and no body came; there was a proud arrogant man, one Pudens, a Roman cavalier, who out of an indignation for this affront, ſtood forth inconſiderately enough, and accepted the challenge; which in the end made ſport for the company: the contempt he had for the Jew made him raſh and careleſs; ſo that getting an unlucky fall by a ſlip, Jonathan made his advantage of it, and killed him when he was down; trampling the dead body under his feet, and vapouring over it with buckler in his

Jonathan kills Pudens.

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* An hundred furlongs (as has been before obſerved) were twelve Engliſh miles and an half, and one hundred and fifty geometrical paces.

† That is our five in the afternoon.

‡ Gr. Ἐλαιῶν ὄρος.

†† Twenty cubits (as hath been often obſerved) amounted to ſomething upwards of thirty ſix Engliſh feet, that is twelve yards.

** Fourteen cubits were ſomething upwards of twenty three Engliſh feet, that is ſeven yards and two feet.

left hand, and his bloody ſword in his right, clattering his arms together, and inſulting at the ſame time with foul language and ribaldry, both againſt his adverſary and the ſpectators of the Roman army. While Jonathan was in the height of his buffoonry and exultation, Priſcus, a centurion, ſhot him through the heart with an arrow, which ſtruck him dead upon the body of his enemy. This put both Jews and Romans into an uproar, though upon differing motives, and was look'd upon as a juſt judgment upon Jonathan, for aſſuming that to his virtue, which was only due to his fortune.

And Priſcus kills Jonathan.

CHAP. VI.

A war betwixt the temple and the mounts. The Jews confound the Romans by a ſtratagem. Titus pities them. The bravery of Longus. A ſtrange eſcape of Artorius.

An open war betwixt the temple and the mounts. The Jews deſtroy the Romans by a ſtratagem.

THE faction in the temple was now in open war with the ſoldiers upon the mounts, and on the twenty ſeventh of the month aforeſaid, the Jews bethought themſelves of this ſtratagem. They fill'd the roof of the weſtern porch, betwixt the top of it and the timber, with a quantity of dry wood, ſulphur, and bituminous matter; and then pretending to give way upon an attack, they ſuffer'd themſelves to be beaten out, as if they had not been able to maintain it. A company of raſh people follow'd them cloſe upon the purſuit, and ſet up ladders to make good what the other had quitted; but the wiſer ſort look'd upon the whole to be a trick, and never ſtirr'd for the matter. Upon the Romans crowding into the porch, the Jews ſet fire to it, and all was immediately in a blaze, to the aſtoniſhment even of thoſe that were out of reach of it, but the moſt deſperate horror and confuſion of the reſt imaginable. Some plung'd themſelves into wells and pits; others leapt head-long down among their enemies, ſome running one way, ſome another; ſome were ſmother'd in the flame, and others caſt themſelves upon their ſwords, to prevent death by another.

Titus pities them with a generous compaſſion.

THIS ſpectacle went to the heart of Ceſar, out of a generous compaſſion he had for the calamity of ſo diſmal a miſcarriage: not but that he was highly offended at his ſoldiers, for venturing upon ſuch an attack without orders. But they had this comfort however in their diſtreſs, that to balance the loſs of their lives they had the love and pity of the prince for whom they dy'd; for they could ſee him calling and labouring up and down to do all that was poſſible for their relief: and every inſtance of his affection was look'd upon as a memorial to his immortal honour. As for thoſe that made a ſhift to eſcape the fury of the flames, they were beſet by the Jews, and after a ſtout reſiſtance every man of them put to the ſword.

The bravery of Longus.

THERE fell abundance of brave men in this terrible adventure, but none greater than one Longus; who, with honour to all the reſt in general, muſt not be forgotten upon this occaſion in particular. This Longus was a Roman, and in the vigour of his youth. The Jews found him a daring and a dangerous man, and had no way to cut him off unleſs they could get him down to them upon honour, that he ſhould return ſafe again without any violence to his perſon. His brother Cornelius taking notice of this, call'd out to him on the other hand, adjuring him not to do any thing, that either his country or himſelf ſhould have reaſon to be aſham'd of. Longus upon this, drew his ſword, and in the ſight of both parties kill'd himſelf.

A ſtrange eſcape of Artorius.

THERE was alſo one Artorius that deliver'd himſelf from the fire by an artificial addreſs. He was reduc'd to an extremity; and ſeeing one Lucius, his fellow-ſoldier, and comrade, within call; "Catch me in thy arms, ſays he, "and break my fall, and I'll make thee my "heir." Artorius took his leap, and the other diſpoſing himſelf to receive him, the weight of the one deſtroy'd the other, daſhing him to pieces upon the place. This miſcarriage for the preſent made many a ſad heart among the Romans; but it kept them afterward upon a better guard againſt the ſubtilties and ſtratagems of the Jews, which were very ſly and dangerous to thoſe that were not well aware of them.

THE porch was burnt as far as the tower that John erected in his war with Simon, upon the pillars that led to it: and the Jews, after the burning of the Romans, as above, broke down the reſt. On the day following, the Romans put fire alſo to the north porch, and ſo carry'd it before them to that on the eaſt, that overlooks the valley of Cedron, from a precipice that makes a perſon's head giddy to look down it.

CHAP. VII.

The extreme miſery that attends a famine.

No diſtreſs like that of a famine.

THIS was the face of things about the temple, the city well nigh depopulated with a devouring famine, and the numbers of the miſerable inhabitants deſtroy'd thereby inexpreſſible. It was enough to create a war in a family, to have but any jealouſy of meat in it, and enough to break the tendereſt friendſhips in nature. Thoſe that were evidently ſtarv'd to death could not yet be believed at the laſt gaſp, that they dy'd in want: but they would ſearch the very boſoms of the dead for bread, when they had no longer any breath in their bodies. If they miſs'd what they look'd for, their deſpairs hurry'd them up and down, raging like mad dogs, and ſtaggering like ſo many drunken men; ranſacking every nook and corner of the ſame houſes over and over again; nothing coming amiſs to them, which the fouleſt of brutes themſelves would boggle at; girdle, ſhoe-leather, beaſts-skins, &c. nay an handful of old hay was ſold for a * tetradrachm. But why do I trouble myſelf with illuſtrations of this dreadful judgment, by things inanimate; having at hand

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[*] A tetradrachm is four Attick drachma's, and an Attick, according to Calmet's table, where it is valued almoſt one ſeventh lower than by other authors, was equivalent to ſix pence three farthings and three eighths of a farthing Engliſh money; four therefore, according to this author, muſt be equivalent to two ſhillings and three pence half penny farthing: but as we ourſelves have ſeen and weighed ſeveral tetradrachms, we can aſſure the reader that they were of fine ſilver, and ſomething heavier than an Engliſh half crown.

ſuch an inſtance for matter of fact as was never known, either among Greeks or Barbarians! and the ſtory is not to be heard or reported without horror. I could be well enough content to paſs over this relation, leſt poſterity ſhould take me for a falſary: but I have ſo many witneſſes to the truth of it, that I ſhould be wanting to my country in ſuch a partiality to the dead, as to ſuppreſs it.

CHAP. VIII.

A mother dreſſes and eats the fleſh of her own ſon. Ceſar innocent upon the whole matter.

THERE was a certain rich gentlewoman beyond Jordan, whoſe name was Mary. She was the daughter of Eleazar, of the village † Vetezobra; that is to ſay, the Houſe of Hyſſop. She fled in company with ſeveral others, and took ſanctuary in Jeruſalem, where they had the fortune to be beſieg'd. The tyrants ſtripp'd this lady of all ſhe brought publickly along with her, that was precious; and for any thing elſe that was conceal'd, either goods or proviſions, her houſe was daily broken up and rifled by the ſoldiers. Upon this uſage, the woman fell foul upon the faction with the bittereſt and the moſt outrageous language; but could not prevail with any of theſe monſters yet, either in pity or in rage, to put her to death. When ſhe found herſelf brought to this extremity, that ſhe had no way left in nature to keep body and ſoul together (the gripes of a tormenting famine having already ſeiz'd her, and no poſſibility of getting over them) ſhe deliver'd herſelf up to fury and neceſſity, and pitch'd upon the moſt unnatural reſolution that ever was heard of.

A mother dreſſes and eats the fleſh of her own ſon.

SHE had a child ſucking at her breaſt, which ſhe ſnatch'd up; and looking tenderly upon it, "What, ſays ſhe, ſhall I ſay now to "thee, thou moſt unfortunate infant, to be "brought into the world, under a complication of three ſuch dreadful judgments, as "war, famine, and rebellion! Which of the "three ſhall I reſerve thee for? The Romans "will give thee thy life perhaps, but not thy "liberty. Now famine will prevent ſlavery; "but for our preſent tyrants, thou wilt find "them incomparably worſe than the other "two. What canſt thou do better now, than "to ſupply the want of a meal's meat to thy "ſtarving mother, and ſting the party with "the horror of the fact? and then finally "crown the hiſtory of the Jews with the only execrable abomination that is yet wanting to the perfecting of their miſery?" With theſe words, ſhe kill'd her child, boil'd and dreſs'd it; the one half of it ſhe eat herſelf, and the other half ſhe ſet by out of the way, and kept cover'd. The faction preſently ſmelt out the inhuman cookery, and came immediately to the woman's houſe, with menaces of death without mercy, if ſhe did not forthwith bring them out her proviſions. The woman told them that this was all ſhe had, and ſo ſhew'd them the remainder of her child. They ſtood like ſtatues upon the very ſight of it, and ſo fell to trembling, and ran ſtark mad. "Look ye, ſays the woman, this is really "my ſon, and this diſh is of my dreſſing. I "have eaten the one half myſelf, and pray "do you eat the other. You will not pretend I hope, to be nicer than a woman, or "tenderer than a mother: but if you make "any ſcruple of conſcience at the oblation, I "have eaten part of it already, and you may "leave the reſt where you found it." Upon this, they went their way in a quaking terror, and with ſome difficulty, left the child with the unhappy mother, the only thing they ever boggled at.

Ceſar declares himſelf innocent of the whole matter.

THE noiſe of this bloody execution was quickly ſpread all over the city; and ſuch an abhorrence for it in general, as if every ſingle man had had a part in the crime. The dread of the famine made men weary of their lives, and the living envy'd the dead, that were taken away before the extravagance came to the height. The ſtory was quickly gotten from the Jews to the Romans, where ſome pity'd the people, others hated them for it, and ſome again gave no credit to it. Ceſar acquitted himſelf, as in the preſence of God, that he had done all he could to make the Jews eaſy and happy, in their lives, liberties, and fortunes; but if they had rather be tearing one another to pieces, than live in union, who could help it? If they had rather have war than peace, or famine than plenty; nay, if nothing elſe would ſerve their turn, but that they themſelves muſt fire that very temple which Titus did all that he could to preſerve, their own children were meat good enough for ſuch parents; and he was reſolved to bury their iniquities in their ruin, and not to leave a city ſtanding under the ſun, where mothers devour'd their own children; and the fathers yet the more impious of the two, for keeping up the war, after ſo many demonſtrations of God's terrible diſpleaſure againſt it. Titus after this, reflecting upon the incorrigible hardneſs and obſtinacy of the faction, gave them all for loſt; for if any thing in nature would have wrought upon them, the calamities they had ſuffer'd already might poſſibly have reclaim'd them.

CHAP. IX.

Batteries and mines ſignify nothing. Titus tries ſcaling ladders. The Jews make a ſtout reſiſtance, and the Romans behave themſelves bravely. Titus orders the Romans to ſet fire to the gates. Two treacherous deſerters go over to Titus, but he ſuſpects and pardons them. The Jews wrapp'd up in flames. The galleries burnt to the ground. Titus adviſes with his officers about the temple, ſome for one thing, ſome for another, but Titus for ſaving it. The Jews make a deſperate ſally upon the Romans. Titus brings them off, and forces the Jews into the temple. This was the ſecond time that Jeruſalem was burnt, upon the ſame day of the month.

WHEN two of the legions had finiſh'd their platforms, Titus on the eighth of the month ‡ Lous, order'd his rams to be planted againſt the weſtern gallery of the out-

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† Gr. [illegible]. ‡ i.e. August.

ward

Batteries and mines carried on for ſix whole days ſucceſſively, to no purpoſe.

Titus tries ſcaling ladders.

ward temple; having play'd the beſt piece of battery he had for ſix whole days without intermiſſion; but to no purpoſe; for the work was proof againſt the engines. There were others at the ſametime ſapping the foundations on the north ſide; and when they found that with an incredible labour, they could only looſen ſome of the outward ſtones, without moving any of the reſt (for the porch ſtood yet firm) they perceiv'd at laſt that there was no good to be done by digging and mining, or by the help of levers and bars; ſo that the Romans betook themſelves to their ſcaling ladders.

The Jews make a ſtout reſiſtance.

And the Romans behave themſelves like men of honour.

The Romans order'd to ſet fire to the gates.

The Jews could not hinder them from planting their ladders; but they made a brave reſiſtance, where there was any place for it: encountering thoſe that got up, hand to hand, before they could put themſelves upon their guard; caſting others down head-long, as they were mounting; cutting off ſome as they were advancing with relief; and ſometimes overturning ladders, men and all together. So that the Romans loſs upon this encounter was very conſiderable; eſpecially in the diſputes they had for the defending or recovering of their colours, as one of the niceſt points of honour amongſt the ſoldiers. But, in the concluſion, the Jews kept the enſigns that they took, and kill'd the enſign-bearers; which terrify'd the reſt, and forced them to a retreat. Now to give the beſiegers their due at laſt, there fell not a man of them but dy'd like a Roman. Thoſe of the faction that had done bravely in former encounters, did ſo ſtill; and ſo did Eleazar, the nephew of the tyrant Simon: but Titus finding by this time, that, in ſparing a ſtrange temple, he did but ſacrifice his own men, he gave order to his people forthwith to ſet fire to the gates.

Two treacherous deſerters go over to Titus.

Titus ſuſpects, but pardons them.

Upon this occaſion, there came over to him, Ananus of Emmaus, one of Simon's guards, and the moſt inhuman wretch he had about him; with Archelaus the ſon of Magadathes: who flatter'd themſelves with the hope of better quarter for leaving the faction upon a winning hand. Titus was ſo well informed of the barbarous practices and characters of theſe pretended converts, that he was once in the mind, notwithſtanding this pretence, to have cut off both their heads; being fully convinced, that it was pure neceſſity and deſign, not affection or good will, that brought them over. Neither did he take them to have deſerved their lives for that ſervice, that firſt ſet their country in a flame, and then abandoned it. But however, upon ſecond thoughts, he overcame the provocation, and ſo forgave them, though with a reſolution never to truſt them.

The Jews wrapt up in flames.

The galleries burnt to the ground.

The gates were by this time in a blaze; the ſilver-work over them melted, and the timbers all in a flame; inſomuch, that the fire was gotten to the next galleries. This was ſuch a ſurprize to the Jews, to find themſelves wrapt up in flames, that they ſtood ſtaring one upon another as if they had been thunder-ſtruck, without ſo much as attempting any thing toward their relief; or concerning themſelves, either for what was already conſumed, or for the ſaving of the reſt. They had, in ſhort, neither heart nor ſtrength left them; and the fire got ground all that day, and the night following, till by little and little it burnt down the galleries.

Titus calls a council of general officers, to adviſe about the temple.

But Titus for ſaving it.

The Jews make a deſperate ſally upon the Romans.

Titus ſupports them, and brings them off.

And forces the Jews into the temple.

Titus gave order next day for the quenching of the fire, and the levelling of the ways for the march of his army. After this he called a council of his general officers; that is to ſay, Tiberius Alexander, his lieutenant general; Sextus Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion; Lorgius Lepidus, of the tenth; Titus Trigius, of the fifteenth: and there were with theſe, Æternius Fronto, the captain of the two Alexandrian legions; and Marcus Antonius Julianus, the governor of Judea: with colonels, and other officers, to adviſe withal what meaſures to take in the buſineſs of the temple. Some were for keeping up to the ſtrictneſs of the law of arms; for ſo long as that temple ſtood, and the numerous meetings there continued, the Jews (they ſaid) would never be quiet: others were for the ſaving of the temple, upon condition of the Jews quitting it; and that there might be no farther quarrel about it: but if it ſhould be gotten by the ſword, by all means to burn it; not as a temple, but as a caſtle; for in that caſe, the fault would be theirs that forced the burning of it, not theirs that did it by neceſſity. "But, ſays Titus, interpoſing here, "if the Jews will be obſtinate, and turn a "temple into a citadel, ſhall I revenge the "ſtubbornneſs of a rebellious people upon "ſtocks and ſtones, and lay the moſt glorious "fabrick of the univerſe in aſhes for their "ſakes? It would be an affront to the dignity of Rome itſelf, to think of depriving "the empire of ſo illuſtrious an ornament." When Fronto, Alexander, and Cerealis, perceived the general's meaning, they came over to his opinion, and ſo the council was diſmiſſed; with orders to the army to reſt and refreſh themſelves, to be the fitter for action; ſeveral choice battalions being commanded out in the mean time to look after the fire, and cut out ways over the ruins. The Jews being now harraſſed, with hard labour, and their courage quell'd, were quiet enough for this day: but the day following, when they had gathered ſtrength, and taken heart again, they made a deſperate ſally about the ſecond hour of the * day through the eaſtern gate, upon the guards of the outward temple. The Romans ſtood the firſt ſhock; like a wall againſt them, under the power of their bucklers, with a mighty reſolution: but that would not have laſted long againſt ſuch an odds of fierceneſs and numbers, if Ceſar, with a ſelect body of horſe (who ſaw the action from Antonia) had not come ſeaſonably up to their relief, before they gave ground. The Jews ſhrunk upon this charge; and the Romans breaking in upon the front, the reſt betook themſelves to flight: and then the Romans drawing off in their courſe, the Jews rally'd and came on again. At this rate they took their turns interchangeably, charging and retreating till about the fifth † hour of the day; when the Jews were forced into the temple, and ſhut up there. Titus upon this withdrew to Antonia, with a reſolution to attack the temple with his whole army the next morning. But God in his providence had from all eternity doom'd it to the fire; and in courſe of

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* That is, about our eight o'clock in the morning.

† i. e. Our eleven in the morning.

time,

Jeruſalem now burnt a ſecond time on the ſame day of the month.

time, the fatal day was now at hand: the tenth of the month * Lous, and the very ſame day whereupon it was formerly burnt by the king of Babylon. But this was a conflagration which the Jews brought upon themſelves; for Titus had no ſooner left them in quiet, but the rebels made a ſally upon Ceſar's guards as they were at work, by his order, to extinguiſh the fire: who put the Jews to the rout upon it, and had the purſuit of them to the temple.

CHAP. X.

A ſoldier pretends a divine impulſe, and ſets fire to the temple. Titus endeavours to ſtop it. A dreadful maſſacre.

A ſoldier ſets fire to the temple, under pretext of a divine impulſe.

THERE was at this time a certain ſoldier, that, without any pretence of authority or conſcience for ſo impious a fact, took upon him to act by the inſpiration of a divine impulſe. He mounted the ſhoulders of one of his comrades, and then caſt a flaming brand into the golden window that looks toward the apartments on the north-ſide of the temple. The place took fire immediately, which raiſed ſuch an hideous outcry among the Jews, that they haſten'd all that was poſſible to their relief. For this was not a time, by ſparing of their lives, or their perſons, when they had loſt the only thing that had made life precious to them. The news of this conflagration being brought to Titus, juſt as he was laying himſelf down in his tent to take a little repoſe after the fatigue of the combat, he leapt up; and immediately taking his chariot, paſſed away with it to the temple, to try what he could do toward the putting out of the fire. His great officers followed him, and the legions after them, in ſuch a confuſion, as is but natural to a prodigious multitude without diſcipline. Ceſar did all that was to be done with words and ſigns, towards having it extinguiſh'd; but it all ſignify'd nothing; for the greater noiſe drown'd the leſs, and they were every jot as blind to the ſigns and motions of his hand, as they were deaf to what he ſaid. Neither were the ſoldiers govern'd by menaces or commands; but only follow'd the dictates of rage and paſſion; ſome were trampled upon, and ſqueez'd to death in crouds; others chok'd in the ſultry ruins of the galleries over the porches; and the ſame thing, whether they overcame, or were overcome. The common ſoldiers in the temple pretended, in excuſe of their diſobedience, that they could not hear their emperor's orders; and they that followed, gave the word forward to throw fire. The ſeditious, in fine, had no way in the world to prevent it; and which way ſoever they turn'd themſelves, they ſaw nothing but blood and deſtruction. As for the poor people, the ſickly, and the unarm'd, they put them to the ſword wherever they found them: mountains of dead bodies were pil'd up about the altar, and ſtreams of blood flow'd down the ſtairs; with numbers of miſerable creatures weltering in their own gore.

Titus does all he can to ſtop it, but to no purpoſe.

A dreadful maſſacre, and confuſion.

WHEN Titus ſaw there was no reſtraining the fury of his ſoldiers, and that the fury of the fire increaſed more and more, he took ſome of his chief officers along with him into the inward temple; where, upon a ſtrict examination of matters, he found the glory and magnificence of the place, even beyond the very fame of it; or at leaſt equal to the report of the Jews themſelves. But Titus obſerving, that the fire had not as yet taken the ſanctuary, and making a true judgment upon it, that it might not be yet too late to ſave the holy place, he ſtarted up, and in his own perſon earneſtly beſought his ſoldiers to do their uttermoſt to put a ſtop to the fire; giving it in charge alſo to Liberalis, a centurion of his guards, to preſs the doing of it, and to cudgel thoſe that refus'd. But what with an ungovernable rage, and an impotent fondneſs for war, neither fear nor reſpect was ſufficient to keep them within the compaſs of their duty. There were others again that had their hearts ſet upon the booty; not doubting, but where the doors were plated with gold, they ſhould find the inſide all fill'd with hidden treaſure. While Ceſar was ſo very intent upon the ſaving of the temple, one of the ſoldiers at the ſame time ſet fire to ſome of the door-poſts; whereupon Titus and his captains were forced to withdraw out of diſtance of preventing the miſchief: ſo that the temple was deſtroyed at laſt, in deſpite of whatever Titus could do to hinder it.

THIS deſolation was a calamity to make a body's heart bleed; the ruin of the moſt wonderful fabrick that ever was ſeen or heard of, both for ſtructure, bulk, ſtate, magnificence, the honour of religion, and of holy things. But we have this for our comfort and inſtruction yet, that there is an uncontrolable fatality attends all the works of the creation, whether animate, or inanimate; and that all things muſt have their period. It is a moſt remarkable revolution alſo, that this ſecond conflagration ſhould ſo exactly anſwer the very day and month of the former, under the king of Babylon, as is ſaid already. We reckon from the building of the firſt temple by Solomon, to the deſtruction of this in the ſecond year of Veſpaſian, eleven hundred and thirty years, ſeven months, and fifteen days: and from that of Haggai, in the ſecond of Cyrus, we account ſix hundred thirty nine years, and forty five days.

CHAP. XI.

A cruelty that ſpares neither age, ſex, nor quality. Nothing to be ſeen but fire and blood. Several prieſts engaged in the quarrel. The temple conſumed to aſhes, and all that was in it. Six thouſand poor people deſtroy'd upon the credit of enthuſiaſm.

An outragious cruelty, that ſpares neither age, ſex nor quality.

WHEN the temple was now in flames, the ſoldiers ſeized all that came to hand, and kill'd all they met, to the degree of a moſt prodigious ſlaughter and pillage, without any reſpect either to age or ſex; but young and old, ſacred and prophane, prieſts and laicks, they all went together, and men of all ſorts and qualities were equally involv'd in the common calamities of the war; and whether they reſiſted, or ſubmitted; whether they ſtood it out, or begg'd quarter, they far'd all alike. As the fire advanced, the crackling of the flames was heard, accompany'd with the dying groans of people at their laſt gaſp; and betwixt the depth of the hill, and the extent of the conflagration, the whole city ſeem'd to be but one continued blaze. The tumult and uproar was ſo dreadful, that it is not poſſible to imagine any thing more terrible: what with the raging outcries of the Roman legions, the howling of the rebels when they found themſelves at the mercy of fire and ſword, and the diſmal lamentations of diſtreſſed wretches in the temple, betwixt the enemy and the fire: in fine, thoſe upon the mountain, and thoſe in the city, anſwering one another by turns; the flames opening the eyes of thoſe that the famine had well-nigh cloſed, and inſpiring freſh ſpirit and ability to deplore their misfortunes. The neighbouring mountains and places beyond Jordan, echoing the ſame complaints and grievances over and over again; and the calamity, in weight, and ſubſtance, yet more than the noiſe. The flaſhes were ſo impetuous and violent, that the very mountain the temple ſtood upon, looked as if it had been one body of fire from the bottom; and the blood, in proportion, anſwerable to the flame; for the number of the ſlain was ſuperior to that of thoſe that did the execution. The ground was covered all over with carcaſſes, and the ſoldiers purſued the living over the bodies of the dead: but in the end, a band of ruffians beat back the Romans; and having forced their way into the outward temple, made their eſcape into the city, and the reſt of the multitude got into the outward porch.

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* i. e. Auguſt.

Nothing to be ſeen but fire and blood.

Several prieſts engag'd in the quarrel.

THERE were a great many prieſts engaged in this quarrel with the Romans, that made uſe of their temple-ſpits inſtead of darts, and of their ſeats with lead in them, that did them the office of ſtones: but when they ſaw that this would do no good, and that the fire found them out ſtill wherever they were, they covered themſelves for a while under a thick wall of eight * cubits over. Two of the principal men of this number, (Meirus the ſon of Belgas, and Joſeph the ſon of Daleus) that might have ſaved themſelves by going over to the Romans, choſe rather to ſtand or fall with their companions; and ſo plunging themſelves into the flames, ran the ſame fate with the temple.

The temple, and all that was precious in it, laid in aſhes.

WHEN the Romans found the temple itſelf laid in aſhes, they did not think it worth their while to ſpare any of the reſt of the buildings, and ſo put fire to all at once; as the gates, and galleries, &c. ſave only one on the eaſt-ſide, and another on the ſouth: and theſe likewiſe, not long after, follow'd the fortune of the reſt. They burnt alſo the treaſury, and the wardrobe, with jewels, money, rich habits, and other goods to an incredible value. In one word, this place was the repoſitory of all the Jews had that was precious.

THERE were now gotten together into one gallery, without the temple, that was yet ſtanding, in women, children, and a mixed multitude that fled from the rabble, to the number of near ſix thouſand perſons. But before Ceſar could give any order or direction in the caſe, the ſoldiers, in an extravagant brutal fury, ſet the place on fire, and plied it ſo cloſe that betwixt thoſe that were burnt to death, and others that caſt themſelves headlong down the ruin to ſave themſelves, there was not one ſoul came off alive.

Six thouſand poor people deſtroy'd by the advice of enthuſiaſts.

THE occaſion of this miſchief was a certain impoſtor, who took upon him to deliver a meſſage from Almighty God, that day, to the people, and to this effect. He commanded them in the name of God to go immediately up to the temple, with an aſſurance, that they ſhould there receive an infallible proof of his divine favour and protection. This was a common practice of the faction to pretend revelations to keep the credulous multitude firm againſt all dangers, and to ſecure them from deſerting. But men in adverſity are apt to hope the beſt, eſpecially where they are promiſed relief, though it be but upon the credit of a falſe prophet.

CHAP. XII.

More credit given to falſe oracles than to the truth itſelf. A comet in the figure of a ſword. A ſtrange light about the altar. A cow brings forth a lamb. A brazen gate opens of itſelf. Chariots and armed men ſeen in the air. Foreboding exclamations from a poor country creature. He is firſt puniſhed for it, and then diſcharged as a madman. In the concluſion, he foretells his own deſtruction. A prophecy of an emperor to come out of Judea expounded of Veſpaſian.

We give more heed to falſe oracles, than to truth itſelf.

HOW eaſily were theſe ſuperſtitious wretches ſeduced into a belief of falſe oracles, counterfeits, and impoſtors! But when they were at any time premoniſh'd from the lips of truth itſelf, by prodigies, and other monitory prognoſticks, of their approaching ruin, they had neither eyes, ears, nor underſtanding, to make a right uſe or application of them; but paſſed them over without either heeding, or ſo much as thinking of them. As for example now;

A prodigious comet in the figure of a ſword.

WHAT ſhall we ſay to the comet that hung over Jeruſalem for one whole year together, in the figure of a ſword?

A wonderful light about the altar.

WHAT ſhall we think again of that wonderful light that was ſeen about the altar, a little before the revolt, on the eighth of the month † Xanthicus, at the ninth ‡ hour of the night, upon the celebration of the paſchal feaſt, and continued for the ſpace of half an hour as bright as day. This prodigy was looked upon by the ignorant as a good omen; but it was expounded by thoſe that knew better things, as the forerunner of a war, and the myſtery unfolded before it came to paſs.

A cow that brought forth a lamb.

AT the ſame feſtival, there was another prodigy of a cow deliver'd of a lamb in the middle of the temple, as they were leading her up to the altar for a ſacrifice.

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* Eight cubits were ſomething upwards of fourteen Engliſh feet and an half, that is five yards lacking half a foot.

† i. e. April.

‡ That is our three o'clock in the morning.

A brazen gate opening of itſelf.

The eaſtern gate of the inner temple, was made of ſolid braſs; and ſo very heavy, that it was as much as twenty men could do every night to ſhut it; beſides that it was faſten'd with iron bolts and bars, mortis'd into a huge threſhold of one intire ſtone. This gate, about the ſixth * hour of the night, open'd of itſelf; and upon early notice given of it to the proper officer, he came immediately up to look after it, and had much ado to make it faſt again. Some ignorant people there were that took this for another good omen, deſcanting upon it, that it was a gate of bleſſings ſet open to them by providence; but the wiſer ſort made a contrary judgment of it; and that the opening of the gate was in favour of the enemy, and foretold deſolation to the city.

Some ſhort time after the feſtival was over (on the twenty firſt of the month † Artemiſius) there appeared a prodigy of a viſion ſo extraordinary, that I ſhould hardly venture to report it, if I could not produce ſeveral eye-witneſſes that are yet living to confirm the truth of it; and if the calamities that were foretold, had not come to paſs. There were ſeen up and down in the air, before ſun-ſet, chariots and armed men, all over the country, paſſing along with the clouds round about the city.

Chariots, and armed men ſeen in the air.

Upon the feaſt of Pentecoſt, as the prieſts were going to officiate in the inner temple according to cuſtom, they heard at firſt a kind of a confuſed murmur; and after that, a voice calling out earneſtly in articulate words, "Let "us be gone, let us be gone."

A voice crying in the air, let us be gone.

A ſtrange exclamation of one Jeſus a poor country fellow.

But I come now to a ſtory that paſſes all the reſt. About four years before the war, when the city was in a profound peace, and flowing in plenty, there was one Jeſus the ſon of Ananus, a plain country fellow, who coming to the feaſt of tabernacles, (an annual feaſt to the honour of God) broke out on a ſudden into this exclamation over and over. "A "voice from the eaſt, a voice from the weſt, "a voice from the four quarters of the world, "a voice to Jeruſalem, and a voice to the "temple; a voice to new marry'd men and "women, and a voice to this whole nation."

The man puniſh'd, but ſtill continues his out-cry.

This was his cry day and night, from place to place, thorough every ſtreet of the city. Some great men in the government took ſuch offence at ſo ill boding a liberty, that they order'd the man to be taken up and ſeverely whipt. He took the puniſhment without returning ſo much as one word, either by the by, or in his own defence, or to complain of hard meaſure; but ſtill he continued to repeat the ſame things over and over again, calling and denouncing as before. The magiſtrates began now to ſuſpect (as they had reaſon for it) ſomewhat of a divine impulſe in what he ſaid; and that he ſpoke by an extraordinary ſpirit. He was carry'd upon this, to Albinus the governor of Judea; who cauſed him to be laſh'd to the very bones, which he took without either tears or ſupplication: only in a mournful voice, as well as he could, he follow'd every ſtroke, with a Woe, woe to Jeruſalem! Albinus, as his judge, began to aſk him who he was, whence he came, where he was born, and what he meant by that way of proceeding? But he gave him no anſwer. This was his way all along, till Albinus was fain to diſcharge him at laſt as a mad-man. From that time to the beginning of the war, he was never known to viſit or ſpeak to any of the citizens; or to make uſe of any other than that doleful form of words Woe, woe to Jeruſalem! He never gave an ill word to thoſe that daily ſcourged him, or a good one even to thoſe that fed him: but his anſwer was to all people alike, an ominous preſage. He was obſerved to be ſtill more clamorous upon feſtivals, than upon other days; and at this rate he went on for ſeven years and five months; without either his voice or his ſtrength failing him, till the ſiege of Jeruſalem verify'd his predictions. After this, he took the tour of the wall once again, crying out (with a ſtronger voice than ordinary) Woe, woe to this city, this temple, and this people! concluding at laſt with a Woe, woe be to me myſelf! And in this inſtant he was taken off with a ſtone from an engine, in the middle of all his forebodings.

He is diſcharged at laſt as a mad-man.

Fore-boding alſo in the end his own deſtruction.

Here is enough ſaid to convince and ſatisfy mankind, that our deſtruction is from ourſelves, and that providence is wanting in nothing to us, that may conduce to the common good and benefit of reaſonable nature: as well by the means of foreſight and revelation, as by the aid and faculty of reaſon. But when we are precautioned of future events, and will take no warning, our ruin lies at our own door. How came the Jews, after the taking of Antonia, to make the temple ſquare, when they were conſcious to themſelves of a prediction in holy writ, that temple and city ſhould be both taken, whenever it ſhould be reduced to that figure? But the chief motive to this unfortunate war, was the ambiguity of another text, importing that in thoſe days there ſhould one come out of Judea that ſhould have the command of the whole world. Now they apply'd this to their own nation, and many great men fell into the ſame error: but this prophecy, in truth, was intended of Veſpaſian; who was created emperor in Judea. But interpretations go by fancy; ſome one way, ſome another: and ſo it far'd with Jews, till they came in the end to pay for their miſtakes, with the irreparable deſtruction of themſelves, and of their country.

The prophecy of an emperor to come out of Judea expounded of Veſpaſian, by Joſeph.

CHAP. XIII.

Titus proclaim'd emperor. The force of hunger and drought in extremity. Certain prieſts order'd to be put to death. The faction deſires a treaty, and Titus agrees to it. A pertinent diſcourſe upon the ſubject. Titus offers them terms; which they refuſe, under pretence of an oath to the contrary. Titus orders upon this that no Jew ſhall have either protection or quarter. The Romans fall on with fire and ſword; but Titus continues tender and good natured to the laſt.

The rebels being now fled into the city; the temple and all the places adjoining

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* That is our twelve o'clock at night.

† i. e. May.

Titus proclaimed emperor by the army.
Gold ſunk to half the value.

to it being in flames, the Romans lodg'd their enſigns againſt the eaſtern gate; where they offered ſacrifice, and with great ſhouts and acclamations, proclaimed Titus emperor. They got ſo prodigious a booty, that gold in Syria was brought down upon it to half the prize.

The force of drought and famine.

There was a child among the prieſts upon the wall, that begged of the Roman guards only a draught of water to quench his thirſt; which they freely gave him, out of a tenderneſs both to his age and to his neceſſity, upon promiſes of good faith on both ſides. The child went down and drank, and then filled a flagon that he carried along with him, and made ſuch haſte back with it to his friends, that the guards could not overtake him. The Romans charged the boy with breach of articles; but he pleaded for himſelf, that he covenanted only for liberty to fetch the water, not to continue with them when he had it, and conſequently had broken no conditions. They found the fraud ſo innocent, that they were well enough content to be ſo cozen'd.

Titus orders certain prieſts to be put to death.

When the prieſts had ſtayed five days longer upon the wall, they were forced to come down, and deliver up themſelves by the extreme neceſſity of an outragious hunger. The guards took them to Titus, where they caſt themſelves at his feet for mercy. But his anſwer was, they ſhould have thought of that ſooner: for now the temple was gone, it was but reaſonable the prieſts ſhould go too, and that they and their temple ſhould be inſeparable. Upon this, Titus ordered the prieſts to be put to death.

The faction deſperate, and deſire a treaty.

Titus entertains the motion.

The heads of the faction, finding themſelves preſſed on all hands, and ſo ſurrounded that it was impoſſible to come off, propoſed a conference with Ceſar; who, out of his natural generoſity and goodneſs, inclined to entertain it; partly out of a deſire to ſave the town, and partly at the inſtance of his friends, in hope that the rebels might be brought to better terms for the future. Titus made a ſtand at the weſt ſide of the inner temple, near the gates that lead into the gallery; and there was a bridge of communication betwixt the temple and the upper town, which at this time parted the Romans and the Jews. The ſoldiers gathered together on both ſides about their generals: the Jews on the one hand, to learn what hope of pardon; and the Romans on the other, out of curioſity to ſee how Titus would receive them: who in the firſt place commanded peace and ſilence, and that his men ſhould forbear all hoſtilities, and ſhouting; after which he deliver'd his mind to them by an interpreter; giving thereby to underſtand that he had a right to ſpeak firſt.

And treats the Jewiſh ſoldiers with a pertinent diſcourſe upon the ſubject.

“And is not your country miſerable enough yet, do you think, good people? ſays he. Will you never be brought to a ſenſe either of your own weakneſs, or of the Roman power; but like ſo many beaſts and madmen, ruin your people, city, and temple all in one; and yourſelves too moſt deſervedly in the concluſion? When were you ever out of broils and tumults, ſince Pompey laid your city in rubbiſh? and nothing will ſerve you, now but open war againſt the Romans. Is it your numbers you depend upon? why, you have ſeen, ſays he, that a ſmall part of our army have been able to deal with you. Or do you value yourſelves upon the faith of your auxiliaries and allies? Where is that people under the ſun that is not more or leſs in our allegiance? or that would not rather court the friendſhip of the Romans than the Jews? If you reckon upon the ſtrength of your bodies, take notice that the Germans are our ſubjects. And ſo for the firmneſs of your walls; are they ſtronger than the Britains wall, the ocean? and yet thoſe people, with that ſenſe, have not been able to withſtand us. Or if you rely upon the addreſs and reſolution of your leaders, we have been too hard, you know, for the Carthaginians themſelves. But it is the humanity of the Romans, that hath rais'd up enemies to themſelves: firſt, in giving you lands in poſſeſſion; and then in erecting kings out of your own tribes to govern them. We have alſo granted you the freedom and exerciſe of your country's laws, and permitted you to live both at home and abroad according to your own liking: and, which is more than all the reſt, we have allow'd you the privileges of collecting, receiving, and employing, contributions and tributes for the maintenance of your religion and God's holy worſhip, with all freedom to yourſelves and friends. And what's the uſe you have made of all theſe graces and benefits, but to enrich yourſelves into a capacity of doing us the more miſchief, in the employing of our own money againſt ourſelves? You do, in truth, behave yourſelves like the worſt of ſerpents, that practice upon the lives of thoſe that take them into their boſoms.

“It is agreed that the contempt you had for the ſpiritleſs heavineſs and ſupine indolence of Nero, made you forget the quiet that at the ſame time you enjoy'd, and put you upon ambitious and extravagant deſigns.

“My father, you muſt know, did not come into Judea to call you to an account for your defection from Ceſtius; but rather to reform you by admonition and good advice. If the depopulating of this nation had been his buſineſs, he would have ſtruck at the root, and begun with Jeruſalem, rather than Galilee, and the adjacent parts; which he did on purpoſe to give you room and leiſure to repent. But this good nature of his paſs'd for weakneſs, and our lenity hath given you a boldneſs that you take for courage.

“After the death of Nero, according to the cuſtom of other wicked men, you made advantage of our diviſions; and my father and myſelf were no ſooner gone to Egypt, but you took the opportunity of our being out of the way, to lay the foundation of a war againſt us; and notwithſtanding all the proofs we have given you of our tenderneſs and humanity in the government of thoſe provinces, you had yet the face to enter into practices againſt us, even when my father was already declar'd emperor, and myſelf Ceſar. Nay, and it went farther yet; for after the very eſtabliſhment of us by common conſent, in the quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion of the empire, and the gratulatory compliments that were pay'd us by foreign miniſters, upon our acceſſion to the government, who but the Jews remain'd ſtill our enemies? as appeared by their diſpatches of

“ embaſſies and deputations as far as beyond Euphrates, for aſſiſtance in their revolt. To ſay nothing of your new fortifications, factions and competitions, till it came in the end to a civil war: an ingratitude that none but the wickedeſt of men could have been guilty of.

“ When my father ſent me (though with great difficulty and reluctance) to call this ſtubborn rebellious city to account, how did I pleaſe myſelf to hear that the people were well diſpoſed towards a peace! how did I beg of you to prevent a war before any blood was drawn! Can you ſay that I did not make it as eaſy to you afterwards as I could? did I ever refuſe any man of you that offer'd himſelf? did I ever break faith with any man that came over to me? How tender was I of your priſoners! or did I ever uſe ſeverity to any man that did not inflame the quarrel? With what unwillingneſs did I come to the battering of your walls! and ſo I kept off all bloody executions from you, as much as poſſible. When did I ever get the better of you, and not ſue for peace, as if you yourſelves had been the conquerors? Whenever I came near your temple, I took no advantage of the right I had by the law of arms to the deſtroying of it; but only made it my requeſt to you to ſpare yourſelves, and all that was holy that belong'd to you. Did I not offer you free leave to depart, and upon terms of ſecurity too? or if nothing but fighting would ſerve your turn, I gave you the choice of your time and place: and what's the fruit now of all this tenderneſs, but the burning of the temple with your own hands, that I would ſo fain have preſerv'd? and have you the impudence now at laſt to invite me to a parly, as if you had any thing left you to atone for what you have deſtroy'd? How can you expect a pardon for yourſelves, that would not ſo much as pardon your own temple? and here you preſent yourſelves in arms too, without ſo much as pretending to be ſupplicants. But to come now to the ground of this miſerable confidence. Your people have neither heart nor ſoul left them; your temple's gone, the city mine, and yourſelves all at my mercy; and yet you would be thought to inſiſt upon terms of honour now at laſt.

Titus offers them terms, which they refuſe, under pretence of an oath to the contrary.

But not to ſtand expoſtulating any longer with your pertinacious follies, lay down your arms, and render yourſelves, and I am yet content to give you your lives: and as in a private family a gentle maſter inflicts puniſhment upon ſtubborn offenders adequate to the nature of their crimes; ſo when I've once done neceſſary juſtice upon the main, you ſhall find me merciful as to the reſt.” The faction return'd him this anſwer: “That they could not deliver themſelves up, upon any promiſe or aſſurance he could give them, becauſe they were under an oath to the contrary; but that they were ready to be gone, if he pleas'd, with their wives and children into the deſart, and leave the town to the Romans.” Titus took it ſo heinouſly to ſee priſoners giving law, and impoſing conditions upon the conquerors, that he preſently cauſed proclamation to be made, “That no Jew ſhould preſume for the future to make any further application to Titus, or expect either protection, or quarter; but that they might now defend themſelves by arms as well as they could; for Ceſar was reſolv'd to govern himſelf by the rules of war.” So the ſoldiers had leave given them to fall on with fire and ſword, and make their beſt of the ſpoil of the city. There was nothing done that day; but the next morning they ſet fire to the regiſter-office, the caſtle, the council-chamber, and a place call'd Ophlas: and ſo the fire ſpread to queen Helen's palace in the middle of the mount, deſtroying all before it, together with the dead bodies, with which the houſes and ſtreets were crouded full.

Order'd upon this, that no Jew ſhall be allow'd either protection, or quarter.

The Romans fall on with fire and ſword, and take the ſpoil to themſelves.

On the ſame day, the ſons and brethren of king Izates, with ſeveral other perſons of honour, join'd in a petition to Ceſar for their lives; who, according to his uſual practice, granted the petition, though very much incens'd againſt the party. But they were all order'd to priſon, and the ſons and near relations of Izates carry'd afterwards bound to Rome for hoſtages.

Titus tender and good natur'd to the laſt.

CHAP. XIV.

The faction moves to the palace royal, where they cut off eight thouſand four hundred perſons, and ſeize all the treaſure. A nice point of Roman honour. Joſeph gives good advice, but it is loſt upon them. Sinks and vaults are ſearched for deſerters, and they kill all they take. No death ſo ghaſtly as that of a famine. The laſt hope of the faction is in their hiding-holes.

The rebels ſteer'd their courſe next to the royal palace, a ſtrong and a ſafe place, with a great treaſure laid up in it. The Jews beat the Romans out of the houſe, kill'd all their countrymen that they found there, to the number of near eight thouſand four hundred perſons, and carry'd off all the money. Upon this encounter, there were two Roman ſoldiers taken alive, a horſe-man and a foot-man: the latter was kill'd, and dragg'd along the ſtreets quite through the town, as if it had been to revenge the whole nation upon that ſingle body. The horſe-man, upon a pretence that he had ſomewhat of moment to communicate, was carry'd to Simon; and having nothing to ſay when he came there, order was given to Ardalas, one of Simon's officers, to have him put to death. So he was preſently taken out with his hands bound behind him, and a ſwathing-band over his eyes, to have his head cut off within ſight of the Romans; but as the executioner was drawing his ſword to do his office, the priſoner ſtarted away, and made his eſcape over to the Romans. Titus would not ſuffer him to be put to death, for making his eſcape from the enemy; but look'd upon it as ſuch an indignity to have a Roman ſoldier taken alive, that he was diſarm'd and caſhier'd upon it; which to a man of honour is worſe than death.

The faction moves to the palace royal, a place of great ſtrength They cut off eight thouſand four hundred perſons there, and ſeize all their treaſure

A Roman point of honour.

It being the Romans fortune next day to rout the Jews out of the lower city, they put all in a blaze as far as Siloah; and had the pleaſure of ſeeing what havock the conflagration made; but the booty was gone; for the ruffians had diſpos'd of that already into the upper town. Now they were not a people to

The Jews obſtinate in their wickedneſs.

repent of any miſchief they had ever done, and they kept up their arrogance in the worſt of fortunes. The burning of the city was to them a ſpectacle of joy; and they declar'd that, as matters ſtood at that time, they were ready to welcome death itſelf with comfort; for now the people were waſted, and almoſt totally cut off, the temple burnt to aſhes, and the town all in a flame, there was nothing left for the Romans that were to come after them to joy in.

The conflagration ſerves them but for a ſpectacle.

Joſeph gives good advice to little purpoſe.

But while things were at this paſs, Joſeph did all that was to be done to ſave the miſerable remains of a ruin'd and a deſolated city; dividing himſelf in his applications, betwixt invectives againſt the impious inhumanities of the one ſide, and ſeaſonable encouragements and good counſels on the other: but it was all to no purpoſe; for he Jews were both ty'd up by their oath, and as good as beſieg'd by the overpowering number of the Romans; beſide, that their ſwords were wonted to blood and ſlaughter.

Sinks and vaults are ſearched for deſerters; and they kill all they take. No death ſo ghaſtly as that of famine.

In this diſtraction, they ſcatter'd themſelves all over the city; hunting, and watching up and down in the ruins, vaults, and elſewhere, for deſerters. They took a great many of them, and they kill'd all they took (for they were too weak to run for it) and their dead they caſt to the dogs; but of all deaths, famine was the moſt frightful and ghaſtly. There were ſeveral that went over to the Romans, without either the hope, or deſire, of any other mercy from them, than what they promis'd themſelves in the exchange of one death for another: and this was the caſe with the ſeditious alſo upon the ſame account. The ſtreets were cover'd with dead bodies from one end of the city to the other, which were either murder'd or ſtarv'd.

The laſt hope of the faction is in their hiding holes.

The laſt hope of the tyrannical faction, was in the receſſes of ſinks and privies, upon a vain fancy that they might lie conceal'd there till all ſhould be over, and the Romans gone; and that they might make their eſcape; not conſidering that holes and hiding-places are no proof againſt the all-ſeeing eye of juſtice. The Jews that were poſſeſs'd of theſe ſubterranean retreats, did more miſchief than the Romans by the fire; killing and robbing all they could meet, that came for ſanctuary to thoſe caverns: and let their food be never ſo coarſe or foul, ſuch was their neceſſity, that it became a cauſe of quarrel; inſomuch that I verily believe, if the ſiege had continu'd, the living would have been inhuman enough to eat the fleſh of the dead.

CHAP. XV.

The upper town not to be taken without new mounts. Titus ſets the project a foot. The Idumeans offer him their ſervice by their deputies, and beg his pardon. Titus grants them their requeſt: but Simon immediately puts the deputies to death. Whole families ſold like herds of beaſts in a market. Titus ſets forty thouſand men at liberty that came over to him. Jeſus, a prieſt, articles with Ceſar for his life. Phineas the treaſurer makes a farther diſcovery.

The upper town not to be taken without new mounts. Titus ſets the project a foot.

The upper town was ſeated upon ſuch crags and precipices, that Titus found it utterly impoſſible to gain it without new mounts; ſo that upon the twentieth of the month * Lous, he went in hand with the project. Carriage was extremely difficult and troubleſome, (as I have ſaid elſewhere;) for the materials were all cut down for the former works, within an hundred † furlongs of the town. The four legions threw up a mount on the weſt ſide of the town, over againſt the palace royal: the auxiliaries and the reſt caſt up another toward the galleries, and the bridge, and a fort that Simon built in his war with John, known by the name of Simon's tower. At the ſame time the Idumean officers conſulted together among themſelves how to deſert, and get over to the Romans, and ſent five deputies with a tender of their ſervice to Titus, and a ſubmiſſive petition for mercy in the name of the reſt. Though this came late, yet Titus however, upon an opinion that Simon and John would be obliged to ſurrender themſelves, after ſuch a deſertion, ſent the deputies back with a promiſe of their lives; for he looked upon the Idumeans as the moſt conſiderable part of their army. This plot, it ſeems, had taken air, and Simon cauſed the five deputies immediately to be put to death, and their leaders impriſoned, reckoning James the ſon of Soſas for the chief. And though much could not be expected from the common ſoldiers, now the officers were gone, the reſt of the Idumeans were kept yet under a ſtricter guard; and all not ſufficient to hinder them from deſerting. There were many cut off, 'tis true; but more that eſcaped; and they were all received; for Titus had too much generoſity and good nature to preſs his former prohibition to the uttermoſt rigour; and the very ſoldiers themſelves, betwixt the hope of booty, and a glut of blood, began to exerciſe more humanity and moderation. As for the common people, (which were all that were now left) they were ſold with their wives and children, like beaſts in a market; and at very eaſy rates too, there being but few purchaſers. Titus reflecting upon this, and upon his own proclamation, whereby he had forbad any more Jews to come over to him ſingle, out of a deſire to ſave as many of them as he could, he was now pleaſed to diſpenſe with his own order, and to receive as many of them, one by one, as preſented themſelves: but with ſuperviſors over them, to diſtinguiſh the good from the bad, and to deal with them according to their merits. There were vaſt numbers of them ſold, and upward of forty thouſand ſet at liberty by Titus, to go whither they would.

The Idumeans offer their ſervice to Titus by their deputies, and beg his pardon. Titus grants their requeſt.

But Simon immediately puts the deputies to death.

Whole families ſold like herods of beaſts in a market.

Titus ſets upward of forty thouſand men at liberty that came over to him.

Jeſus, a prieſt, the ſon of Thebuth, articles with Ceſar for his life, upon diſcovery of holy plate and veſſels belonging to the temple.

There was at the ſame time one Jeſus, a prieſt, and the ſon of Thebuth, who compounded with Ceſar for his life, upon condition to deliver up to him ſome of the veſſels, donatives, and other ornaments, belonging to the holy temple. So he went out, and gave him over the wall two candleſticks, like thoſe temple; ſome tables, cups, and goblets; all of ſubſtantial and pure gold: he gave him alſo ſeveral veils, ſacerdotal habits, precious ſtones, and a great number of ſacrificing veſſels.

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* i. e. Auguſt.

† An hundred furlongs (as hath been before obſerved) amounted to twelve Engliſh miles and an half, and an hundred and fifty geometrical paces.

Phineas, the treaſurer makes alſo a farther diſcovery.

THERE was alſo taken, one Phineas, the keeper of the holy treaſure; who produced a great many prieſts habits and girdles, purple and ſcarlet ſtuffs, that were orderly folded up for uſe. There was alſo a proportion of cinnamon, caſſia, gums, and perfumes, for daily incenſe: beſides ſeveral ſorts of holy ornaments and private goods. But for the ſake of this ſervice, though the man was a fair priſoner of war, and taken by force, he was treated yet as if he had voluntarily deſerted to them, and that all he did had been out of pure good will.

CHAP. XVI.

The mounts are finiſh'd: and the Romans advance with their machines. Some ſhift for themſelves: and others ſtand their ground. Simon and John in horror and deſperation with frightful ſtories and falſe alarms. They give up three forts, that could never have been taken but by ſtarving, which did the whole work. The Romans carry all before them; and the Jews like vipers eat out the belly of their mother. A pious ejaculation of Titus's. He erects a monument to his good fortune. Titus gives orders about his priſoners.

The mounts are now finiſhed: and the Romans advance with their machines. The timorous part of the faction withdraws; ſome to Acra. Others into the city vaults: but the reſolute ſtand their ground. The enemy the ſtronger party of the two. Simon and John in a fit of deſperation and horror; and abandoned by all their friends.

THE works being now finiſh'd, on the ſeventh of the month * Gorpieus, (having been eighteen days a doing) the Romans advanced their machines; and that part of the faction, that deſpaired of holding out, quitted the walls, and withdrew to the caſtle; others into privy houſes and vaults: but the more reſolute ſtopp'd, and made head againſt thoſe that were to manage the battery: the enemy all this while being ſuperior to them, both in ſtrength and number; over and above the advantage of men in heart, and puffed up with ſucceſs, againſt a ſad, a deſpairing, and an unfortunate people. So ſoon as ever they took notice of any flaw in the wall, or that any of the turrets gave way to the engines, the defendants ſhifted immediately away as faſt as they could: inſomuch, that Simon and John themſelves were ſeized with a panick terror, and ready to fly, even before the Romans were come within diſtance of doing them any hurt. It would have grieved a body's heart, though for the vileſt of miſcreants, to ſee thoſe men trembling and knocking their knees, as if they were ſinking into the ground, that had been but juſt before puff'd up to the higheſt degree of arrogance and preſumption, both in words and actions. Never ſo wonderful a change! They made an attempt indeed upon the wall of circumvallation that the Romans raiſed about the town. In ſhort, they attacked it, and made a breach in it; with a reſolution to fall upon the guards and make an eſcape: but perceiving, when they look'd to be ſeconded, that their friends had all forſaken them, they hurried away in confuſion, as their fears and their neceſſities mov'd them. In this phantaſtical variety of frightful apprehenſions, every man framed a ſtory according to his imagination. One brings news that the whole wall to the weſtward, was overthrown; others, that the Romans were juſt at the foot of it; ſome, that they were entered, and ſuch and ſuch of them ſeen in poſſeſſion of the towers. Whatever they feared, they ſaw; falling proſtrate upon their faces, and bemoaning their follies in a paſſion, as if they had been thunder-ſtruck, not knowing which way to turn themſelves.

Miſled by frightful ſtories and falſe alarms:

And infatuated into giving up of three forts, that could never have been taken but by ſtarving. The quitting of theſe three towers did the whole work.

THE power of God on the one hand, and his goodneſs on the other, was very remarkable upon this occaſion; for the tyrants ruined themſelves, by quitting thoſe holds of their own accord, that could never have been taken but by famine; and this, after the Jews had ſpent ſo much time to no purpoſe upon other pieces of leſs value. By this means, the Romans became maſters of three impregnable forts, by fortune, that could never have been taken any other way: for the three famous towers formerly mentioned, were proof againſt all battery.

UPON Simon and John's quitting theſe towers; or rather, upon their being driven out of them by the impulſe of a judicial infatuation, they haſtened away to the vale of Siloa, where they took breath a while; and after ſome recollection and refreſhment, they gave an aſſault to the new wall there: but ſo faint and weak, that the guards beat them off; for betwixt fatigue, deſpondency, dread, and miſery, their ſtrength failed them, and they were then ſcattered ſeveral ways into ſinks and common ſewers.

THE Romans being now poſſeſſed of the walls, planted their enſigns upon the towers with outcries and ſhouts of joy, to find the end of the war ſo much eaſier than the beginning: if at leaſt the war was now at an end, which they could not well doubt of, without diſtruſting their own eyes.

The Romans carry all before them, to the extremities of fire and blood.

THE ſoldiers having gained the laſt wall without bloodſhed, could hardly believe it was the laſt, and were not a little ſurprized to meet with no oppoſition; whereupon dividing themſelves, they rang'd through every ſtreet in the town, with their ſwords drawn; killing all that fell in their way without diſtinction, and burning entire houſes, and whatever was in them, in one common flame. In ſeveral places, where they entered to ſearch for pillage, they found whole families dead, and the houſes cramm'd with hunger-ſtarved carcaſſes: ſo that upon the horror of ſo hideous a ſpectacle, they came out again empty-handed; but the compaſſion they had for the dead, made them not one jot tenderer to the living; for they ſtabbed every man they met, till the narrow paſſages and alleys were choaked up with carcaſſes: ſo that the chanels of the city ran blood, as if it had been to quench the fire. In the evening, they gave over killing, and at night fell afreſh to burning.

The Jews, like vipers, eat out the belly of their mother.

THE eighth of the month Gorpieus put an end to the conflagration of Jeruſalem; and if all the bleſſings it ever enjoyed from the foundation of it, had but been comparable in proportion to the calamities it ſuffer'd in this ſiege, that city had been undoubtedly the envy of the world. But the greateſt plague of all came out of its own bowels, in that infernal race of vipers that it brought forth, to eat out the belly of the mother.

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* i. e. September.

A pious ejaculation of Titus's to the honour of providence.

A monument erected to his good fortune.

While Titus was now taking a view of the ruins of this glorious city, the works, the fortifications, and eſpecially the turrets, which the tyrants had ſo ſottiſhly abandoned; while Ceſar, I ſay, was entertaining himſelf in the contemplation of the height, dimenſions, and ſituation of theſe towers, the deſign, workmanſhip, and curioſity of the fabrick, with the wonderful contrivance of the whole, he let fall this expreſſion: "Well! (ſays he) if God "had not fought both for us, and with us, "we could never have been maſters of theſe "forts. It was God, in fine, that aſſiſted us, "and fought for us, by drawing the Jews "from theſe ſtrong holds: otherwiſe what "power of men and machines could ever have "been able to have prevailed againſt theſe "fortifications?" When Titus had ſaid this, and great deal more upon the ſame ſubject, in the hearing of his friends, it was his next care to ſet all the priſoners at liberty that the tyrants had left in the towers: and afterwards, upon the razing and demoliſhing of the city, to preſerve thoſe turrets as a monument to the honour of his good fortune; without whoſe aſſiſtance he could never have done what he did.

Titus gives order about the priſoners.

The ſoldiers being very much fatigued with doing execution, and there being a great number of Jews ſtill ſurviving, Titus ordered his men to hold their hands, and to diſpatch none but ſuch as they found arm'd, or in a poſture of reſiſtance, and to give quarter to all reſt. But the ſoldiers went beyond their commiſſion, and put the aged and the ſickly to the ſword promiſcuouſly, with their companions; and for thoſe that were ſtrong and ſerviceable, they ſhut them up in the temple, in the womens quarter; Ceſar appointing Fronto, one of his friends and freemen, to inform himſelf of the people, and to do by them as they deſerved. As for the ruffians, and the ſeditious, that impeach'd one another, he had them all put to death: but for men of comely and graceful perſons, and in the prime of their youth, he reſerved them for the triumph: ſending away all the remainder of them, who were above ſeventeen years old, into Egypt, to be employ'd in ſervile offices and drudgery: beſide thoſe that were diſtributed up and down the provinces, for the uſe of the theatres, in the quality of ſwordmen or gladiators; and all under ſeventeen, were expoſed to ſale.

In the mean time, while the priſoners were under Fronto's charge, there were eleven thouſand of them ſtarved to death; partly through the churliſhneſs of their keepers, that refuſed to give them meat; and partly through the ſqueamiſhneſs of their own ſtomachs that could not deſpenſe with it: but in truth, the mouths were too many for the proviſion.

CHAP. XVII.

The number of the dead, and of the priſoners, in this war. John and Simon taken: the one kept for the triumph, the other a priſoner for life. The city a heap of aſhes, and the walls thrown down.

The number of the dead and of the priſoners in this war.

The number of priſoners in this war was ninety ſeven thouſand: the number of the dead was eleven hundred thouſand; the greater part of them Jews by nation, though not natives of Judea: for it was only a general meeting of them at Jeruſalem, gathered together from all quarters to celebrate the feaſt of the Paſſover, who were there ſurprized into a war. There was ſo prodigious a multitude, and they ſo ſtreighten'd for lodgings, that the crowd firſt brought the plague into the town, and then quickly made way for a famine. Not but that the city was abundantly capable yet of entertaining that vaſt body of people, if the calculation of Ceſtius at leaſt may paſs for any thing; as follows.

Nero had ſo great a contempt for the Jews, that Ceſtius made it his ſuit to the high-prieſt to bethink themſelves ſome way of numbering their people: and this he did out of a deſire to give Nero to underſtand, that the Jewiſh nation was not ſo deſpicable as he imagined; ſo that they took their time to enter upon the computation, at the celebration of their paſchal feaſt; when offering up ſacrifices according to cuſtom, from the ninth* hour of the day to the eleventh, and thoſe ſacrices to be eaten afterwards in their families, by ten at leaſt, and ſometimes twenty to a lamb: they reckoned upon two hundred fifty five thouſand and ſix hundred oblations; which, at the rate of ten to a lamb, amounted to two millions five hundred and fifty ſix thouſand perſons, all clean and ſound; for neither lepers, ſcorbuticks, men troubled with gonorrhea's, women in their monthly ſickneſs, or people labouring under any maligant diſtempers, were admitted to any part in this ſolemnity; no more were any ſtrangers, but what came thither for religion. So that this mighty concourſe of people from abroad before the ſiege, was afterwards by the righteous providence of God, cooped up in the city as in a priſon: and the number of the ſlain in that ſiege was the heavieſt judgment of the kind that ever was heard of. Some were killed openly; others kept in cuſtody by the Romans, who ſearced the very ſepulchres and vaults for them, and put all they found alive to the ſword. There were upward of two thouſand, that had either laid violent hands on themſelves, or killed one another by conſent; beſide thoſe that periſh'd by famine. The putrid corruption of the dead bodies ſent out a vapour to poiſon as many as came with in reach of it. Some were not able to endure it, and went out of the way; others had their hearts ſo ſet upon booty, that they rifled the very carcaſſes, and trampled upon the dead bodies as they lay ſoaking in their corruption. But avarice ſticks at nothing. They brought out ſeveral priſoners alſo that the two tyrants had laid in chains there; for they kept up their cruelty to the laſt: but God's juſtice overtook them both in the end; for John and his brethren in the vaults, were now driven by the diſtreſs of an inſupportable hunger, to beg that mercy of the Romans, that they had ſo often deſpiſed; and Simon, after a long ſtruggle with

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* That is from our three in the afternoon till five.

John and Simon taken priſoners; the one kept for the triumph, the other a priſoner for life. The remainder of the city laid in aſhes, and the walls thrown down.

an inſuperable neceſſity (as we ſhall ſhew hereafter) deliver'd up himſelf: the latter being reſerved for the triumph, and John made a priſoner for life. The Romans, after this, burnt the remainder of the city, and threw down the walls.

CHAP. XVIII.

Jeruſalem taken and deſtroyed. Melchizedeck the firſt founder of it; who gave it the name of Jeruſalem, in exchange for Solyma. The city laid all in rubbiſh.

Jeruſalem taken, and deſtroy'd.

THUS was Jeruſalem taken, and utterly deſtroy'd, in the ſecond year of Veſpaſian, and on the eighth day of the month *Gorpieus; having been five times taken before, i. e. by Azocheus, king of Egypt; Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria; Pompey, and Herod, with Soſius; who did all preſerve the city after it was taken. But Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, laid it waſte, thirteen hundred ſixty years, eight months and ſix days after the building of it.

Melchizedeck the firſt founder of it.

Melchizedeck changed Solyma into Jeruſalem.

The firſt founder of it was a Chanaanitiſh prince, called Melchizedeck, which in the Hebrew language ſignifies a juſt king; for ſuch he was in an eminent manner. † He firſt dedicated this city to God; erected a temple in it, and officiated in the quality of a prieſt; giving it the name of Jeruſalem, which before was called Solyma.

When David the king of the Jews came afterwards to drive out the Channaanites, he planted his own people there: and in four hundred ‡ ſeventy ſeven years and three months, after this, it was laid waſte by the Babylonians.

From the reign of David there, to the deſtruction of the city by Titus, it was eleven hundred and ſeventy § nine years; and two thouſand one hundred ſeventy ſeven years from the foundation of it. But neither antiquity, wealth, fame, nor the honour of the religion itſelf, was any ſecurity againſt the appointments of fate.

This was, in fine, the iſſue of the ſiege: and when the ſoldiers had neither rapine nor bloodſhed for their ſpleens to work upon, (as they would not have been idle, if they had had matter) Titus ordered them to lay the city and temple level with the ground; and to leave nothing ſtanding, but the three famous towers, Phaſael, Hippicos, and Mariamne, that over-top'd all the reſt; and a piece of a wall to the weſtward of the town, where he deſigned a gariſon: the towers to remain as ſo many monuments to poſterity of the Romans power and conduct in the taking of them. This order was punctually executed; and all the reſt laid ſo flat, that the place looked as if it had never been inhabited. This was the end of the Jeruſalem faction; a mad and a ſeditious people: and this was alſo the end of the moſt glorious city of the univerſe.

The city laid level with the ground.

CHAP. XIX.

Titus provides for the honour and reward of thoſe that behaved themſelves bravely in the war. A generous ſpeech of his to his ſoldiers, accompany'd with bounties and preſents. Titus offers a thankſgiving ſacrifice for his victory.

CESAR having now determined to leave the tenth legion in gariſon in Jeruſalem, with ſome ſquadrons and battalions of horſe and foot, and having diſcharged all the parts of a vigilant and a careful general, he came now to bethink himſelf of encouraging and rewarding thoſe that had ſignaliz'd themſelves in his ſervice. Now to this end, he mounted a tribunal, with the choice of his great officers about him, at the head of his camp, and upon an eminence where he might beſt be heard; and from thence deliver'd himſelf to his army in terms to this effect.

Titus provides, now the war is over, for the honour and reward of thoſe that ſerved him in it.

Titus to his ſoldiers.

“ It is impoſſible, ſays he, my brave fellow-ſoldiers, to expreſs how kindly I take the generous faith and reſpect you have been pleas'd to pay me all along this war. And ſo he enter'd upon the topicks of their orderly diſcipline and obedience; their invincible firmneſs and reſolution upon all occaſions, and in the moſt preſſing of dangers; the reputation they acquir'd in advancing the honour, and enlarging the territory of their country: and finally, in giving all men to underſtand, that neither odds of numbers, advantages of forts, ſtrength of places, power of populous cities, the precipitate madneſs, or the outragious fury of brutal adverſaries, can ever diſcompoſe the Roman conduct and courage. Not but that now and then by fits, the Jews have had ſome favourable turns of fortune too: but it is a great thing, however, ſays he, to put an happy end to a war that has been ſo long a foot; which is as much as they could wiſh for themſelves when they firſt engaged in it. And it is a greater yet, ſays he, to ſee your choice of the Roman emperors and generals, not only admitted, but univerſally and thankfully approv'd. He could not, he ſaid, but love and admire them all for what they had worthily done: but for thoſe that made themſelves exemplary in their adventures and hazards, and in doing honour to their character and profeſſion, it ſhould be his care, he ſaid, to do them all manner of right in return: and whoever ſhew'd an emulation to outdo his fellows, ſhould be ſure of an acknowledgment in proportion; for he took much more delight in preferringand advancing the virtuous, than in puniſhing offenders.”

Titus, immediately upon this, call'd for an account from ſome of the officers that had the commiſſion in charge, to know which of the ſoldiers had done any thing extraordinary in the war. They were produced one and one by name, highly commended, and Titus as much concern'd for their goods as for his own. From fair and obliging words, he pro-

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* i. e. September.

† In the following lines you have almoſt as many errors as words, ſays the learned Bochart in his Geogr. Sacr. l. 2, c. 4. part 2. Be pleas'd to conſult him, and Maſius upon Joſhuah, cap. x. and Cuneus de Rep. Hebr. l. 3.

‡ Lat. ſixty four, &c.

§ Lat. ſeventy, &c.

Titus treats his officers with bounties and preſents, according to their deſerts.

ceeded to matter of liberality and bounty. He crown'd them with coronets of gold, dreſs'd them up with gold-chains, gave them lances pointed with gold, ſilver medals, and advanced every man in his quality and ſtation. He gave them minted money in gold and ſilver out of the booty, with robes and other things of value. So ſoon as this diſtribution was over, to every man according to his merit, Ceſar, accompany'd with the vows, prayers, and acclamations of the whole army, deſcended from his tribunal to offer ſacrifices, and give thanks for his victory. There was a vaſt multitude of oxen there at hand about the altars, which were ſacrificed and diſtributed to the army; Ceſar himſelf feaſting his officers for three days. The troops, after this, were ſent away to their reſpective quarters; and Jeruſalem committed to the guard of the tenth legion, without ſending it back to Euphrates, whence it came.

And offers a thankſgiving ſacrifice for his victory.

TITUS had not as yet forgotten the affront the Jews put upon the Romans under Ceſtius; and ſo he ſent away the twelfth legion, that had been formerly at Raphanea, to Melitene, that lies along the Euphrates upon the borders of Cappadocia and Armenia; keeping the fifth and fifteenth legions to himſelf, as a competent guard to convoy him into Egypt. From hence he took his paſſage to Ceſarea upon the coaſt; but being winter, he durſt not venture into Italy: ſo thrt he laid up his booty and treaſure there for the preſent, and took care for the ſecuring of his priſoners.

CHAP. XX.

While Titus lay before Jeruſalem, Veſpaſian viſits ſeveral ſea-ports. Simon the ſon of Gioras taken priſoner. The manner of taking him. He propounds to himſelf to make his eſcape thro' a vault, but the project would not do. Terentius Rufus ſeizes him, and puts him in chains. Simon gives light to farther diſcoveries. The birth-days of Domitian and Veſpaſian celebrated with great pomp.

While Titus lay before Jeruſalem, Veſpaſian viſits ſeveral of the ſea-coaſts.

DURING the ſiege of Jeruſalem by Titus, Veſpaſian embark'd in a merchant-man for Rhodes, where he took a galley, and ſo paſs'd out of Ionia into Greece; viſiting all the towns in his way, where he was moſt magnificently receiv'd: from thence to Corcyra, and ſo to Japygia; and thence he continu'd his journey by land. Titus was now come back from Ceſarea upon the ſea-coaſt, to that called Ceſarea Philippi; where he made a conſiderable ſtay, entertaining himſelf and the people with all manner of publick ſhews: as combats betwixt men and beaſts, man and man, troop and troop; which coſt him the lives of a great many of his captives.

Simon the ſon of Gioras. taken priſoner; and the manner of it. He contrives his eſcape thro' a vault.

IN this juncture Simon the ſon of Gioras happen'd to be taken, and the manner of it was this, Simon, upon the ſiege of Jeruſalem, was forced into the upper town; and the Romans breaking into the city, put him to his wits end how to ſhift for himſelf. In this diſtreſs he call'd a council of his moſt truſty friends, conſiſting of miners, ſtone-cutters, ſmiths, and men well skill'd in iron-works; and having got a ſufficient quantity of tools and materials for their purpoſe, together with proviſions for a conſiderable time, they let themſelves down into a dark and ſecret vault. When they had made their way as far as they could, and found the paſſage too narrow to receive them, they fell to digging and mining, in hope to work a way through, and ſo make an eſcape. But before they could advance any thing to ſpeak of, their victuals fell ſhort, and the plot fail'd; though they manag'd their ſtores the beſt they could. Simom had no way now left him, but to try if he could fright the Romans out of their ſenſes; and ſo dreſſed himſelf up in a white garment buckled about him, and a purple cloak thrown over it. In this figure he preſented himſelf out of the ground, from under the ruins of the late temple, to the amazement of the ſoldiers and others who firſt ſaw the apparition; but upon their approaching nearer and nearer, they took the heart to ask him his name, and who he was; and Simon refuſing to tell them, call'd to ſpeak with the captain of the guard. So Terentius Rufus, who had the command, was immediately fetch'd; who pumping the truth out of him, clapt him preſently in chains, and gave Ceſar afterwards an account of the whole ſtory. Thus was this bloody tyrant, who had taken away ſo many of his countrymen's lives by ſubornation and falſe evidence, upon pretence of their going over to the Romans, brought to juſtice himſelf, and deliver'd into the hands of his enemies, without any force upon him, by his own act. But there is no avoiding the ſtroke of divine vengeance; no contending with the power of innocence and juſtice: and the puniſhment is yet the more grievous many times for being defer'd, and when people reckon themſelves ſecure, and the danger over. This was Simon's caſe in the hands of the Romans; and his fantaſtical riſing out of the ground prov'd an occaſion of diſcovering divers of his companions in their hiding-places.

But his project fails him.

Terentius Rufus ſeizes him, and lays him in chains.

Simon gives occaſion to farther diſcoveries.

UPON Ceſar's returning back from Ceſarea by the ſea ſide, and the preſenting of Simon to him in chains, he order'd Simon to be kept for his triumph at Rome. When he had been there a while, he ſet a day apart for the celebration of his brother Domitian's birth-day with a very ſplendid pomp, and a great number of his condemn'd priſoners dedicated to the honour of the ſolemnity; reckoning upon thoſe that were deſtroy'd by beaſts, fire, and in combat one with another, to be at leaſt two thouſand and five hundred in number: and all too little in the opinion of the Romans, who hated them mortally. Titus went afterward to Berytus, a city of Phenicia, and a Roman colony, where he alſo continu'd for ſome time, and kept his father's birth-day with more ſplendour and magnificence than the former, both for ſpectacles and other expenſive entertainments.

And is himſelf reſerv'd for a triumph at Rome. The birth-days of Domitian and Veſpaſian celebrated with great pomp.

CHAP. XXI.

The Jews diſperſed every where, eſpecially in Syria and Antioch. The latter are numerous and wealthy. Antiochus, the ſon of a Jew, the ruin of the place. A raging uproar. Antiochus ſets up the pagan worſhip, and ſuppreſſes the obſervance of the ſabbath. The city takes fire; and Antiochus charges it falſly upon the Jews.

THE Jews in Antioch were terribly diſtreſs'd, the city being ſpitefully bent againſt them, as well upon the account of new matter, as for miſdemeanours of former date. But it will be requiſite to ſpeak a word or two of this now by the way, in order to the better underſtanding of what is to come.

The Jews diſpers'd over the face of the earth, in Syria eſpecially, and more particularly in Antioch.

The Jews are a people diſpers'd over the face of the whole earth: particularly among the Syrians, as they are near neighbours; and more eſpecially in Antioch, where there are great numbers of them, not only upon the account of its being a large and a populous city, but alſo by reaſon of the privileges and immunities they have enjoy'd there by the favour of the government ever ſince the days of Antiochus Epiphanes (as they call'd him) who laid waſte the city of Jeruſalem, and rifled the temple. The ſucceſſors of this Antiochus cauſed reſtitution to be made to the Jews, of all the brazen veſſels that had been taken away, and to be dedicated to the ſervice of their ſynagogue at Antioch, allowing them the ſame freedom of the city with the Greeks; and they were likewiſe treated by the following kings after the ſame manner; their numbers encreaſing, and their temple rich and flouriſhing: inſomuch that ſeveral pagan proſelytes came over to them, and incorporated with the nation.

Antiochus the ſon of a Jew, the ruin of Antioch.

An execrable uproar.

Antiochus ſets up the pagan worſhip.

He ſuppreſſes the obſervation of the ſabbath.

Now upon the breaking up of the war, and Veſpaſian's paſſing by ſea into Syria, the Jews made themſelves extremely odious. As for inſtance: there was one Antiochus, the ſon of one of the moſt eminent Jews they had in Antioch, both for quality and power. This Antiochus, coming into the theatre upon a publick meeting, openly charg'd his father, and certain other foreign Jews, by name, in the face of the aſſembly, with a deſign to fire the city in the night. This tranſported the multitude into ſo outrageous an uproar, that they call'd immediately for fire, and burnt the pretended conſpirators in the middle of the theatre. The rabble were preſently for doing the ſame execution upon all the reſt, and ſecuring their country before it was too late. Antiochus did all he could to inflame the people's hatred more and more againſt them; and as an argument of the affection he had for the pagan worſhip, and his averſion to that of the Jews, he did not only ſacrifice after the pagan manner himſelf, but forc'd others to do ſo too, upon pain of death to the refuſers. Upon this difficulty, the Antiochians comply'd; but the Jews moſt of them ſtood out, and were put to death. Antiochus being by this time in a better condition to wreak his ſpite upon the Jews, having a command of ſoldiers given him by the Roman governor, he began upon the ſubject of the ſabbath, with preſſing people upon that point, and forcing them to work indifferently upon that day, as well as upon others; and carrying things on to that extremity, that the feſtival was not only laid aſide in Antioch, but in danger to be quite abrogated likewiſe every where elſe.

The city takes fire, and Antiochus laid it falſely upon the Jews.

This perſecution of the Jews at Antioch, was immediately follow'd with another; which was this: The ſquare market, with ſeveral offices for publick regiſtries and records, and other ſtately buildings, happening all to take fire, the flame was ſo fierce, that there was great danger the whole city had been burnt to the ground. Antiochus laid it upon the Jews, and the Antiochians were apt enough to believe it, for the very ſake of the late ſtory; even if they had not been prepoſſeſs'd againſt them before-hand. For the impreſſion upon them was ſo ſtrong, that they could almoſt have ſworn they had ſeen the Jews with their own eyes, in the very act of firing it. Now taking it for granted upon this preſumption, they fell upon the perſons accus'd, with ſo outrageous a fury, that Collega, the vice-governor to Ceſennius Petus, was ſcarce able with all he could do to keep the people quiet, only till Ceſar might be duly informed of the whole affair. Ceſennius had his commiſſion of governor already, but was not as yet come to his command. Now Collega, upon a ſtrict examination of the matter, made it out as clear as the ſun, that the perſons accus'd by Antiochus were every man of them innocent. And this villany, in fine, was found to be the work of a few profligate ſpendthrifts, and men of deſperate fortunes, that had no better way to ſecure themſelves from their creditors, than by deſtroying the evidences. But the Jews were not yet without aking hearts for fear of what might be the iſſue even of a falſe accuſation.

CHAP. XXII.

Titus overjoy'd at his father's arrival in Italy. Veſpaſian treated with infinite veneration and reſpect.

Titus overjoy'd at his father's ſafe arrival in Italy.

Veſpaſian treated every where with infinite veneration and reſpect.

TITUS was at this time overjoy'd with the welcome news he receiv'd from his father, of his happy arrival in Italy, and with what joy and gladneſs the Italian cities had entertain'd him all the way as he paſs'd; but the thing that tranſported him beyond all the reſt, was the tenderneſs and the magnificence of his reception at Rome, which deliver'd the ſon from any farther anxiety for the proſperous ſucceſſes of his father. The people pay'd Veſpaſian at all diſtances, the ſame veneration as if he had been upon the place; and the paſſionate deſire they had to ſee him, did in ſome meaſure ſupply for his abſence in that interval. The ſenate, that had it freſh in their memories what miſerable revolutions they had ſeen, upon the transferring of governments from one prince to another, reckon'd themſelves happy in the bleſſing of an emperor that brought reputation, conduct, and experience, along with him into the adminiſtration: and the common people were no leſs pleas'd with the change; eſpecially being at that time embroil'd in civil wars, and likewiſe in a further truſt and confidence of being reſtor'd, by his means, to their antient freedom and plenty. And ſo for the military part, the ſoldiers hearts were ſet upon him above all others, for the proofs he had given them, upon ſeveral occaſions, of his martial ſkill and courage; beſide the ſenſe of the ſhame and ſcandal they had ſuffer'd, under the indolence, unſkilfulneſs, and lazineſs, of other commanders; concluding that no man was ſo fit or likely to ſet them right and recover their honour as Veſpaſian.

This prince was ſo univerſally belov'd, that the great men had not the patience to wait any longer for his coming at a diſtance, and ſo went out and met him a good way off from the city; and ſuch numbers of people of all ranks follow'd them that more came out than ſtay'd behind. When Veſpaſian was advanc'd near the town, and word brought how all people were charm'd with the good graces of his affability and addreſs, the ways were all throng'd up with their wives and children, out of a longing curioſity to ſee him; breaking out into raptures of admiration all the way they went, at the ſweetneſs and gentleneſs of his mien and perſon; calling him alſo a thouſand benefactors, deliverers and protectors, and extolling him as the only prince under the ſun, that deſerv'd an imperial crown. The whole city, in fine, was ſo dreſs'd up and ſet out with garlands and perfumes, that it look'd like a temple; and the ſtreets ſo crouded, that there was hardly any paſſing to the palace: Veſpaſian, in the mean time, offering up to his houſhold-gods gratulatory ſacrifices of thankſgiving for his ſafe return; while the multitude gave themſelves up to feaſting with their tribes, families, and neighbours, wiſhing a long and a happy reign to Veſpaſian, and a continuance of the imperial ſovereignty to his ſon, and thoſe of the line, that ſhould come after him. This was the manner of Veſpaſian's entrance into Rome; and it was follow'd with all ſorts of felicity and good fortune.

CHAP. XXIII.

Germany revolts. The occaſion of it. Caſſius and Civilis the ringleaders of a faction. Petilius Cerealis breaks the neck of the ſedition. Domitian puts an end to it without blood. The German rebellion follow'd with an incurſion of Scythians. Rubrius Gallus puts them all to the rout.

Germany revolts, and what mov'd them to it.

A LITTLE before Veſpaſian's coming to Alexandria, Titus being at that time before Jeruſalem, there happen'd a great revolt among the Germans; which was animated and encourag'd by their neighbours the Gauls, in hopes to ſhake off the Roman yoke. Now the Germans being naturally of a fiery temper, forward and inconſiderate, were apt enough of themſelves to engage in raſh undertakings: over and above that they were puſh'd on by a mortal hatred they had for the Romans, as the only power they fear'd: to which may be added a favourable conjecture of the times, in regard of the preſent factions and diviſions of the empire, upon ſo many turns and changes of government.

Caſſius and Civilis the heads of a faction.

Cassius and Civilis, two perſons of eminent credit among the Germans, took advantage of theſe diſtractions, to advance a ſedition; which was in effect but what they had in their hearts long before. Upon ſounding the people how they ſtood affected, they found the greater part of them ready for miſchief; and in all probability the reſt would have follow'd their example, if it had not been for a divine providence that prevented it. Now the fact was this: Petilius Cerealis, formerly governor of Germany, received letters from Veſpaſian declaring him conſul; and with orders likewiſe to march forthwith into Italy, and take upon that command. While Cerealis was upon the way, he got notice of this inſurrection, march'd againſt the rebels as they were in a body, charg'd, and put them to the rout with a very great ſlaughter, and ſo recover'd the reſt to their wits again and their duty.

Petilius Cerealis by providence breaks the neck of the ſedition.

And Domitian puts a final end to it without blood.

But if this had not been done when it was, by Cerealis, the ſame thing would have been done very ſuddenly by another hand: for no ſooner was the noiſe of this rebellion come to Rome, but Domitian, the ſon of Veſpaſian, a pregnant young prince, that inherited the heroical ſpirit of his valiant father, put himſelf at the head of an army againſt theſe Barbarians; who were ſtruck with ſuch a terror upon the very rumour of his march, that they rendered themſelves immediately, without ſtriking a blow; reaping this advantage by it, that they reconcil'd themſelves to their old maſters without blood. When Gaul was ſettled, and out of danger of a relapſe, Domitian returned to Rome, laden with vows and acclamations for the wonderful ſervices he had done (even greater than could be expected for his years) to the honour both of himſelf and his country.

The German rebellion is follow'd with an incurſion of Scythians.

This rebellion of the Germans was follow'd with a furious incurſion of the Scythians (or Samaritans) who venturing over the Danube by ſtealth, with a vaſt body of men, broke into Myſia, ſurprized ſeveral Roman gariſons, and with a mercileſs cruelty put them all to the ſword. They killed alſo the lieutenant general Fonteius Agrippa, a man of conſular authority, at the head of his troops; and ſo ran up and down, burning, waſting, and ravaging the whole province. So ſoon as this came to Veſpaſian's ear, and what havock had been made in Myſia, he diſpatch'd away Rubrius Gallus to call them to an account, who did very great execution upon them; and for thoſe that eſcap'd, they made a hard ſhift to get home; ſo that this war was quickly over, and the general took care to ſecure the paſſages thereabouts from any ſuch incurſions and attempts for the time to come.

Rubrius Gallus puts them all to the rout

CHAP. XXIV.

Titus marches in triumph. The ſabbatical river; the courſe of it; and why ſo call'd. Antioch tranſported with joy at the coming of Titus. The people preſs to have the Jews baniſh'd out of that city, but Titus did not much heed it. the ſenate preſſes it over again, when Titus gives them a final refuſal, and goes his way for Egypt. Titus griev'd at heart to ſee the ſad condition of Jeruſalem. A vaſt treaſure bury'd in the ruins of it. Simon and John, and ſeven hundred graceful perſons more, ſet apart for the honour of the triumph. The order, the curioſity, and the magnificence of it. The ſolemnity ended in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The death of Simon Gioras. Veſpaſian dedicates a temple to peace.

Titus marches in triumph with his priſoners and his ſhews.

TITUS in his return from Berytus, after ſome ſhort ſtay there, (as we have ſaid before) treated all the towns, as he paſſed through Syria, with moſt magnificent ſhews; carrying his Jewiſh captives along with him, for the honour of his arms, and the ornament of his triumph.

This prince took notice of a certain river in his journey, betwixt Arce and Raphane, two cities in the kingdom of Agrippa, that had ſomewhat in it very remarkable. While this [*] river flows, it has a full ſtream and a ſtrong current: but on a ſudden the ſprings fail, and for ſix days it leaves the channel dry to the very bottom. On the ſeventh day, as if there had been no change, it fills again, and obſerves the ſame courſe as before. Hence it hath taken the name of the ſabbatical river, alluding to the ſeventh-day's feſtival of the Jews.

Antioch over joy'd at the coming of Titus.

The people preſs the baniſhing of the Jews out of that city.

Titus goes his way without minding them.

The ſenate plies him afreſh againſt them.

Titus gives them a final refuſal, and ſo away he goes for Egypt.

When the people of Antioch underſtood that Titus was coming that way, they were ſo tranſported with the tidings, that men, women, and children, came thronging upwards of thirty [†] furlongs out of the town to meet him, out of an impatience to wiſh him joy, and bid him welcome upon the way. As he drew near, they made a lane for him to paſs, and ſo with all poſſible demonſtration of affection and reſpect they conducted him to the city; ſtill intermingling, with their ſhouts and acclamations, earneſt prayers and importunities, to baniſh all the Jews out of the city. Titus gave them the hearing, in ſuch a manner as if he did not much mind what they ſaid: however, the Jews were in great pain and trouble to think what might be the iſſue of it. Titus made no ſtay in Antioch, but went immediately to Zeugma, toward Euphrates; where he was attended with an embaſſy from Vologeſus the king of Parthia, and the compliment of a golden crown, to joy him of his victory over the Jews. Titus accepted the preſent, treated the embaſſadors, and ſo went back again to Antioch. He was no ſooner arrived there, but the ſenate and the magiſtracy invited him with great earneſtneſs to the theatre; which he very graciouſly comply'd with, and there found a might concourſe of the citizens waiting for his coming. The firſt thing they did was to renew their importunities to him afreſh for the expulſion of the Jews; to which Titus, with his ordinary preſence of mind, gave them this anſwer: "That their own "country being deſtroy'd, there was no other "to baniſh them to." When they ſaw this would not do, they tried him with another requeſt: that is to ſay, that the pillars of braſs, with the inſcriptions upon them of the Jews privileges, might be either removed or defaced. Titus would not intereſt himſelf in this neither; but left the Jews at Antioch in the ſame ſtate as he found them, and ſo went his way for Egypt.

The ſad ſtate of Jeruſalem goes to the heart of Titus.

As he was upon his journey, and ſaw the miſerable deſolated condition of Jeruſalem, and the country all about it, he could not but compare within himſelf the difference betwixt a deſart and a paradiſe, a heap of rubbiſh and the moſt glorious pile of buildings under the heavens. Upon theſe thoughts, he could not but paſſionately deplore the deſtruction of ſo famous a city, and curſe the authors of the ſedition that were the cauſe of it; and ſo far was he from pretending to raiſe his reputation upon a publick calamity, that he could not forbear execrating the inſtruments that forced him upon this extremity.

A vaſt treaſure buried in the ruins of that city.

Simon and John, and ſeven hundred choice men more, reſerved for the grace of the triumph.

The city was infinitely rich, and a vaſt treaſure buried in the ruins of it, as gold and ſilver, and other precious goods to an ineſtimable value, that the owners had hid in the ground for fear of the enemy: ſome the Romans found out; but the greateſt diſcovery was made by the priſoners. Titus, being all this while upon his journey into Egypt, made what haſte he could over that forlorn waſted country to Alexandria, and ſo to embark from thence to Italy; ſending back the two legions that came along with him to their old quarters: that is to ſay, the fifth to Myſia, and the fifteenth into Hungary. But for Simon and John, the heads of the priſoners, and about ſeven hundred more of the propereſt and handſomeſt men, theſe were to be tranſported into Italy for the grace and glory of his triumph.

His paſſage to Rome was as fair and proſperous as he could wiſh, and the people treated him with the ſame offices of honour and reſpect as they had done his father: beſide that Veſpaſian himſelf had the goodneſs to go out with the reſt in perſon, and receive his ſon upon the way; which the people looked upon as an earneſt of greater bleſſings, to ſee the father and his two ſons brought together by ſo auſpicious a providence.

Two triumphs contracted into one.

The order, the curioſity, and the magnificence of the triumph.

Some few days after this, the ſenate having reſolved upon two ſeveral triumphs apart, one for the father, the other for the ſon, in honour of their illuſtrious atchievements, Veſpaſian and Titus, this decree notwithſtanding, declar'd themſelves for contracting both triumphs into one. Upon the day of the ſolemnity, there was not a perſon in that populous city that did not go out to be a ſpectator: inſomuch, that when they were all placed, there was hardly paſſage for the emperors. The ſoldiers, with their officers at the head of them, march'd in very good order, before day, up to the gates, to wait the coming of the princes; not the upper palace gates, but thoſe near the temple of Iſis, where theſe heroes took up their lodging that night. At break of day, Veſpaſian and Titus ſtood forth, and advanced, with laurel crowns upon their heads, and purple robes, after the manner of their country, to the Octavian walks, where the ſenate, the nobility, and the Roman knights, waited for them. There was a tribunal erected before the portal, with ivory ſeats upon it, which they mounted; and ſitting down, were there ſaluted with the harangues and acclamations of the whole field. They were unarm'd, and, as I ſaid, crown'd with laurels, and cloth'd with purple. As they were going on, and amplifying upon the emperor's praiſes, Veſpaſian made them a ſign of ſilence; and then when all things were ſtill and quiet, Ceſar ſtood up, and covering part of his head with his garment, paſs'd certain ejaculatory vows and prayers according to cuſtom; and Titus did the like. Veſpaſian, after this, gave the whole auditory a ſhort ſpeech, and ſo diſmiſs'd the ſoldiers to dinner, who were in courſe to be entertain'd at the emperor's charge. He went next to the triumphal gate, (together with Titus) ſo call'd from the triumphal pomp paſſing that way; and then taking their repaſts, and putting on their triumphal habits, they ſacrific'd to their gods in the gate, and ſo led on the triumph through the middle of the ſpectacles, for the better view of the people, and the greater glory of the ſolemnity.

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[*] Pliny in his natural hiſtory, b. xxxi. c. 2. aſſures us, that this river is dried up every ſabbath-day, and the Jewiſh Rabbines are of the ſame opinion. So that Caſaubon fancying the text of Joſephus to be corrupted, corrects it by tranſpoſing ſome words, and omitting others; according to his conjecture the tranſlation ſhould run thus: *Nam quum ſit magnus quando fluit, feraturque impetu non leni per ſpatium ſex dierum, poſtea totus ab ipſis fontibus deficit, & die ſeptima ceſſat, prebetque alvei locum oculis ſpectandum, qui eſt ſiccus; deinde quaſi nulla facta eſſet mutatio, poſt diem ſeptimum erumpit, atque hunc ordinem exacte ſemper ab eo ſervari obſervatum eſt.* i. e. This river has a very full and rapid ſtream, during the time it runs, which is for ſix days without intermiſſion; after which, its ſprings being quite exhauſted, it totally ceaſes on the ſeventh day, ſo as to leave the very bottom of the channel dry; but when the ſeventh day is over, as if there had been no change at all, it breaks out again; and then it exactly obſerves the ſame courſe as before. Giſb. Cuperus, without omitting any words, reads the text otherwiſe by a tranſpoſition. According to his emendation, the tranſlation is as follows; *Feraturque impetu non leni per ſpatium ſex dierum; inde totus ab ipſis fontibus deficiens, ſiccum prebet ſpectandum alveum; & hinc, quaſi nulla facta eſſet Mutatio, ſimilis poſt ſeptimum diem erumpit.* i. e. For ſix days it runs with a very ſtrong current; after which, its ſprings failing, it be comes dry to the very bottom, and continues ſo till the ſeventh day is over; and then as if there had been no change at all, it renews its uſual courſe as before. See Cuneus de Rep. Hebr. l. 2. c. 24. Caſaubon's Exercitat. contra Baron. Colomeſius's Opuſc. & Giſb. Cuperus in Lanctantium.

[†] Thirty furlongs amounted to three Engliſh miles and three quarters, and forty five geometrical paces, as hath more than once been before obſerved.

The magnificence and the variety of theſe ſhews is not ſo much as to be imagined, and much leſs expreſs'd, whether for the nicety of workmanſhip, value, or novelty; for the whole ſtock of precious and agreeable rarities, that the happieſt of nations had been ſo many ages a gathering, met all together in this one day's triumph, to the honour of the tranſcendent dignity of the Roman empire. As for the choiceſt works that ever were ſeen or heard of, in gold, ſilver, or ivory, for price, or excellency, they were here ſo common and frequent, that they look'd liker a natural confuſion of things, than any part of a regulated pomp. And then for the admirable variety of purples, and Babylonian embroideries, jewels, and precious ſtones, ſome enchaſed into golden crowns, and ſome ſet out with other fancies, they were here ſo familiar and common, that they ſeem'd to be no longer a curioſity. They had the images of their gods alſo that were every way wonderful, both for ſize, art, and matter; and likewiſe the figures of ſeveral ſorts of living creatures, dreſs'd up ſuitably to their kind. They had alſo a vaſt number of people to carry all this, in cloth of gold and purple; and all thoſe that were ſet apart for the ſervice of the pomp, had their diſtinguiſhing ornaments of ſplendor and ſtate. Nay, the common ſort of the very priſoners themſelves, were not without ſomewhat that was graceful in their habit, to diſguiſe the miſery of their condition, and the marks of ſlavery that they wore in their faces. But nothing was more to be admir'd than the ordering of their machines, and how the bearers were able to ſupport them, being many of them three or four ſtories high: and the coſt was anſwerable to the artifice, for the hangings and and furniture were all wrought with gold, ivory, and the like. There were alſo ſuch repreſentations of war, and the circumſtances that attend it, that nothing was ever more to the life. Here was in one place the figure of a fruitful country laid waſte; in another, whole armies cut to pieces; ſome flying, others purſuing, or taken priſoners; ſtrong walls batter'd to the ground, forts demoliſh'd, breaches made in fortify'd cities, towns taken by aſſault, the ſtreets running blood, and the conquer'd begging quarter; temples burning, houſes beaten down upon the heads of their maſters, rivers lamenting their misfortunes, that inſtead of watering and refreſhing fields and meadows, and ſupplying drink to man and beaſt, they find themſelves forced to take their courſe through publick conflagrations. What was all this now, but a lively image of the ſufferings of the Jews; and ſo put together by art and fancy, that it may paſs for an inſtructive hiſtory of the ruin of that famous city, to thoſe that never knew more of it?

Upon every one of the pageants was repreſented the governor of the place that was taken, and the manner of taking it. The ſhipping came next; and then the ſpoils that were diſperſed up and down in ſeveral places. But the moſt conſiderable pieces, were the golden table, and the golden candleſtick, that were taken out of the temple of Jeruſalem; the former weighing ſeveral talents, and the other not applied to the uſe it was intended for. There was a kind of a pillar that came out of the foot of it; and out of that pillar, as from the ſtem of a tree, ſeven branches, and every branch having at the top the reſemblance of a lamp; the number of ſeven intimating the veneration the Jews have for their ſeventh day. After this, came the Jews law, which was the laſt trophy of their conqueſts that the Romans expos'd. This was followed by certain images of victory wrought out of ivory and gold. And laſt of all, to bring up the rear, came Veſpaſian himſelf, with Titus in the next place, and Domitian along with them on horſeback, well mounted, and well becoming the dignity of his ſtation. So they march'd together into the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and there finiſh'd the triumph.

The triumph concluded in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Being now come to Jupiter's temple, they made ſome little ſtay there; it being according to antient practice ſo to do upon the like occaſion, till news ſhould be brought them that their enemies general was dead. This general was Simon Gioras (one of the priſoners that was led in triumph) who was drawn through the market-place with a rope about his neck, and put to death by thoſe that drew him, according to the Roman law and practice in the caſe of ſuch malefactors. Word being brought that Gioras was now dead, the whole field rang with ſhouts and acclamations, and ſo they betook themſelves to their vows and ſacrifices; and when the ſolemn part was over, the princes return'd to the palace, where they made a mighty treat; and there was nothing elſe all over the town but feaſting, rejoicing, and giving thanks for the final victory they had obtain'd over their enemies, to the glory of their generals, the end of civil broils, and the moral aſſurance of a publick repoſe.

The death of Simon Gioras.

When theſe triumphs were over, and the empire ſettled, Veſpaſian erected a temple which he dedicated to peace. It was as rich as art and expence could make it, and the diſpatch of it, in ſo ſhort a time, was little leſs than

Veſpaſian erects a temple to peace.

than a miracle. He ſpar'd for no coſt, over and above a collection of the choiceſt curioſities in painting and ſculpture to adorn it, inſomuch, that people flock'd from all quarters of the world to ſee the glory and the order of this admirable ſtructure. In this temple he depoſited the golden table and the candleſtick, as the rarities he valued moſt. And for the Jews law, and the purples belonging to the ſanctuary, they were lodg'd with great care and reverence in the palace.

CHAP. XXV.

The ſituation of Macherus. Herod the great runs up a wall and turrets about it. Of the plants Rue and Baaxas. A ſtrange variety of ſprings and fountains. Baſſus beſieges Macherus. The Jews divide. The natives defend the caſtle; and the ſtrangers the lower town. Daily skirmiſhes. A bold and memorable adventure of Eleazar's. Eleazar ſtripp'd and unmercifully whipp'd. Baſſus diſcharges the caſtle, and ſets Eleazar at liberty.

WHEN Lucilius Baſſus had his commiſſion from Ceſar for lieutenant-general of Judea, he took upon him the command of the army from Cerealis Petilianus, and made himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Herodion by compoſition. After this, he drew his troops together that lay ſcatter'd up and down, propounding, with the help of the tenth legion, to reduce Macherus, as a thing abſolutely neceſſary to be done; for the ſtrength of that place would be a dangerous encouragement to a rebellion; and as the ſituation of it gave confidence to the town, ſo it ſtruck an awe, on the other hand, upon him that ſhould attempt it.

The ſituation of Macherus.

THE mountain that Macherus ſtands upon, is prodigiouſly high and rocky, to the degree of being almoſt impregnable. But nature hath made it well nigh inacceſſible too, by encloſing it with vallies that are neither to be paſſed, nor to be fill'd up; and ſo deep likewiſe, that it is enough to make a perſon giddy-headed to look down at them. It reaches to the weſtward ſixty [*] furlongs in length, and borders upon the lake Aſphaltitis; and the caſtle hath an unbounded proſpect over all that quarter. On the ſouth and north, it is encompaſſed with vallies of the ſame dimenſions, and as ſecure from any attempt as the other. The depth upon the eaſt is at leaſt an hundred [†] cubits, and reaches to the mountain that is over againſt Macherus.

Herod the Great run up a ſtrong wall, and turrets about it.

ALEXANDER, the king of the Jews, was the firſt that fortify'd this place, and rais'd a caſtle upon it, which Gabinius afterwards demoliſh'd in his war with Ariſtobulus; and then Herod the Great found it ſo well worth his care too, eſpecially againſt his neighbours the Arabians, who lay ſo conveniently to do him miſchief, that he ran a ſubſtantial wall about it with ſtrong turrets, erecting alſo a fair city there, which he cauſed to be peopled, and from thence carried a paſſage up to the caſtle itſelf. This caſtle he encompaſs'd at the top with another wall, and turrets at the corners, of ſixty [‡] cubits in height; and in the middle of all, he raiſed a large beautiful palace, which was abundantly ſupply'd with water from ſeveral ciſterns, wherever there was occaſion for it, as if nature and art had been at ſtrife, which of the two ſhould outdo the other; the one by ſituation, the other by improvement. He likewiſe furniſh'd this caſtle with ſo plentiful a magazine of arms, arrows, machines, and all ſorts of proviſions, for carrying on a war, that the gariſon ſhould never need to fear either force or famine.

Of the plants Rue and Baaras.

THERE was in this palace a plant they call Rue; of ſo wonderful a growth, that it was as tall and as well-ſpread as any fig-tree. It had been there, they ſay, ever ſince the days of Herod, and might have continued longer, if the Jews had not rooted it up upon taking the place.

IN the valley, on the north-ſide of Macherus called Baaras, there grows alſo a plant of the ſame name [§]. It is in appearance of a flame-colour; and toward the evening it caſts a light like the beams of the ſun. The root is not eaſily pluck'd up; but it draws back if any body offers at it; and the only way to fix it, is to ſprinkle it with the urine of a woman, or a little menſtruous blood. And when all this is done, it is yet certain death to touch it, without a piece of the root in your hand: though they talk in another way alſo of doing it without danger; and it is this. They dig round about the root till it is laid almoſt bare, and then tie a dog to the remaining part of it. The dog's maſter that tied him there, goes his way, and the dog following him, draweth the root after, and dies immediately, as if it were to redeem his maſter. After this it may be handled as ſecurely as any plant. But it has one other quality, that does more than countervail this difficulty. For the ſpirits that we call devils, are only the ſouls of wicked men, that have gotten poſſeſſion of living bodies, and would undoubtedly deſtroy them if they were not prevented: now this plant is a ſure remedy againſt theſe obſeſſions, and the very touching of the patient with it, cures him.

A ſtrange variety of ſprings and fountains.

IN the ſame place there is a wonderful diverſity of ſprings and fountains of very differing qualities and taſtes, as hot, bitter, ſweet, &c. And there are alſo cold ſprings intermingled one with another in the lower ground: but that which is moſt wonderful, is a ſhallow cave there at hand with a rocky ſtone over it, and the figure of two breaſts, like two fountains, coming out of it; the one diſcharging hot waters, and the other cold; and they make both together a moſt agreeable bath, which cures many diſeaſes, and eſpecially thoſe of the nerves. There are mines alſo of ſulphur and allum.

Baſſus beſieges Macherus.

BASSUS, upon a full view of Macherus, came to a reſolution of laying ſiege to the place, propoſing to himſelf the filling up of the valley to the eaſt of the town, and the advancing of his approaches that way. The firſt thing he did, was to run up a mount againſt the caſtle, with all poſſible ſpeed, as the moſt likely way to facilitate the attempt: the Jews who were natives of the place ſeparated themſelves from the foreign Jews, and turn'd them off as a pitiful ſort of people, into the lower city, to ſtand the firſt ſhock; while they themſelves took charge of the caſtle, not only as the ſtronger and more defenſible of the two, but as a place where they might make better terms with the Romans in caſe of the worſt. They had a mind to try however what might be done to divert the ſiege; and there paſs'd not a day without reſolute ſallies and skirmiſhes, and a conſiderable loſs of men on both ſides; ſometimes one getting the better of it, and ſometimes the other: the Jews, when they fell upon the Romans by ſurprize; and the Romans, when they were aware of the Jews coming, and provided for them. But the ſiege was not to go off ſo, for there happen'd a ſurprizing accident, that put the Jews upon an abſolute neceſſity of giving up the caſtle.

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[*] Sixty furlongs amounted to ſeven Engliſh miles and an half, and ninety geometrical paces.

[†] An hundred cubits amounted to ſomething upwards of one hundred and eighty two Engliſh feet, that is to ſixty yards and two feet.

[‡] Sixty cubits amounted to ſomething more than one hundred and nine Engliſh feet, that is to thirty ſix yards and a foot.

[§] This does a little reſemble the Moly of Homer, and the Circea of Dioſcorides.

The Jews of the place defend the caſtle, and the ſtrangers the lower town.

Daily skirmiſhes.

There was in the place a bold, enterprizing, and daring young man, whoſe name was Eleazar. This Eleazar made ſeveral vigorous ſallies, and did all that was poſſible, both by his council and example, to obſtruct the progreſs of the Romans, and to put a check to their undertakings; inſomuch, that he made himſelf a terror to his enemies, as well as a comfort and ſupport to his friends: being the firſt man ſtill upon all encounters to attack, and the laſt, in caſe of a retreat, that came off. There paſs'd a skirmiſh one day, and when the action was over, and both parties withdrawn, Eleazar, in a vain-glorious contempt of danger, or of any man that ſhould dare to attack him, made a ſtop without the gate, and fell into a careleſs diſcourſe with ſome of the defendants upon the walls, without heeding any thing elſe. This being within view of the Roman camp, and one Rufus, an Egyptian, and a ſoldier, ſpying the opportunity, ran in upon him at unawares, ſeiz'd him, and carry'd him off, arms and all, into the enemy's quarter. Baſſus preſently order'd him to be ſtripp'd, and publickly whipp'd at his length upon the ground in ſight of the city. The Jews were ſo confounded at the calamity of this young man, that the whole multitude broke into tears and exclamations in pity of his diſtreſs. When Baſſus found the generality of the people ſo paſſionately concerned for the misfortune of one man, he computed with himſelf, that if he could but enflame their compaſſion, he might gain his point, and work them to a compoſition of giving up the place to ſave Eleazar's life. This fancy ſucceeded to his wiſh; for upon the ſetting up of a croſs, as if Eleazar were to be forthwith crucify'd, the timber was no ſooner planted, but the gariſon broke out into an outcry with one voice, That their affliction was altogether intolerable. Eleazar begg'd of them, upon this, to conſider both his caſe, who was now to die a wretched death, and their own; and not to contend any longer with the courage and fortune of the Romans, ſince the whole world had already ſubmitted itſelf to their empire.

A bold and memorable action of Eleazar's.

Eleazar ſtripp'd, and cruelly whipp'd.

A notable thought.

This ſubmiſſion and ſupplication of Eleazar's, together with the powerful interceſſions of his friends and relations in the caſtle (for his family and intereſt was very conſiderable) ſoften'd the defendants into ſuch a tenderneſs, upon ſecond thoughts, that they ſent deputies immediately to the Romans, with propoſals to deliver up the caſtle, upon condition of diſcharging Eleazar, and leaving the gariſon at liberty to go whither they would. Baſſus made no difficulty of the terms: but the people of the lower town taking it ill, that an agreement ſhould be made without their privity, reſolved among themſelves to ſlip away that night by ſtealth. Upon the opening of the gates, Baſſus had notice of it from the caſtle, partly out of envy to their companions, and partly out of fear for themſelves, leſt they ſhould be thought of the party. But the braveſt however of thoſe that went firſt, got off; and the reſt, to the number of ſeventeen hundred men, were put to the ſword; the women and the children made ſlaves. Not but that Baſſus yet made good his articles, in diſmiſſing of the gariſon, and ſetting Eleazar free.

Baſſus diſcharges the gariſon, and ſets Eleazar at liberty.

CHAP. XXVI.

Baſſus ſurprizes the Jews in the foreſt of Jardes, Three thouſand of them cut off. A poll-tax upon the Jews.

So ſoon as this was over, Baſſus made all the haſte he could with his army to the foreſt of Jardes, upon intelligence, that great numbers of Jews, who had made their eſcape from the ſiege of Jeruſalem and Machærus, were gather'd together there; and when he came upon the place, he found it to be true: ſo that the firſt thing he did was to beſet the whole wood with his horſe; where he kept his guard ſo ſtrict, that not a Jew could break thorough. He employ'd his foot at the ſame time to cut down the trees and buſhes of the thickets where the Jews had taken ſanctuary; inſomuch, that they had now no poſſibility left them to ſave themſelves, unleſs they could cut out their way through the enemy's troops, and ſo get off. This being the laſt experiment they had to truſt to, they drew all into a body, and with an impetuous clamour, made one deſperate puſh upon thoſe that ſurrounded them, and were as bravely receiv'd. The engagement, in fine, betwixt the fearleſs temerity of the one ſide, and the firm courage of the other, was hot and obſtinate: but in the concluſion the Romans carried the day, with the loſs only of twelve kill'd, and not many wounded; whereas, of three thouſand Jews, (for there were ſo many in this action) not ſo much as one man came off. There was Judas alſo among the reſt, their leader, and the ſon of Jair, of whom we have ſpoken heretofore. He had formerly a command at the ſiege of Jeruſalem, and made his eſcape at laſt out of a vault.

Baſſus beſets the Jews in the foreſt of Jardes.

Three thouſand Jews cut off.

The emperor at the ſame time wrote to his officer Liberius Maximus, to make ſale of all the Jews lands; for he would not trouble himſelf with rebuilding any other cities, but take them all to his own uſe; leaving only eight hundred ſoldiers in Emmaus, ſome ſixty

A poll tax upon the Jews.

furlongs from Jeruſalem, and impoſing a tax upon every Jew by the poll, of two [*] drachmas a year, to be pay'd in to the capitol, as formerly to the temple. This was the miſerable ſtate of things at that time with the Jews.

CHAP. XXVII.

Antiochus an unfortunate prince. Ceſennius charges him as an enemy to Ceſar. He makes an incurſion into Comagene. Antiochus returns no act of hoſtility. His two ſons Epiphanes and Callinicas give the Romans battle. Antiochus retires into Cilicia; and the brothers ſhift for themſelves. Vologeſes treats them like princes. Ceſennius orders Antiochus to be ſent priſoner to Rome. Veſpaſian ſets him at liberty with all manner of reſpect. The father and two ſons are conducted to Rome, and highly entertain'd. The Scythians break into Media, and carry off a vaſt booty. The narrow eſcape of Tiridates.

Antiochus an unfortunate prince. Ceſennius repreſents him as an enemy to Ceſar.

IT ſo fell out in the fourth year of Veſpaſian, that Antiochus the king of Comagene, with his whole family, fell into a moſt deplorable diſtreſs: and this was the occaſion of it. Ceſennius Petus, being governor of Syria, wrote Ceſar word, that Antiochus and his ſon Epiphanes were reſolved to revolt from the Romans; and that they had already treated about it with the king of Parthia: inſiſting alſo upon the neceſſity of preventing the miſchief by ſtriking the firſt blow. For it might be enough elſe to ſet the whole empire in a flame. Now whether this was truth, or malice, may be another queſtion: but whatever it was, Ceſar could not in prudence neglect the advice; either in reſpect of the neighbourhood of thoſe two kings, which made the caſe ſtill more dangerous, or in regard that Samoſata being the capital city of Comagene, and bordering upon the Euphrates, the Parthians might paſs and repaſs at pleaſure, and ſecure themſelves of a ſafe retreat at hand.

Ceſennius makes an incurſion into Comagene.

Antiochus reſolves to withdraw without any act of hoſtility.

VESPASIAN was ſo poſſeſs'd with the credit of the ſtory, that he left Ceſennius to his own diſcretion, and with a commiſſion to do in it what he thought fit. Ceſennius loſt no time, in making the beſt of his deputation; for he fell immediately into Comagene, with the ſixth legion, and ſome battalions of foot, and ſquadrons of horſe, with Ariſtobulus the king of Chalcis, and Sohemus the king of Emeſa, to ſecond him; Antiochus and his ſubjects never ſo much as dreaming of the matter. His entrance was without any oppoſition at all; for the natives were not in a condition to encounter him: and then for Antiochus, the news of this incurſion was a moſt unaccountable ſurprize to him, who never had ſo much as the leaſt thought of a miſunderſtanding with the Romans. The reſolution he took in this difficulty, was to leave the kingdom juſt as it ſtood at that inſtant, and to take his wife and children along with him as an inſtance of his good faith to the empire, and likewiſe as a pregnant proof of his innocence. Hereupon he withdrew about an hundred and [†] thirty furlongs from the city, and encamped upon a plain. Ceſennius, in the mean time, ſends ſoldiers to take poſſeſſion of Samoſata, and to keep gariſon there; while he himſelf, with other troops, marches away after Antiochus. But all this violence and injuſtice was not ſufficient yet to provoke the king to any unfriendly act againſt the Romans; or to do any thing more than to lament his hard fortune, and to bear all things with patience.

His two ſons, Epiphanes and Callininicus gave the Romans battle.

BUT for his ſons, Epiphanes and Callinicus, who were youthful, martial, and brave, they could not in honour but betake themſelves to their arms: ſo that drawing out what ſtrength they were able to make, they gave the Romans battle; fought it out all day, and in the end ſhew'd a conduct anſwerable to their valour; for they came off with very little loſs.

Antiochus retires into Cilicia.

And the brothers ſhift for themſelves.

Vologeſes receives them according to their birth and quality.

THE fortune of this day was favourable to Antiochus, but all too little to put a ſtop to the retreat he had reſolv'd upon; for he took his wife and daughters away with him into Cilicia: and this ſcrupulous integrity of his went ſo far, that it quite diſpirited his ſoldiers. For what could they hope for, they ſaid, when the king himſelf deſpair'd; deſerting their prince in that diſtraction, and going over to the Romans. All that Epiphanes and his brother had now to do, was to ſave themſelves before it was too late. And ſo with eight horſemen more, (ten in all) they paſs'd the Euphrates, (where they were now ſecure) in order to eſcape to Vologeſes the king of Parthia. This generous prince, upon their arrival, did not treat them like fugitives, but with that royal ſtate and reſpect that became their birth and quality.

Ceſennius orders Antiochus to be ſent priſoner to Rome.

Veſpaſian cauſes his chains to be taken off, and treats him with all manner of reſpect.

ANTIOCHUS being now come to Tarſus in Cilicia, Ceſennius ſent an officer to take him into cuſtody, and carry him bound to Rome. But Veſpaſian was too generous to treat a crown'd head at that rate, and choſe rather to ſhew a reſpect to the memory of an antient friendſhip, than to revenge himſelf for a ſuppoſed injury: wherefore he order'd his chains to be taken off upon the way, his journey to Rome reſpited, and himſelf to make ſome ſtay at Lacedemon; where Veſpaſian furniſh'd him with proviſions of money, ſuitable to the dignity of a royal expence.

The father and the two ſons conducted to Rome, and highly entertain'd.

THIS honourable and generous way of proceeding toward Antiochus, did not only deliver the brothers from the dread and anxiety they lay under for fear of their father, but put them in hopes even of a reconciliation to Ceſar himſelf; eſpecially upon the interceſſion of Vologeſes, that they might be permitted to go to Rome by Ceſar's conſent: for though they liv'd in a condition ſuitable to their dignity, they had no patience yet to live out of the pale of the empire. This requeſt Ceſar graciouſly granted: upon which they came to Rome, whither their father was brought ſoon after, where they were all three entertain'd with high demonſtrations of affection and eſteem.

The Scythians and their confederates break into Media.

THE people now known by the name of Alanes, formerly call'd Scythians, having their habitations, as we have ſaid elſewhere, near the river Tanais, and the lake of Meotis, join'd in a conſederacy with the king of Hyrcania, to break into Media, and lay the land waſte: this king being the maſter of the only paſſage into that country; which, they ſay, Alexander ſo order'd, as to have it ſhut up with iron gates. This paſs being now laid open, they poſſeſs'd themſelves of the place, without either ſuſpicion or reſiſtance, and carry'd off a booty, in goods and cattle, to a mighty value. This inroad put Pacorus (then king of the place) into ſuch a fright, that he left his eſtate at mercy, and flying for his own ſafety into crags and ſtrong holds, he made a ſhift at laſt to redeem his wife and concubines for an hundred * talents. At this rate they preſs'd forward, ſpoiling and making havock all the way they went, without the leaſt reſiſtance, up to the borders of Armenia; Tiridates being at that time king there. This Tiridates made head againſt them, and fought them, and was within a very little of being taken alive in the battle, by the nooſe of a halter that was thrown over his head in the action; but in the very moment while they were drawing him off, he cut the rope with his ſword, and got away. The ſucceſs of this combat made theſe Barbarians more bloody and inſolent than before, inſomuch that they depopulated all, wherever they came, and carry'd off vaſt numbers of men and cattle along with them to their own homes.

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[*] Two drachma's weigh'd four pennyweights, two grains and an half, and their value in ſilver amounted to ſomething better than thirteen pence halfpenny.

[†] An hundred and thirty furlongs amounted to ſixteen Engliſh miles and a quarter, and an hundred and ninety five geometrical paces.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Eleazar the governor of Maſſada. The lewdeſt age ſince the creation. The Sicarii led the way; but John of Giſchala out-did them all. The brutal barbarities of Simon. The Idumeans inhuman and bloody. The Zelotes the wickedeſt aud moſt wretched of mortals. A gariſon of the Sicarii in Maſſada. Silva beſieges it. The ſituation, deſcription, and ſtrength of it both by art and nature. Silva advances his batteries, and gains the rock Leuce; but his batteries failing, he ſets all in a flame. A diſcourſe upon the contempt of death, and the immortality of the ſoul. Reflections upon the Indian philoſophers and the Brachmans. Several inſtances of the ſufferings of the Jews. The queſtion of life and death debated. The Jews ſo poſſeſſed with it, that they reſolve not to outlive their laws and liberties: they agree npon a method for the executing of that reſolution. The Romans advance the next morning to the aſſault, and find only a pile of dead bodies to receive them.

The caſtle of Maſſada, and Eleazar the governor of it.

BASSUS was now dead in Judea, and Flavius Silva conſtituted his ſucceſſor in the goverment; who, finding the whole country to be reduc'd, ſaving only one rebellious caſtle, drew out all the force he was able to make, with a reſolution to attack it. The caſtle's name was Maſſada, and one Eleazar commanded it, the ring-leader of the Sicarii, or cut-throats, who had got in poſſeſſion of it. This Eleazar was deſcended from one Judas, who, as we have ſaid already, was the man that moſt violently oppos'd the Jews entring their names upon the roll, when Cyrenius executed the office of Cenſor in Judea. This faction of the Sicarii were profeſs'd enemies to all that ſhew'd any manner of reſpect to the Romans: and they treated them alſo like enemies, even to the degree of pillaging their goods, driving away their cattle, and burning their houſes. "For what are theſe men better than ſtran-"gers, ſaid they, that betray the liberty of "their country for want of fighting for it, "and had rather live ſlaves than freemen; "notwithſtanding that freedom is a bleſſing "can never be bought too dear? Were it not "better for ſuch men as theſe, they cry'd, to "join barefac'd with the Romans?" but theſe were only words of courſe, for a pretext to their inhumanity and avarice, as moſt evidently appear'd in the concluſion. For when thoſe very men whom they branded with perfidy and cowardize came to join in the revolt, and in the common cauſe againſt the Romans, they were worſe us'd than before: eſpecially thoſe that laid open the hypocriſy of their pretenſions, and the iniquity of their practice.

The lewdeſt age ſince the creation.

There was never ſuch an age certainly ſince the creation, for all manner of impiety, as this juncture among the Jews. They left no new wickedneſs to be either done or thought of, or for invention itſelf to work upon. Never ſuch an agreement publick and private, in all ſorts of corruptions: never ſuch emulation in all things that were ill, who ſhould outdo the other: men in power oppreſs'd the common people, and the common people were as ſevere again upon men in power; the one for dominion, the other for pillage.

The Sicarii led the way.

The Sicarii were the firſt that led the way to this licentious courſe of blood and violence, without ſlipping any opportunity, either by word or deed, of doing miſchief where they were ſet upon it. But all this was not to compare with the extravagant cruelties of John: who did not only put particular men to death, as common enemies (citizens eſpecially) for preſuming to adviſe things neceſſary and profitable for the publick; but multiply'd all manner of outrages alſo upon his country. And who could expect better from a man that made no conſcience of affronting God himſelf? as in the uſe of forbidden meats, renouncing the purity of his profeſſion, and departing from the laws and cuſtoms of our forefathers. What wonder now, to ſee a man inhuman to his neighbour, that has no more reverence for his maker!

But John of Giſchala out-did them all.

The barbarous cruelti[illegible] of Simon.

And ſo for Simon the ſon of Gioras, what villany was not that man guilty of? what barbarities did he not inflict upon the very men that rais'd him? thoſe, that of freemen born, made themſelves his ſlaves! The natural ties of blood and friendſhip had no other effect upon this ſort of people, than to inflame them to the execution of more horrid butcheries. They look'd upon it as a mean, and a kind of ſcandalous inſolence to tyrannize over ſtrangers, compar'd with the more generous and heroical bravery of trampling upon their own fleſh and blood.

The Idumeans inhuman and bloody.

And the Idumeans came not much behind them neither; thoſe bloody miſcreants, who

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* It is difficult to determine what talent is here meant: but admitting it to be the greater Attick talent, an hundred weighed ſeven thouſand ſix hundred four pounds and two ounces; and their value in ſilver amounted to twenty two thoaſund eight hundred twelve pounds and ten ſhillings, and in gold to three hundred ſixty five thouſand pounds, Engliſh money.

The Idumeans inhuman and bloody.

after the aſſaſſinating of the high-prieſts, to cut off, as much as in them lay, the whole frame and order of religion at a blow, confounded likewiſe the polity of the city, without leaving ſo much as the face of juſtice or civil government, and ſet up tyranny and oppreſſion in the ſtead of it. This was the province of thoſe they call Zelotes, and they had given themſelves a title to the name by their works; as the moſt paſſionate patrons and promoters of vice and lewdneſs upon the earth, though under the colour of piety and virtue; but ſeducing thoſe they would impoſe upon by fallacies and falſe lights, and at the ſame time turning evil into good, and good into evil.

The Zelotes the wickedeſt,

And the moſt miſerable of mortals.

They had at laſt, however, the end they deſerv'd, in the manifeſtation of God's juſt vengeance upon them: for they ſuffer'd all the calamities and torments that it is poſſible for fleſh and blood to undergo, and this throughout the whole courſe of their lives.

It will be ſaid perhaps that the puniſhment fell ſhort of the offence. And it may be anſwer'd, that no puniſhment could come up to it. But this is not a time or place to enter upon the hiſtory of thoſe unhappy wretches that fell into the hands of theſe monſters: ſo that I ſhall rather return to my relation, and go on where I left.

A gariſon of the Sicarii in Maſſada, under Eleazar.

Silva the Roman general was now upon his march to beſiege Maſſada, where there was a gariſon of the Sicarii under the command of Eleazar; who was the head of that party. He made ſure of the country about it, without much difficulty; ſettled his gariſons as he ſaw convenient, and ran up a wall about the caſtle to prevent excurſions or eſcapes, and to ſecure his guards. He made choice of a quarter for his camp, that he found moſt commodious for his purpoſe: that is to ſay, upon the joining of the caſtle-rock to the next mountain: only proviſions were extremely ſcarce; for they were brought a great way, and with much trouble to the Jews, whoſe buſineſs it was to ſupply them; beſide the bringing of water another way too, for there was no fountain near the place.

Silva beſieges it,

The ſituation of Maſſada.

Matters being thus order'd, Silva diſpos'd himſelf to the ſiege, which was like to be a work of time and labour, as will appear by the ſituation of the caſtle. It ſtands upon a large high rock, with deep and craggy precipices round about it: and there is no diſcerning the bottom from above by reaſon of other rocks that interpoſe and cover it. The acceſs is ſo difficult, that even the beaſts themſelves cannot climb it, ſaving only by two paſſages: one to the eaſtward from the lake Aſphaltitis, which is very nice and dangerous; the other from the weſt, which is the more practicable of the two. They call one of them by the name of the Snake, from the ſeveral windings and turnings in the aſcent: for the rocks in many places double upon themſelves, and run in and out ſo, that people are fain to go backward and forward to paſs them. And the paſſages are ſo narrow likewiſe, that there's no walking upon them but by ſtanding upon one foot while you advance the other: beſide that one ſlip, or a falſe ſtep, is certain death; for it drops you into a precipice that gives a man a horror but to think of it. They reckon thirty * furlongs of this way from the bottom to the top of the mountain, which brings you into a plain, where Jonathan the high-prieſt erected a caſtle, and called it Maſſada; he himſelf being the firſt founder of it. Herod the Great ſpared afterwards for no coſt or care to adorn and fortify it. He carried a wall about it, of ſeven † furlongs in compaſs; all of curious white ſtone, twelve ‡ cubits high and eight over. He built likewiſe twenty ſeven turrets, each of fifty § cubits in height: and theſe towers entertain'd a communication with all the buildings on the inſide of the wall. The plain above was ſo well condition'd, and ſo fruitful a ſoil, that Herod order'd it to be ſet apart for tillage; to the end that whoever ſhould take ſanctuary in that caſtle, he might be ſure not to want neceſſaries. He cauſed alſo a royal and a ſtately palace to be built for himſelf within the compaſs of the caſtle: the entrance fronting weſtward, and bending a little to the north. The walls of it were very high and ſtrong, with four towers in the four corners, each of ſixty ** cubits high. The apartments, galleries and baths, were for variety, ornament and contrivance, very rich and glorious: and all ſupported with pillars, each of one entire ſtone; and ſo maſterly put together, that nothing could be more ſubſtantial. The walls and the pavement were all checker'd with party-colour'd ſtone. To every quarter about this palace, the plain above, and before the turrets, there were a great many large ciſterns hew'd out of the rock for the preſerving of water; ſo that theſe veſſels abundantly ſupply'd the want of fountains. There was a way alſo cut under ground, from the palace up to the caſtle, which was not to be diſcover'd from without; and the other was effectually impaſſable, as we have ſaid already. But for the weſtern paſs, there was a tower ſet up in the narroweſt part of it, a matter of a thouſand †† cubits from the caſtle, that quite block'd it up. Not but that the attempt would have been difficult enough, even without any oppoſition: but this is to ſhew the ſtate and condition of the place, both by art and nature.

The deſcription of it.

The fortification.

The ſtate and condition of Maſſada, both by art and nature.

Stored with all manner of proviſions.

Now this caſtle was not only provided againſt force and ſtratagem, but againſt the very dint of famine too: for there was corn in it, wine, oil, all ſorts of pulſe, dates, &c. for many years; which was all found in it, when

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* Thirty furlongs amounted to three Engliſh miles and three quarters, and forty five geometrical paces, as hath been ſeveral times before obſerved.

† Seven furlongs were ſeven eighths of a mile, that is one furlong and nine geometrical paces above three quarters of an Engliſh mile.

‡ Twelve cubits amounted to ſomething upwards of one and twenty Engliſh feet, that is ſeven yards; and eight cubits to ſomething more than fourteen Engliſh feet, that is four yards and two feet.

§ Fifty cubits amounted to ſomething more than ninety one Engliſh feet, that is thirty yards and one foot.

** Sixty cubits amounted to ſomething more than one hundred and nine feet, that is to thirty ſix yards and one foot.

†† A thouſand cubits amounted to ſomething upwards of eighteen hundred and twenty five feet, that is to ſix hundred and eight yards and one foot.

Eleazar with his Sicarii ſurpriz'd it: and it was all as freſh and ſound too, (though an hundred years depoſited) as if it had been but newly laid up. And perhaps the purity of the air at that height, abſtracted from groſs and ſeculent vapours, might be the reaſon of it.

There was alſo a magazine of all ſorts of arms for ten thouſand men, ſtor'd there by the king's order; a great quantity of unwrought iron, braſs, lead, and the like; which we may preſume was prepared for ſome great deſign.

Herod intended it for a retreat in caſe of need.

There goes a tradition, that Herod finding himſelf diſtreſs'd under two difficulties, provided this caſtle for his retreat in caſe of need: the one was for fear the people ſhould depoſe him, and ſet the Aſmonean family upon the throne again; the other was a matter of a more dangerous conſequence. Cleopatra the queen of Egypt had a deſign, it ſeems, upon the life of Herod: and ſhe made no ſecret of it neither; but own'd the thing, and had ſeveral diſcourſes with Antony about it; preſſing him that Herod might be diſpatch'd out of the way, and ſhe herſelf made queen of the Jews in his ſtead. It was a wonder that the paſſion Antony had for Cleopatra could deny her any thing; but Herod however, upon this apprehenſion, put Maſſada into ſuch a condition, that there was hardly any thought of taking it; and the Romans could never be abſolute maſters of the Jews without it.

Silva advances with his battery.

The Jews being now ſo cloſe wall'd up in Maſſada, that there was no poſſibility, as I ſaid before, of their eſcaping, Silva advanced with his machines; there being but one place that he could fill up to raiſe a mount upon. For beyond that tower that blocks up the way upon the weſt, to the palace and caſtle, there was a large long rock call Leuce; larger than that the caſtle ſtood upon, but not ſo high by three * hundred cubits as Maſſada. The general had no ſooner gain'd this rock, but he ſet his ſoldiers at work to advance a mount upon it; and they wrought ſo hard, that they carried it up to the height of two † hundred cubits: which not being as yet ſtrong enough to ſupport the engines, they rais'd a kind of platform upon it, wrought with great ſtones, fifty † cubits high, and as much over. But beſide theſe ordinary machines, they had others alſo of the invention of Veſpaſian, but improved afterwards by Titus. They erected farther upon this platform, a tower of ſixty cubits, and fortify'd with iron.

He gains the rock Leuce.

The Romans from this turret, gall'd the defendants with their ſtones and arrows to ſuch a degree, that they durſt not ſhew their heads upon the walls. Silva, in the mean time, kept battering the wall with a moſt prodigious ram; which by little and little made ſome ſmall impreſſion upon it. But the Sicarii quickly ſupply'd that defect by clapping up another wall behind it that feared no machines: for the matter of it being ſoft and yielding, it deaded the ſtroke: and the manner of the ſtructure was this. They took two rows of large timbers, and mortiſſed them one into another. They were both of a ſize, and together with a ſpace left betwixt them, juſt anſwered the thickneſs of the wall. This ſpace they filled with a kind of clayiſh earth, and nail'd up boards a-croſs the frame to keep the earth from falling down: ſo that it ſtood as firm as the wall of a houſe, and the more it was battered the ſtronger it was, as if it been ramm'd and conſolidated into a better ſtate of defence.

Silva's batteries being defeated, he tries fire, and ſets all in a flame.

When Silva found his engines defeated, he reſolved to attempt that by fire, which he could not compaſs by battery; and ſo ordered his ſoldiers to try what might be done by brands-ends and fire-works, towards the deſtroying of their defences. Their new wall being moſt of it timber-work and hollow, took fire immediately, and burſt out into a mighty flame; which began with the wind on the north, and beat ſo terribly upon the Romans, that they almoſt deſpair'd of ſaving their machines. But the wind luckily chopping about all on a ſudden into the ſouth, drove ſo furiouſly upon the wall, that it ſet all in a flame from top to bottom. The Romans were ſo ſenſible of God's appearing in their favour upon this occaſion, that they return'd chearfully to their camp, with a full reſolution to make an attack upon the enemy the next morning by break of day; and to keep ſtrong watches in the mean while that they might not get off in the night.

But Eleazar had no thought of ſtarting himſelf, or of ſuffering any of his people ſo to do. The wall however being conſum'd to the ground, and no hope or poſſibility left of ſafety or relief, the only brave thing they had before them was to conſider how they might deliver their wives and children from the ignominious outrages they might expect from the Romans, whenever they came to be maſters of the place. Eleazar concluded, upon the ballancing of this queſtion, that a glorious death was infinitely to be prefer'd to a life of infamy; and that the moſt generous reſolution they could take in the world, would be not to out-live their liberties. This being his own opinion, he call'd together the moſt couragious of his friends and companions, and did what he could, by reaſon and exhortation, to diſcourſe them into the ſame mind.

Eleazar's diſcourſe upon the contempt of death.

“It is no new thing, ſays he, my generous friends, for our people to diſclaim any other lord and maſter, than the true and ſovereign lord and maſter of the univerſe, God himſelf; and this without exception to the Romans, or to any other nation whatſoever. The time is now at hand to make good our words by our deeds: wherefore let us act like ourſelves now. We have hitherto run all hazards to preſerve our freedoms; but we are at preſent threaten'd with chains, and the worſt of torments together, if we fall alive into our enemies hands; as the firſt that fell off from them, and the laſt that ſtood out againſt them. The matter duly conſider'd, we are to look upon it as a ſingular grace and favour from above, to be left ſtill at liberty to chuſe our death: a bleſſing deny'd to many that are gone before us. We are certain to be all ſlaves to-mor-

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* Three hundred cubits amounted to ſomething upwards of five hundred forty ſix feet, that is one hundred eighty two yards.

† Two hundred cubits amounted to ſomething more than three hundred and ſixty four feet, that is one hundred and twenty one yards, and one foot.

row, if we do not prevent it by ſetting ourſelves free this very night: and it is not in the power of our enemies to hinder it. Neither is there any thing they deſire more, than to take us alive; and it is now too late to think of prevailing againſt them by force of arms. Something might have been done at firſt perhaps, if the aſſertors of our liberties had but duly conſider'd things. For they would have found that if God had not caſt us off, though formerly his choſen people, he would never have expos'd us to what we have ſuffer'd, both by our own diviſions, and from our enemies, the deſtruction of ſo many of our principal men, and the holy city itſelf laid waſte with fire and ſword. But how comes it laſt that we alone are the men of the whole nation to ſtand up for our liberties, as if we ourſelves were innocent of thoſe iniquities that we have taught to others? You ſee by this time the vanity of your extravagant hopes, and the miſery of your diſappointments. And what are we the better here for an impregnable caſtle, with an ample proviſion of arms, and all neceſſaries for our ſupport, when God hath manifeſtly doom'd us to deſtruction? What do you think of that judicial wind and fire, that left the Romans to conſume us and our new wall? Did it do this of its own accord, do ye think? or was it not rather an infliction upon us for the crying ſins we had been guilty of one towards another? Now ſince our puniſhment is juſt, and that there is no avoiding of it, will it not be much more reaſonable for us to do juſtice upon ourſelves, than to leave it to the victorious Romans, as the executors of divine vengeance? By this means, we ſecure the honour of our wives, and the freedom of our children? And next to them, let us honorably take our own turns, and die free; leaving that memorial behind us as the beſt of monuments. But in the firſt place, let the caſtle be ſet on fire, and our own gold and ſilver melted down; for the Romans will be ſick of their purchaſe, without the poſſeſſion, either of our treaſure, or of our perſons. Let the proviſions for the mouth and belly be left behind, as a teſtimony that we were not ſtarved into this condition; but kept to our firſt reſolution of chuſing death rather than bondage."

A judicial wind and fire.

This was Eleazar's ſpeech; but it did not reliſh with all alike: ſome were very much pleaſed with the propoſal, and as forward to put it in execution; reckoning upon death as a deſirable ſtate upon thoſe terms. Thoſe that were good-natured, or tender-hearted, had a horror upon them to think of taking away the lives of their friends, and no leſs at the thought of laying violent hands upon themſelves: and then looking mournfully one upon another with tears in their eyes, they betray'd the ſoftneſſes of their hearts. Eleazar was not a little troubled at theſe effeminate weakneſſes, for fear of ſtaggering others that ſeem'd well enough reſolved, and calling in queſtion the dignity of his propoſition. He follow'd his point however, and went on with his exhortation; but with another ſort of air and ſpirit, advancing his diſcourſe upon the ſubject of the immortality of the ſoul: and fixing his eye upon thoſe that he ſaw in tears, he addreſſed himſelf that way, in a vehement earneſtneſs of exclamation, and in theſe or the like words.

Of the immortality of the ſoul.

"I am, ſays he, wonderfully miſtaken, I perceive, in my opinion, that brave men in a conteſt for liberty, had rather loſe their lives than their cauſe. But it is otherwiſe with you, I find, that are afraid to die, though to deliver yourſelves from calamities worſe than death itſelf: and in a caſe too, that neither needs counſel, nor will bear delay. We have it from antiquity, the holy ſcriptures, the laws and cuſtoms of our country, the doctrine and practice of our fore-fathers: and it is generally allow'd, that it is not life, but death, that makes a man happy. For what is it but death that ſets the ſoul at liberty, and tranſmits it into thoſe pure and bleſſed regions where it ſhall never know corruption? But ſo long as it communicates with the mortal body, it partakes alſo with the evils of that body; and it is in a manner dead; for what affinity is there betwixt divine and mortal? Soul and body in conjunction, 'tis true, may do much; for the body is but the ſoul's inſtrument, and their ſecret offices and operations are unaccountable. But when the ſoul comes once to be diſcharged of its clog and weight that keeps it down, and to recover its proper ſtation, it enjoys a vigorous and a perfect liberty; not viſible to human eyes, but inviſible, as God himſelf is; and it is inviſible alſo in our bodies. It comes into us unſeen, and ſo it goes out again; incorruptible in itſelf, but cauſing variety of changes in the body: for whatever the ſoul influences, it puts life and vigour into it; and when ever it withdraws itſelf, the ſeparation is certain death. But this does not hinder the ſoul yet from being immortal. As in ſleep, for inſtance, how quietly does the ſoul repoſe itſelf in that reſpite from the diſtractions of the body! Which ſhews the happineſs of the ſoul is wrapt up within itſelf, and likewiſe that it holds ſome ſort of communication with the Almighty, in foretelling things to come. But how can any man pretend to fear death that loves reſt! Or who but a mad-man, for the ſake of a ſhort life, will debar himſelf of a life eternal? Beſide, that we are trained up by the laws and inſtitution of our profeſſion, not only to the contempt of death ourſelves, but alſo to preach and practiſe it for an example to others.

Of the Indian philoſophers and Brachmans.

"Or if there needed any recourſe to ſtrangers, for argument or authority upon this ſubject, what ſhall we ſay to the Indian philoſophers and Brachmans? a wiſe and a virtuous ſort of people. They look upon life only as a neceſſary function of nature: an office which they diſcharge eaſily enough, and not without ſome impatience to be quit of the trouble. And they are not weary of life neither, upon the account of pain or inconvenience; but for the love of immortality, and a bleſſed converſation that ſhall never have an end. Nay, they take ſolemn leave of their friends too, as if it were but for a journey, and tell them when they are a going: neither does any body offer to hinder them; but, on the contrary, wiſh them happy, and ſend formal meſſages by them to their acquaintance, in a full and certain confidence that they underſtand one another. And ſo when they have received all their orders and inſtructions, they commit their bodies to the fire, as a preparatory purification, and go off with acclamations, and to the ſatisfaction of all the ſpectators. For among them, friends follow one another more chearfully to death, than they would do to a long journey; joying thoſe that are now entring into a ſtate of immortality, and only lamenting the reſt that ſtay behind. What a ſhame will it be for us now to fall ſhort of the Indians, in a matter of this importance, and to bring a ſcandal upon the excellent laws and religion of our fore-fathers by an inglorious abjection of mind! Or put the caſe now, that we had been otherwiſe inſtructed, and brought up in the contrary principles from our very cradle; as if life were the ſovereign good of mankind, and death the moſt diſmal of calamities: the very occaſion ſhould make us reſolute methinks, in our caſe, ſince neceſſity and the will of God will have it ſo; and we are now to be puniſh'd with the loſs of life, for our former abuſes of it, by the ordering of a divine providence. Neither are we to aſcribe it to our own arms, or to the generoſity of the Romans, that we were not every man of us cut off in this war. And it was not ſimply a conqueſt neither, but the mediation of a more powerful cauſe, that made it look like one however. What had the Romans to do in that bloody maſſacre of the Jews at Ceſarea by the people of the place, where man, woman and child, were cut off upon the ſeventh day's feſtival, without one word of a conſpiracy, or the leaſt reſiſtance? whereas the Romans never look'd upon the Jews as their enemies, but only when they revolted. Now it will be ſaid perhaps, that there was an old grudge betwixt the Jews of Ceſarea and the citizens, and that the latter took this opportunity for a revenge. What ſhall we ſay then of the Scythopolitans that join'd with the Greeks againſt us, and not with our friends againſt the Romans? and what did they get at laſt for their good will, but the utter deſtruction of themſelves and their families? This was the thanks, in fine, that we had for our aſſiſtance; they brought us into the ſame extremity, out of which we reſcu'd them.

Several inſtances of the ſufferings of the Jews.

“ It would be too tedious to run over particular inſtances; for you know very well that there is not ſo much as one city in Syria that has treated us better, and that is not incomparably worſe to us than the Romans. What do you think of Damaſcus now, that without any colour, or pretence of a diſguſt, butcher'd ten thouſand Jews, with their wives and children, in that ſingle city? and then they reckon upon at leaſt ſixty thouſand kill'd in Egypt. Now that's no wonder, you'll ſay, in a ſtrange land, where they had no ſeconds to ſtand by them. But to come now to our own caſe at home, that had the courage to aſſert our liberties againſt the Romans in our own country, and wanted neither men nor arms, fearleſs ſpirits, impregnable cities, ſtrong holds, or any other manner of proviſions that might encourage or ſtrengthen a revolt, and entitle us to a reaſonable hope of a victorious iſſue. But how long did this laſt, and to what end did this pompous preparation ſerve us, ſave only to our greater confuſion? for all is loſt, you ſee, and only to the honour of the enemy, without any advantage to ourſelves, for, and by whom, theſe ſtores were provided.

The queſtion of life and death debated in favour of the latter as the more deſirable of the two.

“ How happy are they now that fell with their ſwords in their hands, contending for their liberty, and in the ſame act preſerving it, compar'd with the ſurviving remainder of us that are reſerv'd in chains; ſome for torture, ſome for the fire, others for ſpectacles; ſome for combat, and others to be torn to pieces with whips; ſome half eaten by beaſts, and ſet aſide for a ſecond meal! Who would not ſuffer a thouſand deaths rather than lead ſuch a life? but the moſt deplorable of all the reſt are thoſe that are yet living, and calling upon death, and yet have not the heart to give it themſelves.

“ Pray ſummon up your thoughts, and conſider what is become of your glorious metropolis; your mighty walls and fortifications; your impregnable towers and caſtles; your vaſt treaſuries and magazines, though too little for your ſtores; your prodigious multitudes of men: and what's become of your holy place too, known by the name of God's houſe? Is it not all torn up by the roots, and nothing to be ſeen of it but the ruins, that ſerve only for a camp to the conqueror; a few unfortunate old men mourning over the aſhes of the temple, and a proviſion of unhappy women reſerv'd for the criminal uſe and ſervice of the ſoldiers?

“ Can any thing that hath but the ſoul of a man ever ſubmit to look another ſun in the face again after this? nay, though he might live without either fear or danger, can any man, I ſay, be ſo unnatural to his country, ſo mean and narrow-hearted, as not to be griev'd that ever he liv'd to ſee this day? and it would have been well, if we had been all in our graves before ever we beheld theſe ſacrilegious ruins, and this glorious pile of Jeruſalem laid in rubbiſh. But ſo long as we had hopes and courage, we flatter'd ourſelves with the poſſibility of a redemption. Theſe hopes however being intirely fruſtrated, and nothing now left us to truſt to, but the conſideration of an inſuperable neceſſity, we have nothing more to do than to take pity of ourſelves, our wives, and our children; and to make all the haſte we can to do it, while we have the means in our own hands. We are all born to die, the brave and the coward alike, and all ſujected to the ſame fate. Now for matter of indignity and ſlavery, the ſeeing of our wives diſhonour'd, and our children led in triumph; theſe are not evils ariſing from the neceſſity of our nature, but the reſults of cowardize, when a man might have dy'd and would not. But for us who had the hearts to abandon the Romans, and fly in the face of our maſters; and afterwards to refuſe quarter and pardon, when it was offer'd us, and not ſo much as to accept of an indemnity, though they themſelves begg'd it of us: can any body think, I ſay, that if ever they take us alive, they will not treat us with the greateſt indignities?

“No one that has any bowels of compaſſion can, without the greateſt horror, think of the miſerable condition both of young and old; betwixt the ſtrength of body on the one hand, to lie languiſhing under a lingring torment; and the weakneſs of age on the other, that is not able to ſupport it. The husband muſt expect to ſee his wife diſhonour'd before his face; and the father, to hear his children begging in chains for relief. But while we are free, and maſters of our ſwords, let us make a glorious uſe of them, and preſerve our liberties. Let us die freemen, with the comfort and company of our wives and children about us. It is but what they themſelves deſire, what our laws require at our hands, and what providence itſelf hath made neceſſary for us. Only the Romans are againſt it, for fear we ſhould die before we fall into their hands. Let us diſpatch then, for it will be to our immortal honour to take the prize they long for out of their hands, in leaving them only the poor ſatisfaction of dead bodies for their triumph.”

The whole body is of he ſame opinion with Eleazar, and join in a reſolution not to outlive their laws and liberties.

Eleazar would have gone on, if the whole company had not broken in upon him in this very inſtant; violently preſſing him to go thro' with his work, and every man contending with a phantaſtical emulation who ſhould be foremoſt, as a mark of the braveſt and the wiſeſt man. Such was the paſſion theſe people had for the deſtruction of themſelves and their families. And, which was yet more wonderful, they did not one man of them ſhrink when they came to the execution; but kept up their dear and natural affection to the laſt, upon an opinion that they could not do their friends a better office. They took their leave of their wives and children in their arms, with a kiſs, and a ſtab; weeping over them at the ſame time, and no more concerned than if the work had been done by other people's hands. The neceſſity of the action, (as they underſtood it) was their comfort, and their excuſe; for conſidering what they ſhould have ſuffer'd otherwiſe by the Romans, they thought they could not do leſs toward their deliverance. In ſhort, there was not one man's heart fail'd him; but they kill'd their beloved friends and relations without diſtinction. This was a miſerable neceſſity, but they were driven upon it by a miſerable choice: for the deſtroying of their wives andchildren (as it appear'd to them) was the leaſt evil they had before them.

The execution and the method of it.

When they had proceeded thus far, they found the grief for what they had done already intolerable, and being conſcious to themſelves, that they could not ſurvive thoſe they had kill'd, (though never ſo little) without a manifeſt injury to the dead, they immediately pil'd up all their goods together on a heap and burnt them; and then chuſing ten men, by lot, out of their number, to do execution upon all the reſt, they ranged themſelves as near as they could to the dead bodies of their friends; gave them a parting embrace, and chearfully preſented their throats to thoſe that were to do the inhuman office. So ſoon as the ten had with a mighty reſolution diſcharg'd their part, they caſt lots among themſelves which of the remaining ten ſhould diſpatch the other nine, with a condition that the ſurviving tenth man ſhould kill himſelf upon the bodies of the reſt: ſuch a confidence had theſe people one in another. The nine dy'd with the ſame conſtancy as the reſt. The laſt man overlooking the bodies, and finding that they were all ſtark dead, ſet fire to the palace, and with a prodigious violence threw himſelf upon the point of his ſword, and ſo periſh'd amongſt the reſt of his friends.

The tragedy being now over, and upon a preſumption, that there was not ſo much as one Jew fallen into the hands of the Romans, it appear'd afterwards that there was one antient woman; and another, a kinſwoman of Eleazar's (a perſon of admirable qualities) with five young boys, that had conceal'd themſelves all this while in an aqueduct, and eſcap'd the maſſacre. The number of the ſlain was nine hundred and ſixty, reckoning women and children into the account. This action fell out upon the fifteenth of the month * Xanthicus.

The Romans advance next morning to the aſſault, and find only a pile of dead bodies to receive them.

The Romans by break of day next morning, with their ladders and bridges, made ready for an aſſault; but no enemy appearing, nor any noiſe to be heard, but the crackling of flames, the Romans could not tell what to make of theſe circumſtances, and of ſo dead a ſilence: ſo that they preſently gave a yell, like a ſhout upon the playing of a battery, to try if they could be anſwer'd. The clamour alarm'd the women in their hiding-holes; ſo that they came out upon it, and told the Romans the truth of the whole ſtory; which was ſo incredible however, that they could not believe it: but betaking themſelves to the quenching of the fire, and ſo following their way up to the palace, they found ſuch a carnage of dead bodies, that without inſulting and rejoicing as enemies, they broke into admiration at the generous greatneſs of the Jews minds; the ſteddineſs of their counſels, and the obſtinate agreement of ſuch a number of men in the contempt of death.

CHAP. XXIX.

The turbulent and ſeditious humour of the Sicarii. The Jews impute all their misfortunes to that ſort of people. They will rather ſuffer death than own Ceſar for their maſter.

After the taking of Maſſada, Silva the Roman general ſettled a gariſon there, and ſo march'd away with his army to Ceſarea, leaving the country in perfect peace and quiet behind him. Now the Jews of Judea were ſo abſolutely broken and ſubdu'd by the burden and continuance of the war, that there was not an enemy to be heard of in all that quarter; but there were thoſe alſo that felt of it as far as Alexandria in Egypt, where ſeveral of them were put to death. But a word or two upon this occaſion will not be amiſs.

The turbulent and ſeditious humour of the Sicarii.

There were divers of the faction of the Sicarii that fled to Alexandria for ſanctuary; and it was not enough for theſe people to live eaſy and quiet there, but they muſt be tampering the citizens into a hankering after innovations, and ſtarting invidious queſtions about liberty. "They look'd upon the Romans, they ſaid, to be no better than themſelves, and no other lord would they own, than the lord of heaven and earth." And ſtill as they met with any contradiction, though from the beſt of their own profeſſion, it was as much as their lives were worth. Some they murder'd, others they debauch'd from their allegiance, or at leaſt endeavour'd to do it; and in fine, theſe practices of theirs became ſo bold and dangerous, that the leading men amongſt them did not think it ſafe to call them to any publick account. But the courſe they took, was to ſummon a general meeting of the Jews, and there to arraign the folly and temerity of the Sicarii, and to expoſe them to the people as the root and cauſe of all their misfortunes. "Now what would be the end on't, ſaid they, if we ſhould force them to fly for their ſecurity? They'd be never the better for it, and we the worſe. For ſo ſoon as ever the Romans ſhall be well inform'd of the deſign, their way will be to fall upon all promiſcuouſly, and ſo deſtroy the innocent with the guilty." Wherefore they cautioned the Jews not to involve themſelves with the Sicarii, but rather to provide for their own ſafety, by delivering up thoſe cut-throats to the Romans.

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* i. e. April.

Violent and impatient of contradiction

The Jews arraign them in a publick aſſembly, as the authors of all their misfortunes.

THIS gave them ſuch a proſpect of the hazard they were in, that they fell violently upon the Sicarii, and took ſix hundred of them immediately. The reſt fled to Egypt, Thebes, and thereabouts; where they were retaken ſoon after, and brought back again, behaving themſelves to admiration, for the inſuperable hardineſs of their reſolution. What a variety of exquiſite torments did they endure, rather than acknowledge Ceſar for their maſter; and not one ſoul that would ſo much as deliberate upon the doing of it. But they ſtood all as firm, as if their ſouls had not been concerned in what their bodies endured. And the tranſcendent miracle of all is yet behind; which is, that the boys and the children ſtood the ſame ſhock with the reſt; and when they had ſuffer'd all that malice or invention could inflict upon them, not ſo much as one ſoul of them would own Ceſar to ſave his life; ſo much was their contempt of torments above the ſenſe of them.

Not a man of them would own Ceſar for his maſter, to ſave his life.

CHAP. XXX.

Onias moves Ptolemy to give the Jews leave to build a temple, and to enjoy the exerciſe of their worſhip. Ptolemy gives leave accordingly, and aſſigns them a ſpot of ground for it. This temple was erected, and afterwards ſhut up.

LUPUS being at that time governour of Alexandria, gave Ceſar early advice of this commotion, who was ſo well acquainted with the turbulent humour of the Jews, that he thought he could not be too cautious of their meetings and cabals, for fear of making factions and parties; and therefore ordered Lupus to demoliſh the Jews temple in the city Onion in Egypt; of which temple I ſhall ſay ſomething, both as to the name, and the founder.

ONIAS the ſon of Simon, one of the high-prieſts, being driven out of Jeruſalem in the time of the war betwixt Antiochus the king of Syria, and the Jews, withdrew to Alexandria, where he was very kindly receiv'd by Ptolemy the king of Egypt; partly, as an enemy to Antiochus, and partly upon a condition agreed upon betwixt them; which was this. Onias undertook to bring the Jews over into Ptolemy's intereſt, if he would but grant him one requeſt. The king promis'd him that he would, if it lay in his power; and ſo the other begg'd his leave only for the Jews to erect a temple ſome where or other in Egypt, where they might meet and worſhip God according to the laws and religion of their country. By this means, ſays he, Antiochus will become ſtill more and more odious to the Jews, and the Jews better affected to your ſervice; beſide the vaſt multitudes that will put themſelves under your protection for the free exerciſe of their worſhip.

Onias moves Ptolemy to give the Jews leave to build a temple; and enjoy the exerciſe of their worſhip.

PTOLEMY was well enough pleas'd with the propoſal, and ſo aſſign'd the Jews a ſpot of ground for their purpoſe, a matter of nineſcore * furlongs from Memphis, in the tract of Heliopolis: Onias built a caſtle there, and after that a temple, though not comparable, 'tis true, to that at Jeruſalem; but it had juſt ſuch another tower, made of vaſt ſtones, and ſixty † cubits in height. There was an altar alſo, after the model of Jeruſalem, and ſet out with donatives and preſents, much like the other, ſaving only that there was no candleſtick, but a golden lamp as bright as the ſun, inſtead of it, which hung upon a gold chain before the altar. This temple was encompaſs'd with a brick wall, the gates of ſtone, and it was likewiſe endow'd with a conſiderable revenue, both in land and money, that there might be nothing wanting to the ſolemnity and celebration of the ſervice. Now Onias did not do all this, as we ſay, for God's ſake, and out of the pure ſimplicity of his heart, but out of a ſpleen he bore to the Jeruſalem Jews that forced him away: and he propounded to himſelf by the erecting of this temple, to draw the Jews back to him again, that had forſaken him; eſpecially reflecting upon an old prophecy of nine hundred and ſeventy years ſtanding, which ſeems to look that way; beſide another prediction of the prophet Iſaiah, of a temple in time to come to be erected in Egypt, by a Jew.

Ptolemy grants the requeſt, and aſſigns a ſpot of ground for it.

THIS temple was built accordingly, and Lupus, in purſuance of the emperor's orders, went directly thither, carried off with him ſeveral preſents and oblations that he found there, and ſo ſhut it up. But Paulinus, who ſucceeded to the government after the death of Lupus, not only intirely ſtript the temple of all the donatives and preſents he found there, but threaten'd the prieſts ſeverely too in caſe of any concealment: nor would he receive any man whatſoever into the temple upon the account of religion, but ſhut the doors againſt them, without leaving ſo much as the leaſt appearance of divine worſhip there.

The temple was erected, and after that rifled and ſhut up.

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* Nineſcore furlongs amounted to twenty two Engliſh miles and three quarters, and fifty ſix geometrical paces.

† Sixty cubits amounted to ſomething more than one hundred and nine Engliſh feet, that is thirty ſix yards and one foot.

“No one that has any bowels of compaſſion can, without the greateſt horror, think of the miſerable condition both of young and old; betwixt the ſtrength of body on the one hand, to lie languiſhing under a lingring torment; and the weakneſs of age on the other, that is not able to ſupport it. The huſband muſt expect to ſee his wiſe diſhonour'd before his face; and the father, to hear his children begging in chains for relief. But while we are free, and maſters of our ſwords, let us make a glorious uſe of them, and preſerve our liberties. Let us die freemen, with the comfort and company of our wives and children about us. It is but what they themſelves deſire, what our laws require at our hands, and what providence itſelf hath made neceſſary for us. Only the Romans are againſt it, for fear we ſhould die before we fall into their hands. Let us diſpatch then, for it will be to our immortal honour to take the prize they long for out of their hands, in leaving them only the poor ſatisfaction of dead bodies for their triumph.”

The whole body is of he ſame opinion with Eleazar, and join in a reſolution not to outlive their laws and liberties.

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CHAP. XXIX.

The turbulent and ſeditious humour of the Sicarii. The Jews impute all their miſfortunes to that ſort of people. They will rather ſuffer death than own Cæſar for their maſter.

After the taking of Maſſada, Silva the Roman general ſettled a gariſon there, and ſo march'd away with his army to Ceſarea, leaving the country in perfect peace and quiet behind him. Now the Jews of Judea were ſo abſolutely broken and ſubdu'd by the burden and continuance of the war, that there was not an enemy to be heard of in all that quarter; but there were thoſe alſo that felt of it as far as Alexandria in Egypt, where ſeveral of them were put to death. But a word or two upon this occaſion will not be amiſs.

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ONIAS the ſon of Simon, one of the high-prieſts, being driven out of Jeruſalem in the time of the war betwixt Antiochus the king of Syria, and the Jews, withdrew to Alexandria, where he was very kindly receiv'd by Ptolemy the king of Egypt; partly, as an enemy to Antiochus, and partly upon a condition agreed upon betwixt them; which was this. Onias undertook to bring the Jews over into Ptolemy's intereſt, if he would but grant him one requeſt. The king promis'd him that he would, if it lay in his power; and ſo the other begg'd his leave only for the Jews to erect a temple ſome where or other in Egypt, where they might meet and worſhip God according to the laws and religion of their country. By this means, ſays he, Antiochus will become ſtill more and more odious to the Jews, and the Jews better affected to your ſervice; beſide the vaſt multitudes that will put themſelves under your protection for the free exerciſe of their worſhip.

Onias moves Ptolemy to give the Jews leave to build a temple, and enjoy the exerciſe of their worſhip.

PTOLEMY was well enough pleas'd with the propoſal, and ſo aſſign'd the Jews a ſpot of ground for their purpoſe, a matter of ninescore * furlongs from Memphis, in the tract of Heliopolis: Onias built a caſtle there, and after that a temple, though not comparable, 'tis true, to that at Jeruſalem; but it had juſt ſuch another tower, made of vaſt ſtones, and ſixty † cubits in height. There was an altar alſo, after the model of Jeruſalem, and ſet out with donatives and preſents, much like the other, ſaving only that there was no candleſtick, but a golden lamp as bright as the ſun, inſtead of it, which hung upon a gold chain before the altar. This temple was encompaſs'd with a brick wall, the gates of ſtone, and it was likewiſe endow'd with a conſiderable revenue, both in land and money, that there might be nothing wanting to the ſolemnity and celebration of the ſervice. Now Onias did not do all this, as we ſay, for God's ſake, and out of the pure ſimplicity of his heart, but out of a ſpleen he bore to the Jeruſalem Jews that forced him away: and he propounded to himſelf by the erecting of this temple, to draw the Jews back to him again, that had forſaken him; eſpecially reflecting upon an old prophecy of nine hundred and ſeventy years ſtanding, which ſeems to look that way; beſide another prediction of the prophet Iſaiah, of a temple in time to come to be erected in Egypt, by a Jew.

Ptolemy grants the requeſt, and aſſigns a ſpot of ground for it.

THIS temple was built accordingly, and Lupus, in purſuance of the emperor's orders, went directly thither, carried off with him ſeveral preſents and oblations that he found there, and ſo ſhut it up. But Paulinus, who ſucceeded to the government after the death of Lupus, not only intirely ſtript the temple of all the donatives and preſents he found there, but threaten'd the prieſts ſeverely too in caſe of any concealment: nor would he receive any man whatſoever into the temple upon the account of religion, but ſhut the doors againſt them, without leaving ſo much as the leaſt appearance of divine worſhip there.

The temple was erected, and after that rifled and ſhut up.

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* Ninescore furlongs amounted to twenty two Engliſh miles and three quarters, and fifty ſix geometrical paces.

† Sixty cubits amounted to ſomething more than one hundred and nine Engliſh feet, that is thirty ſix yards and one foot.

It was now three hundred thirty and three years from the building of this temple to the ſhutting of it up.

CHAP. XXXI.

Jonathan, an enthuſiaſt weaver, draws a party after him. They are taken and brought priſoners to Catullus, only Jonathan ſhifts out of the way: but being afterwards taken he comes to a better underſtanding with Catullus. His maſter-piece was ſubornation and corruption. Three thouſand Jews put to death at a time. Jonathan ſets up for a falſe witneſs. Joſeph the author of this hiſtory is made a priſoner. Veſpaſian pronounces Joſeph innocent, and ſentences Jonathan to be whipt and burnt alive. Catullus ends his days in torments of body and mind not to be expreſſed.

The inſolence of the Sicarri. Jonathan a weaver and enthuſiaſt, puts himſelf in the head of a faction.

THE audacious inſolence of the Sicarii ſpread like a contagion every where about Cyrene. As for example: there was one Jonathan, a weaver, that made his eſcape thither. He was a kind of an enthuſiaſt, and a wicked man, that drew vaſt numbers of ſimple people after him into woods and deſarts, under a pretext of ſhewing them prodigies and viſions: and the impoſture paſs'd for current with the common ſort. But the ſtory coming to the ears of ſome eminent Jews at Cyrene, they preſently traced it out, and gave timely notice of it to Catullus the governor of the Pentapolitan Libya, how the buſineſs ſtood, and which way they march'd. The governor way-laid them with horſe and foot, and eaſily maſter'd them, for they were but ſo many unarm'd man: a great party of them were kill'd, and the reſt taken alive, and carried priſons to Catullus.

The whole party is routed, and ſent priſoners to Catullus: only Jonathan makes his eſcape, but being taken at laſt and carried to Catullus, he found a way to divert the ſtorm from himſelf.

JONATHAN the ring-leader of this wretched multitude made his eſcape; but after a long and a ſtrict ſearch, he was at laſt found out and taken, and ſo carry'd to Catullus; where he found out a way to divert the ſtorm from himſelf, and to furniſh the governor with an acceptable occaſion of turning it another way: which was, by bringing the wealthieſt Jews of the place into the plot, as the heads and promoters of the conſpiracy. Theſe accuſations, how falſe ſoever, were welcome to Catullus; who fell preſently to deſcant and amplify upon things with ſuch aggravations, that a war againſt the Jews was as good as declar'd already. And to make the villany yet more execrable, he had not only the faculty of believing againſt truth and reaſon; but inſtructed the very Sicarii themſelves in the art of calumny: inſomuch, that he expreſly directed the falſe witneſſes to accuſe one Alexander a Jew, by name, to whom he had a long time declar'd himſelf a profeſs'd enemy; and his wife Berenice was alſo enſnar'd upon the ſame evidence. Theſe were the firſt that ſuffer'd, and after them, a train of three thouſand more were put to death at once; whoſe only crime was, they they were men of wealth and credit. And this, he thought, he might do with the more ſafety, ſince their eſtates thereby became confiſcate to the empire.

His maſter-piece was ſubornation and corruption.

Three thouſand Jews put to death at a time, purely upon the ſcore of their wealth and credit.

Jonathan ſets up for a falſe witneſs.

AND then for fear of being detected by Jews of credit elſewhere, he carry'd the impoſture further yet, and dealt with Jonathan and ſome other priſoners, to lay a ſnare for ſome of the moſt eminent men they had, for honour and integrity, in Rome and Alexandria, and to exhibit new matter againſt them. Joſeph himſelf, the author of this hiſtory, was one of the number. Now Catullus coming to Rome, and bringing Jonathan and the reſt of the priſoners in chains along with him, he made no doubt but the ſcrutiny was all over, and the fact given for granted, as he had repreſented and concerted it. But the event of this contrivance did not anſwer his expectation; for Veſpaſian being a little ſuſpicious upon the main, reſolved upon a thorough examination of the matter; and finding upon ſtrict ſcrutiny the iniquity of the proceeding, he pronounced, at the inſtance of Titus, Joſeph and his companions innocent, and thereupon they were diſcharg'd: but at the ſame time, he ſentenced Jonathan to be whipt, and burnt alive; which was accordingly executed.

Joſeph the author of this hiſtory is a priſoner.

Veſpaſian ſuſpects foul-dealing, and upon examination pronounces Joſeph innocent; and ſentences Jonathan to be whipt, and burnt alive.

Catullus ended his days in tortures of body and mind, not to be expreſs'd.

As for Catullus, ſuch was the lenity of the two princes, that they proceeded no further againſt him at preſent: but, in a ſhort time after this, he was ſeiz'd with an incurable complication of diſeaſes; horrid gripes, and pains all over his body; and the anguiſh of his mind yet more inſupportable; torments of conſcience; ghaſtly apparitions and outcries, upon his being haunted with the ghoſts of thoſe he had murder'd; ſtarting out of his bed, and roaring out, as if he were upon the torture, or in the flames. His affliction, in fine, encreas'd upon him, till his guts putrify'd, rotted, and came out: this was his end, being effectually no other than a divine vengeance upon a wicked man.

WE are now come to the end of our hiſtory; wherein we have proceeded with all faith and candour, according to our promiſe, for the ſatisfaction of thoſe that deſire to be truly inform'd in the particulars of the war betwixt the Romans and the Jews. How I have acquitted myſelf in the manner of writing this relation, let the reader judge: but as to the ſincerity of it upon the whole, I do here declare to the world, that I have kept myſelf ſtrictly to the truth of things from one end of the book to the other.

A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

MACCABEES,

Concerning the

GOVERNING POWER of REASON.

By *FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.*

CHAP. I.

MY deſign in this diſcourſe being to ſhew, that reaſon is the perfection of wiſdom) as will appear, if it can be made out, that this, duly improv'd by ſtudy and religion, is maſter of the paſſions) it is very fit I exhort my readers, to apply themſelves to the attaining of wiſdom with all poſſible attention. For reaſon is a neceſſary preliminary to knowledge, and in giving the commendation of excelling in this, we evidently imply the character of excelling in the nobleſt and moſt comprehenſive of all virtues, which is that of prudence. The caſe will be the ſame with regard to the reſt, if reaſon may be ſhewn effectually to reſtrain and maſter thoſe vile affections of gluttony and exceſs, laſciviouſneſs and ſenſual appetite, which obſtruct and are oppoſite to temperance: and ſo again, to correct that malignity of nature, and all thoſe corrupt inclinations, which hinder the practice and love of juſtice: and after the ſame manner, laſtly, to ſubdue the paſſions of anger, fear, and grief, and whatever elſe emaſculates the mind, or is contrary to that generous and ſteddy temper of ſoul, which makes the fourth cardinal virtue, and is known by the name of Fortitude.

To all this it may perhaps be objected, that they who aſcribe to reaſon the dominion I am contending for, are eaſily confuted from common experience. For, were it thus ſuperior to the paſſions, it would have the ſame controuling ſovereignty over ignorance and forgetfulneſs; which yet it manifeſtly hath not. But this, I muſt needs ſay, is a ridiculous objection, and miſtakes the ſtate of the queſtion. For when we affirm reaſon to be maſter of the paſſions, we mean, ſuch defects of nature only as are oppoſite to juſtice, temperance, and fortitude; all which are of a diſtinct kind, and belong to the ſenſitive ſoul; but not ſuch as are defects peculiar to itſelf, and ſtick to the rational ſoul. Again, the nature of this ſovereignty is quite miſtaken by the objector; for by it we do not mean, that reaſon takes thoſe affections it governs clean away (as it muſt do, if ignorance and forgetfulneſs were the objects of its power) but only that it does not tamely yield to, nor ſuffer itſelf to be vanquiſh'd by them.

Now that it is in the power of reaſon to command and ſubdue the paſſions, I could by great variety of arguments demonſtrate; but ſhall at preſent chuſe to confine myſelf to that moſt popular and undeniable one, matter of fact: the examples, I would ſay, of perſons who have ſignaliz'd themſelves by courageouſly aſſerting, and dying in defence of truth and virtue; among which, none I think are more conſpicuous, none more deſervedly admir'd, than thoſe of our own country, Eleazar, and the ſeven brethren martyr'd with their mother. For all theſe deſpiſing the moſt exquiſite pains and tortures, and perſevering even unto death, have put it paſt a doubt, how abſolute a command reaſon hath over the paſſions. So that my preſent buſineſs ſhall be, to give theſe brave men, and that incomparable woman, the praiſes due to their immoveable conſtancy, and to congratulate the honours, which all ſucceeding ages muſt acknowledge to belong to their ſtedfaſt adherence to virtue and their duty. Theſe men, indeed, excited the admiration not only of all others that were indifferent and unbiaſs'd ſpectators, hearers, or readers of their ſufferings, but even of thoſe very enemies and moſt prejudic'd tormentors, who ſtood aſtoniſh'd at that courage and patience, which their own implacable malice exercis'd after ſo inhuman and barbarous a manner. They thus became the occaſions of releaſing their nation from oppreſſion, conquering the rage of a tyrant by their ſufferings, and becoming a ſacrifice of expiation for their country.

The method, then, which I intend to take, ſhall be, firſt, to ſay ſomething in general concerning the point in debate, and then ſpeak to this inſtance in particular; giving as is fit due glory to that all-wiſe God, who hath been pleaſed to leave us ſo pregnant and uncontroulable an evidence of this truth, in the perſons whoſe virtues I am now about to celebrate.

The queſtion to be reſolved is plainly this: Whether reaſon can controul and govern the paſſions? and in order to this reſolution, 'tis fit we explain what we mean by reaſon, what by paſſion, how many diſtinct ſpecies of paſſions there be, and whether this dominion of reaſon, which we aſſert, extend to all, or but ſome ſorts of paſſions. By reaſon then, I mean the intellectual faculty, improved and rightly guided by conſideration, and making a life of wiſdom its choice and chief concern. By wiſdom again I underſtand the knowledge of divine and human affairs, and the true cauſes and grounds of each; ſuch as we attain to by the diſcipline and inſtruction of the law: which teacheth us to embrace thoſe truths which relate to God with reverence, and thoſe regarding man, as things directed to, and uſeful for, the benefit of the world. Wiſdom again is commonly branched into, and allowed to conſiſt of, four principal virtues; to wit, prudence, juſtice, fortitude, and temperance. The nobleſt and moſt comprehenſive of theſe is prudence; and to this it is chiefly, that reaſon is beholden for the dominion it attains to over the paſſions.

Those paſſions again may be reduced to two ſo general heads, as ſhall include them all. Pleaſure, I mean, and pain: each of which acts upon the ſoul as its proper object. And each again hath ſeveral other affections coupled as it were in pairs to attend it, and diverſified by time and other circumſtances from its maſter-paſſion. Thus in the caſe of pleaſure, that which goes before it, is deſire; that which follows after after it, is joy: and ſo for pain too, fear goes before, and ſorrow comes behind it. But anger, I think, will not fall under any ſuch diſtinction, being rather a mixt paſſion, adminiſtring ſomewhat of pleaſure and pain both, to them who are ſenſible when it comes upon them, and nicely obſerve how they are affected with it. Under the head of pleaſure, again, there appears to be included a moſt vile and fruitful malignity, the moſt various and complicated of any paſſion whatſoever; ſo ſcandalous is its product, ſo manifold its forms: The mind is chiefly vitiated by it, when it appears in arrogance and avarice, envy and contention; and the body more immediately concerned, when it breaks out in gluttony and ſordidneſs; for pleaſure and pain grow out of the ſoul and body, like branches out of a common ſtock; and each of theſe branches have abundance of other ſubordinate affections, which ſprout out of them like little ſhoots and ſuckers. Now all theſe is the proper province of reaſon, like a ſkilful vine-dreſſer, to prune and purge, to correct and manage, and by all poſſible ways to tranſplant and ennoble, by ſweetning all the wild and ſouer kinds, and ſo cultivating and improving that ſubject matter of paſſions and habits, that even that which is by nature refuſe and vicious, may by art and management be made generous and good. For reaſon leads us on to, and advances virtue, by reſtraining and overpowering the vehemence of thoſe paſſions which carry us away into vice. And that this is not affirmed without ground, convince yourſelf what a mighty effect it hath in matters where the virtue of temperance is obſtructed. Now temperance is nothing elſe, but the maſtery obtained over a man's deſires: and this is attained by reaſon. Of theſe deſires ſome are more peculiarly concern'd with the ſoul, and others with the body; and of both theſe ſorts reaſon ſeems to have the command; for I cannot but conclude, that when our appetites ſtand very ſtrongly to ſuch fiſh, and fowl, and other delicious food, as are forbidden by our law, and we, notwithſtanding ſuch inclinations, do abſtain from them upon that very account, that we ought not to indulge the uſe of them, this is a very plain inſtance how high a hand reaſon carries over theſe paſſions, which thus does in the temperate man, not only ſuſpend, but wholly tame and turn into another courſe, the moſt eager deſires of the lower of theſe diviſions, and perfectly tie up all the motions of the body, that it ſhall not make any ſtrong effort or ſtruggle, in oppoſition to the word of command given by this governor above.

CHAP. II.

But this perhaps will not deſerve to be thought any great matter, in compariſon of thoſe moſt furious deſires of the ſoul which luſt and beauty kindle; Gen. xxxix. 12. and yet Joſeph hath got himſelf immortal renown for abſolutely quelling theſe, even when invited to gratify them, and urged by all the fire of youth to comply with ſuch invitation. Nor is even this allaying the fury of vehement purſuits after pleaſure, and abſtaining from the impure act, the uttermoſt which reaſon may or ought to do; for it is plain our very inclinations are under its juriſdiction. Otherwiſe the law would have been moſt abſurd in laying upon us a command ſo impracticable as that, “Thou Exod. xx. 17. ſhalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, or any thing that is thy neighbour's.”

Now it is plain, that when the law forbids us ſo much as to deſire at all, it much more ſtrongly implies, that reaſon is able to curb and conquer our deſires. And thus it is, not only in thoſe things which are oppoſite to the virtue of temperance, but that of juſtice alſo. For otherwiſe, what remedy could there be for reforming the gluttonous and greedy, the niggardly and ſordid man? but now, as ſoon as any man orders his converſation, according to the precepts of our law, though he be of never ſo covetous a diſpoſition, yet does he find himſelf obliged to lend to the poor without taking uſury for his money, and to remit the debt at the year of Jubilee; and though he be never ſo frugal, yet is he conſtrained by this law, neither to gather in the fruits of his field or vineyard in the ſabbatick year.

See Exod. xxii. 25. Lev. xxv.

Several other inſtances I could likewiſe produce, whereby it will appear, that reaſon governs our paſſions. For the law does in ſome caſes exerciſe dominion over the natural affection to our parents, forbidding us for their ſakes to betray the cauſe of truth and virtue; ſo does it over the tenderneſs to our wives, commanding us to puniſh them for the tranſgreſſion of their duty; ſo again over the love to our children, by ordering us to make them examples when they do amiſs; ſo laſtly over the kindneſs to our friends, by directing us to reprove their vices. And to confirm this truth yet more, and ſhew it practicable, reaſon, when acting by the law, does overcome our hatred to our enemies too; for it prohibits the cutting down their fruit-trees; it orders us to reſtore to our enemies the things which they have loſt, and to help their cattle when fallen and in diſtreſs.

Deut. xx. 19. Exod. xxiii. 4, 5. Lev. xix. 17.

Further yet, reaſon, it is evident, bears ſway over even the moſt violent paſſions, ſuch as ambition, vain-glory, and envy: for all theſe evil diſpoſitions the ſober and conſiderate mind ſubdues and drives away, as it does anger alſo, which, though the moſt ungovernable of all paſſions, is yet ſubject to reaſon. Were it not ſo, how could our wiſe anceſtor Jacob ſo ſeverely condemn that fact of his ſons, Simeon and Levi, when they, contrary to reaſon, did utterly deſtroy the whole race of the Sichemites? ſaying in abhorrence of their intemperate rage, “Curſed be their anger for it was fierce, and their wrath for it was cruel;” which words are plainly the voice of reaſon getting the better of reſentment.

Gen. xxxiv. 30. xlix 7.

In a word, when God created man, and endued him with a power of conſideration, and free choice, he did at the ſame time implant in his nature variety of paſſions and diſpoſitions, and ſet his intellectual mind in the throne, to exerciſe government over all the ſenſual appetites within. Which being done, he gave this law, as a rule whereby the man might exerciſe that government, and lead a life of temperance, juſtice, and goodneſs. What ground then can there be for that objection, which makes a doubt whether reaſon can maſter the paſſions, becauſe it does not appear, that it attains to an abſolute maſtery over forgetfulneſs and ignorance?

CHAP. III.

THIS, as I ſaid, is a very ridiculous exception; for reaſon does not appear to have an abſolute power over ſuch defects as belong to the intellectual ſoul; but ſuch as are ſenſitive and bodily. Nor is its power over theſe pretended to be ſuch, as ſhould extirpate and quite take away our deſires; but only ſuch as preſerves men from being enſlaved to their deſires. No man can utterly diveſt himſelf of the paſſion of anger; but he may by reaſon find remedies againſt it, and prevent his being borne down by the violence of it.

We are not to expect that reaſon ſhould ſet us clear from all evil diſpoſitions; but it will ſuccour us in our conflicts with, and enable us to ſtand our ground againſt, ſuch diſpoſitions: for the proper office of reaſon is not to change, but to aſſiſt nature; not to be a deſtroyer but an auxiliary.

This matter may receive ſome illuſtration from the example of David. We read, that he, after having engaged a whole day with an army of Philiſtines, and made a great ſlaughter of them, did in the evening retire into the royal tent, fatigued and ſpent, where all his officers and chieftains were encamped round about him. The reſt of the company refreſhed themſelves contentedly; but the king, being exceeding thirſty, could not ſatisfy his appetite with any water drawn out of thoſe ſprings of which they had plenty at hand, but an inconſiderate deſire ſeized him to drink of the water fetched from the enemies gariſon. Hereupon ſome of the king's mighty men, being deeply concerned to ſatisfy the king's longing, armed themſelves, took a pitcher, broke thro' the enemies trenches, paſs'd their guards, ſought out the well of Bethlehem, and brought from thence to the king the water which he ſo vehemently long'd for. But he, though parched with thirſt and eager deſire, recollected how dangerous and ſinful a thing it would be, to gratify his appetite at the hazard of his ſervants lives; and thought the drinking that water would be in effect to drink their blood; and therefore, oppoſing his reaſon to his inclination, he poured it out ſolemnly to the Lord. Thus a mind ſtrictly temperate and wiſe, is able to overcome the ſtrongeſt paſſions, to quench the burnings of the moſt furious deſires, to contend with the moſt exquiſite bodily pains, and vanquiſh all the force of paſſion, by a ſteddy principle of virtue and goodneſs. And now I think it ſeaſonable to confirm this argument by demonſtrative proofs of this power of reaſon exemplified by practice; of which our fathers have given undeniable inſtances: for, after that by their ſtrict obſervance of the law, and ſingular good lives, they had won upon the hearts of foreign princes, and prevailed upon Seleucus Nicanor the king of Aſia, ſo far, that he ſet apart a portion of his publick revenues to defray the expence of the ſacrifices, and did highly approve their conſtitution, it happened, that, after this profound tranquillity, ſome of them were brought under various and ſevere trials, by the ill offices of wicked men, who diſturbed the publick peace in ſuch manner as the following chapter ſhall relate.

2. Sam. xxiii. 15—18.

2 Mac. iii. 1, 2, 3.

CHAP. IV.

ONE Simon, who had a pique at Onias, who was then inveſted with the office of high prieſt, and ſo conſtituted for life, after having tried in vain, and to the great prejudice of our nation, to blacken this excellently good man with all manner of calumnies, finding himſelf not able to leſſen him in the affections and eſteem of his own people, fled to a foreign court, with wicked intent to betray his country. This wicked wretch applying himſelf to Apollonius, who was then governor of Syria and Phenicia, told him, that out of his great zeal for the king his maſter, he was come to make a diſcovery to him, which might be of conſiderable advantage to his majeſty's affairs. It was, that in the treaſury at Jeruſalem there lay concealed immenſe ſums of money, not appropriated to the temple, or employed to any publick uſe, but wealth hoarded up by private men, and ſo of right belonging to Seleucus. Apollonius, having received this account, commended Simon's zeal for the king's ſervice, waited upon Seleucus, and imparted to him the ſecret. Upon this information he ſoon obtained a commiſſion from the king, and ſtraight marched into our country, bringing along with him the curſed traytor Simon, and a very powerful army.

THE cauſe of this expedition he declared to be, that he might execute * the king's command, who had ordered him to ſeize upon all the money reſerved in the publick treaſury for the uſe of private men. The nation taking an alarm, and complaining of it, as a horrible injuſtice, to take away the treaſure which the owners had for greater ſecurity depoſited in the temple, did all they could to divert him from his purpoſe. But Apollonius with menaces and force made up to the temple. There might you ſee a multitude of prieſts, women, and children, all proſtrating themſelves before the holy place, earneſtly begging God that he would defend his own temple from profanation and contempt.

BUT Apollonius ſtill perſiſting, and entring the place with a body of armed men, as he was about to ſeize upon the treaſury, behold angels from heaven ſuddenly appeared, mounted on horſes, clad in ſhining armour, and ſtruck the men immediately with fear and trembling. As for Apollonius himſelf, he fell down to the ground in the court of the Gentiles, half dead, ſtretching out his hands to heaven, and ſupplicating the Hebrews with many tears, that they would pray for him, that he might not be deſtroyed by that hoſt from heaven. The high-prieſt Onias, moved with compaſſion, and fearing beſides leſt Seleucus the king ſhould impute the death of Apollonius to the treachery and contrivance of men, granted his requeſt, and prayed to God for him. So this man, being miraculouſly ſaved, returned back to the king, and made a faithful relation of all that had befallen him.

BUT after the death of Seleucus the king, his ſon † Antiochus, a man of a proud ſpirit and ſavage diſpoſition, ſucceeded in the throne. This man, having deprived Onias of the prieſthood, put into that office his brother Jaſon, upon conſideration of a yearly tribute of three ‡ thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty talents, which he had covenanted to pay him; therefore the king conſtituted him ſuperintendant, not in eccleſiaſticals only as high-prieſt, but in civil affairs alſo. He then began to put our nation under ſevere trials, and, by introducing of new cuſtoms contrary to the law, ſeduced
2 Mac. iv. them to foreign uſages and all manner of wickedneſs. He did not only inſtitute Grecian games in the metropolis of our nation, but drew off the prieſts from the ſervice of the temple. With which impiety the juſtice of God being provoked, ſtirred up Antiochus to make war upon them. For, while he was engaged in an expedition againſt Ptolemy king
2 Mac. v. of Egypt, being informed, that ſome of the inhabitants of Jeruſalem had expreſſed great joy at a report of his being dead, he preſently turned his forces that way, and made miſerable havock of them; publiſhing withal a decree, that all they ſhould be put to death, who perſevered in the cuſtoms of their own country, and lived according to the law
2 Mac. vi. of Moſes; and finding, that this decree had not its intended effect, but that all his ſevereſt threatenings and puniſhments were ſo far deſpiſed, as that even the women, who continued to circumciſe their children, were caſt down headlong from the walls of the city, and ſtill perſiſted in ſo doing, notwithſtanding they knew what would follow; perceiving, I ſay, how little regard the people paid to his impious decrees, he came in perſon, and by torments compelled thoſe that were brought before him, to eat of meats forbidden and unclean by the law, and ſo ſolemnly to abjure the Jewiſh religion in his preſence.

CHAP. V.

IT happened about this time, that Antiochus the tyrant, ſeating himſelf upon an eminent place, and ſurrounded with his counſellors and rulers, and a ſtrong body of armed men, commanded many of the Hebrews to be brought by force before him, and there to be compelled to eat of ſwine's fleſh, and meats offered to idols: which if any refuſed to pollute themſelves with, they were immediately put to the torture and ſlain before him. When many had been thus barbarouſly treated, at length one Eleazar, a principal man of the city, of the prieſts family, a lawyer by profeſſion, far advanced in years, known and well eſteemed by many of Antiochus's ſervants by reaſon of his age and character, was brought before him. Antiochus, beholding the man, ſpoke to him in the following manner: “Before I proceed to uſe any ſeverity, let me adviſe thee, reverend old man, to preſerve thy life by ſubmitting to eat of ſwine's fleſh; for I pay great reſpect to thy age and gray hairs, and am ſurprized, that the experience of ſo many years ſhould not have made thee wiſer, than ſtill to perſevere in the Jewiſh ſuperſtition. It ſeems to me a moſt unreaſonable thing for men to abridge themſelves of any innocent pleaſures, and great injuſtice to themſelves and ingratitude to nature, to refuſe any of thoſe enjoyments

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* This expedition and all that followed upon it is expreſly attributed to Heliodorus. 2 Mac. iii.

† Seleucus Nicanor was ſucceeded by Antiochus Soter, but Seleucus Philopator by Antiochus Epiphanes.

‡ Three thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty talents weighed four hundred twenty ſeven thouſand three hundred and fifty eight pounds, and nine ounces; and their value in ſilver amounted to one million three hundred fifty two thouſand four hundred and ſix pounds, and five ſhillings; and in gold to twenty millions, nine hundred and thirty eight thouſand, and five hundred pounds, Engliſh money.

which her bounty hath provided for us. Why ſhould'ſt thou then expreſs ſuch abhorrence of that moſt delicious of all meats, which ſhe ſeems, in the fleſh of ſwine, to have deſigned as our beſt entertainment, and a ſingular favour? This may in others ſeem ſomewhat more excuſable, but in you, who are a perſon of better judgment, it would be a moſt unaccountable folly, to be prejudiced by a falſe and empty notion of religion, and for an idle fancy to contemn my authority, and draw a needleſs puniſhment upon your own head. Will not thou then ſuffer thy eyes to be opened, and be awakened out of this dream of thy peculiar perſuaſion, and ſet thyſelf free from the bondage of ſo moroſe and ſingular a notion?

“Will this friendly expoſtulation prevail for no deference to be paid my kindneſs? and the compaſſion I have for thy age, move thee to no compaſſion upon thyſelf? Methinks it ſhould; for though what I have ſaid does not convince thee of the vanity of thy opinion in this point, yet you muſt needs allow, that if there be a power above, which does, as you ſuppoſe, require the obſervance of this religion, that power hath ſo much goodneſs, as to pardon the tranſgreſſion of his laws, when this is not the offender's own act and choice, but the effect of force and pure conſtraint.”

ELEAZAR having heard theſe words, begged of the king liberty to ſpeak for himſelf: which being granted, he did in the preſence of all the aſſembly, deliver himſelf to this effect. “Be pleaſed to underſtand, royal ſir, that we, who are fully convinced, that it is our duty, in all things to behave ourſelves according to the law given us by God, are perfectly perſuaded, that no neceſſity can more oblige us, no force be ſtronger upon us, than that by which we ſtand bound to obey his law; and for this reaſon we think our acting contrary to it, cannot be diſpenſed with on any terms whatſoever. Nay, though our law were not, as you are pleaſed to ſuggeſt, really divine, yet, ſir, I muſt crave leave to ſay, that ſo long as we continue to believe it divine, that very perſuaſion ought to be an effectual reſtraint upon us, from violating, or thinking meanly of, any religious ordinances eſtabliſhed by it. Do not therefore imagine, ſir, if we ſhould ſubmit to defile ourſelves by unclean meats, that this would be reckoned a ſmall and pardonable fault. For the preſumption of the offender is the ſame, and the authority of the law equally inſulted, be the inſtance in which a man tranſgreſſes greater or leſs. The fact itſelf makes no difference in point of guilt. Next you were pleaſed, ſir, to ſpeak contemptuouſly of our religion, as an inſtitution unbecoming men of reaſon, and philoſophy. But I muſt be bold to ſay, it is the beſt and moſt conſummate philoſophy; for it teaches us temperance, the conqueſt of our paſſions and deſires, and ſets us above all our pleaſures. It trains us up in the exerciſe of fortitude, and commands us to undergo all manner of pain willingly and chearfully. It teaches us the moſt exact juſtice, and orders us to confine our worſhip and abſolute reverence, to the one true God, where alone they are of right due.

“Upon this account we dare not eat things prohibited and unclean; for we are fully perſuaded, that God who created our nature, had due regard to it; that the very inſtitution of this law was ſo far from a hardſhip, as in itſelf to be an act of goodneſs and mercy; and that the things forbidden are hurtful to our ſouls; whereas thoſe allowed for food, are uſeful and convenient for us. It is therefore the very extremity of tyranny, to force us, not only to ſin againſt our law, but to eat that which is therefore not allowed us, becauſe of a quality not fit to be eaten. But this, ſir, is a ſort of triumph which I ſhall never give you over me. Nor muſt I falſify the ſolemn oaths, and holy engagements, whereby our anceſtors have bound themſelves and their poſterity to the faithful obſervance of this law; not though you ſhould command my eyes to be bored out, and my bowels to be burnt. No, ſir, old age hath not ſo impaired my mind, or enfeebled my body, but that when religion and duty call me to it, my reaſon can yet approve itſelf youthful and vigorous. If this reply provoke you, prepare your inſtruments of torture, and heat your furnace hotter ſtill; all that ſhall not move me to ſpare my old age, ſo as for the ſaving my perſon, to violate the law of my country, and my God. No, holy law to which I owe my inſtruction, I will never deſert ſo excellent a maſter; no, thou deareſt of all virtues, temperance, by which we preſerve our native ſovereignty over our appetites, I will never abjure thee; no, thou beſt of all philoſophy, I will never diſgrace thee; no, holy order of prieſthood, and ſtudy of the law, I will neither forego, nor be a blemiſh to you. My anceſtors ſhall find me come to you pure and conſtant, a ſoul as free from ſuch a ſtain, as undaunted under all manner of torments even unto death.”

CHAP. VI.

WHEN he had made this noble reply to the tyrant's treacherous exhortations, the ſoldiers that ſtood by, handled him very roughly, and dragged him in rage to the place of execution. There firſt of all they ſtripp'd off his clothes; then having pinioned him, they ſcourged him with whips, on both ſides, till they had perfectly flay'd him; and an officer on each ſide crying at every ſtroke, obey the king's commandment. But the brave Eleazar was no more moved by their ſcourgings, than if all he endured had been but a dream. The good old man ſtood with his eyes lift up to heaven, his fleſh torn off from his ſides, to the very bone, the blood ſtreaming down from his body to the ground, till at laſt, being no longer able to bear up againſt ſuch wounds and pains, and loſs of blood, he fell down upon the pavement: but this was an infirmity confined to his body, for ſtill his mind was as erect, as far from being bent as ever. Hereupon one of the mercileſs ſoldiers ſtamped upon his belly, and ſpurned his ſides and ſtomach, to raiſe him up again. Still he ſuſtained their barbarous inſolence, deſpiſed the force they put upon him, and bore his pains with ſo much magnanimity, that even he who lay under the torment, vanquiſh'd the hard-hearted wretches that inflicted it; and moved their admiration by ſo reſolute and noble a ſoul, in a body ſo aged and infirm.

Some of theſe therefore, partly in mere pity to his years, and partly upon the account of former acquaintance with him, though they were ſervants to the king drew near and ſaid, "Why do you thus, for no manner of reaſon, expoſe yourſelf to all theſe ſufferings? "Permit us, Eleazar, to ſet before you, ſome "lawful and clean meats, and do you make as "though you did eat ſwines fleſh according to "the king's command; ſo ſhall you ſave your "life, and yet commit no wickedneſs." But Eleazar anſwered, "Far be it from us, who "are children of Abraham, to be guilty of "ſuch cowardice and wicked ſubtilty, by ſo "much as ſeeming to do an act that does not "become us. How abſurd would it be for "me who have led a life of ſincerity and truth "hitherto, and preſerved my reputation free "from blemiſh, by a ſtrict obſervation of the "law, to change my courſe now in extreme "old age, and ſet an ill example to others? "to purchaſe a little remainder of life at the "expence of foul diſſimulation, and live that "little while a ſcorn and laughing-ſtock to all "the world, for my fear and baſe compliance?" When they perceived him thus reſolute and inflexible, and that their pity could have no manner of influence upon him, they changed their diſpoſition, and brought him to the fire. There they applied new inſtruments of torture, threw him upon the fuel, and as he burnt, poured ſcalding and ſtinking liquors up his noſtrils. Whilſt in the mean while, his body was burnt to the very bone, and he ready to expire, lifting up his eyes to heaven, he ſaid, "Thou ſeeſt, my God, the miſeries I endure, "and that I chaſe to die by fire and torment, "for the ſake of thy law, when it was in my "power to preſerve my life by tranſgreſſing "it: be thou therefore gracious, O Lord, to "thy own people, and let the vengeance exe-"cuted on me, ſuffice for what they have de-"ſerved; make thou my blood a purification "for them, and accept my life inſtead of their "lives." And with theſe words the holy man gave up the ghoſt.

This example ſure will put it paſt diſpute, that reaſon improved by religion, is maſter of men's paſſions; for if the paſſions were ſuperior to reaſon, it is to them that the praiſe of this noble teſtimony to truth and conſtant virtue ought to be aſcribed. But ſince this inſtance makes it plain, that the conflict lay between reaſon and the paſſions, and that the former was victorious, we cannot without great wrong deny, that reaſon is the governing principle in every man. And ſure it would argue a very perverſe obſtinacy to pretend the contrary, after ſo full a demonſtration, not only of bodily pains, but likewiſe of pleaſures too, reſiſted, and vanquiſhed, as hath been produced; ſince it is evident the tendency of our paſſions, is conſtantly no other, than to indulge pleaſure, and to decline pain.

CHAP. VII.

For in the caſe of this reverend father Eleazar, we may imagine duty, and a good conſcience to be like a ſhip toſt in a tempeſtuous ſea of paſſions, while reaſon, like a wiſe and good pilot, ſate ſteering at the helm; the man blown hard and beaten about with a ſtorm of menaces and barbarous uſage, driven down and almoſt ſunk by the ſwelling ſurges of racks and fires, but ſtill maintaining his poſt, and not letting the rudder go, till he had brought his veſſel into the haven of a bleſſed immortality. Never did beſieged city make ſuch a defence againſt the ſtratagems and furious aſſaults of the enemy that attacked it, as this holy perſon, when defending his ſoul againſt the attacks of ſtripes, and tortures, and death, and defeating all that laid ſiege to him by reaſon, engaged in the cauſe of religion. The good father fixt his mind like a promontory in the waters, which ſtood unſhaken, and broke the waves of paſſion when beating moſt furiouſly againſt it.

O Prieſt moſt worthy of that holy function, who didſt refuſe to defile thy conſecrated mouth, and wouldſt not ſuffer that belly which was a veſſel of God, and always fed with hallowed ſacrifices, to receive ſo impure a mixture, as meats, unclean by law, and offered to falſe Gods! O preacher of the law, and maſter of that beſt philoſophy, which God's own word hath taught us! O noble pattern ſet to all that ſacrifice with their own blood, and ſtand up in vindication of the law, defending it againſt the inſults of paſſion, with generous ſweat and toilſome conflict! Thou, holy father, haſt brought glory to our excellent conſtitution by thy ſufferings and patience, and convinced the world, what mighty efficacy the philoſophy which came down from heaven hath upon minds well reſolved not to reproach, but to reflect honour back upon their holy profeſſion! O wonderful old age ſtronger than torture! O zeal hotter than fire! O thou moſt glorious of all conquerors, who thus haſt led thy paſſions in triumph! As heretofore our father Aaron, armed with a cenſer, ran into the midſt of the people, and vanquiſhed the deſtroying angel who conſumed our anceſtors by fire from the Lord; ſo did Eleazar, deſcended from the ſame Aaron, hold faſt the dictates of his mind, and conquer in the midſt of thoſe flames that devoured his body round about. And, which is moſt aſtoniſhing, when age and infirmities had enervated his outward man, his inward exerted a moſt youthful and invincible vigour. O happy old age! O venerable grey hairs! O life of integrity and ſanctity unqueſtionable, when conſummated and atteſted by the ſeal of ſuch a death!

Num. xvi. 46.

What fuller evidence can be deſired of the ſway reaſon bears above the paſſions, than a man in years, deprived of his natural ſtrength, more apt to fear, leſs able to encounter ſevere trials, enduring ſo much with ſuch undaunted courage? But leſt the objector ſhould have it to ſay, that this in age is leſs to be wonder'd at, becauſe as ſtrength and courage, ſo the paſſions and love of life too, may then be ſuppoſed to be conſiderably abated; I ſhall proceed to ſhew that even young men, whoſe reaſon has been well fixed upon true principles, have undergone, and overcome, tortures yet ſharper and more amazing than theſe.

CHAP. VIII.

After the tyrant had made this experiment to his loſs, and found himſelf and all his barbarous ſtratagems out-done by one poor old man, enraged at this defeat, he gave orders to bring ſome others of the Hebrew captives before him; promiſing to releaſe them immediately, upon condition they conſented to eat of unclean meats; but in caſe of refuſal, threatning them with greater cruelties, than any he had yet inflicted.

In purſuance of this order, there were brought before him ſeven brethren with their antient mother. The men were beautiful and well-ſhaped, ſo charming in their perſons and behaviour, that the tyrant, fierce as he was, could not forbid himſelf being taken with them. And therefore after viewing them with a ſenſible delight, he ſmil'd upon them, and, commanding that they ſhould draw near to his throne, he accoſted them as follows:

“Young men, I own myſelf to be a great admirer of your beauty and comelineſs, and have upon that account kind intentions towards you: nor can I but pay a more than ordinary reſpect to your family, which hath the unuſal bleſſing of ſo many ſuch brothers as you. To adviſe therefore, that you would not be guilty of the ſame mad and moſt abſurd zeal, with that poor old bigot, whom you ſaw periſh in the midſt of agonies and tortures, is a kindneſs far below what I deſign for you. No, I invite you to comply with me, with an aſſurance of my particular friendſhip. For I have it in my power to oblige and advance them that obey me, in as eminent a manner, as I have (you ſee) to puniſh thoſe that ſtand it out againſt my commands. Take my word then, you ſhall not fail of preferments, but have places of honour, and profit, and great truſt in my affairs, provided you will renounce your country's cuſtoms, and be content to live after the Greek manner, laying aſide the fooliſh diſtinction of meats, and indulging thoſe appetites and pleaſures freely, in which youth, never fond of reſtraint, muſt needs find a delight now denied you by the tyranny of your own ſuperſtition. Conſider too, that if ſuch advantagious offers be rejected, you muſt expect that your obſtinacy will be the more provoking, and I ſhall be obliged to make every one of you examples, by a death as full of pain and horror, as the anger of an incenſed king can inflict. Be perſuaded to pity your own ſelves, when I, a ſtranger, and an enemy, have ſet you an example of pity. Throw not laviſhly away ſo much youth and beauty, which I am very loth ſhould periſh; but periſh it muſt, unleſs you will ſave it; and for that there is but one way. Therefore conſider well; methinks you ſhould conſider, and not reſolve too raſhly, when I aſſure you, that in caſe of diſobedience, you have nothing to expect but racks, and fires, and death.”

Having thus ſpoken, he order'd the inſtruments of torture to be brought; that by producing theſe he might work more ſtrongly upon their fear, than by words and menaces, and thereby frighten them into a compliance with eating forbidden meats. When the ſoldiers had ſet before them wheels, pullies, ſcrews, racks, winches, wedges, iron gantlets, boots, caldrons, frying-pans, bellows, combuſtible matter, and other ſuch like engines of horror and execution, the tyrant, taking the advantage of the impreſſion he ſuppoſed theſe ſpectacles would make, applied himſelf to them once more to this effect: “Young men, be wiſe in time, and dread the weight of an angry king's hand; your compliance is no longer now a wilful offence, and you need not doubt, but the juſtice of that Being you worſhip, will conſider the hardſhip of your caſe, and allow for the conſtraint you lie under.” But neither could his treacherous allurements flatter them, nor the ſight of theſe diſmal inſtruments of vengeance affright them out of their duty. They were ſo far from yielding through fear, that their reſolution grew ſtronger, and by the power of reaſon they triumphed over his barbarity; for what can we ſuppoſe would have been the meaſures taken upon this occaſion, had there been but any one perſon timorous, or inordinately fond of life in that number? Would not ſuch a one preſently have addreſs'd himſelf to the reſt in a reply like this? What ſtupid and fool-hardy wretches are we, thus to continue deaf to the invitations and kind advice of a king, who calls us to gain and promotion upon our obedience? Why ſhould we ſupport ourſelves with vain imaginations, and perſiſt in a fatal obſtinacy which can get us nothing but death? Shall we be ſo inſenſible as to have no regard to theſe dreadful engines of cruelty? None to the menaces of an unrelenting tyrant, brutiſh enough to put in execution all that he hath threatened? Shall we not rather abandon this empty point of honour, and that falſe pride of conſtancy that is certain to prove our deſtruction? Sure it can be no crime, to have ſome reſpect to our youth, which may ſtill ſee many happy years; ſome pity to our poor aged mother, whoſe grey hairs muſt be brought down with unſpeakable ſorrow to the grave, to ſee ſo many ſons cut off at once, and herſelf made childleſs in an inſtant by our diſobedience. What the king ſays is very rational, that God is too juſt and good not to make allowance for the hard circumſtances we lie under: why ſhould we then throw ourſelves out of life, at a time when we are beſt fitted to taſte the ſweets of living? Why hurry ourſelves headlong out of a world where every thing conſpires to delight and entertain us moſt agreeably? Let us not ſtrive any longer with our fate; nor buy applauſe ſo dear as at the expence of racks and death. The law itſelf is not ſo ſevere as to condemn for involuntary offences; and the more juſt our fears are, the leſs there is of will in the compliance. What pretence can we have then for this ſelfiſhneſs? Or why ſhould we be ſo fond of a miſtaken courage, which is indeed no better than deſpair and obſtinacy, when nothing but death is before us, if we ſtand out, and life and ſecurity, plenty and pleaſure, are as ſurely ours, if we ſubmit?

CHAP. IX.

BUT theſe brave youths, though then in ſight of death, and tortures worſe than death, let no ſuch words fall, had no ſuch diſhonourable thoughts; the reaſon is, becauſe they had attained ſuch maſtery over their paſſions, and were above terror and pain. So far above them, that as ſoon as the tyrant had admoniſhed them, (as you have heard) to eat of his forbidden meats, they all with one voice, as if all had been animated with one and the ſame generous ſoul, made him the following reply.

"To what purpoſe, O king, is this delay? If with deſign to know our final reſolution, be aſſured, we are ready to encounter death in its moſt frightful ſhape, rather than tranſgreſs the laws of our fathers. For, beſides the reverence due to the examples of our anceſtors upon other accounts, this is what our obedience to the law, and the precepts of Moſes, require from us. Do not then attempt any more to perſuade us to apoſtacy; do not put on a counterfeit pity for them who know you hate them; even death itſelf is more ſupportable, than ſuch an inſulting, diſſembling compaſſion, as would ſave our lives with the loſs of our innocence. You think to terrify us by threatnings of death and torture, notwithſtanding the ſame experiment made upon the old man, hath ſo lately taught you, how ineffectual all ſuch methods are upon the ſervants of the true God; and if the old men of our nation endure ſo couragiouſly ſuch exquiſite pains for their religion, is is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the young ones will ſuffer the reproach of coming behind them in conſtancy and patience? As we have been educated under his inſtructions, ſo we ſhall conquer after his example. Try us therefore, for if it be in your power to deſtroy our ſouls, when we ſuffer in the cauſe of God and religion. No ſir, this is impoſſible, your cruelty cannot hurt us; for all the effect our pains can have will be to ſecure us the glorious rewards due to unſhaken patience and injured virtue. But upon you the conſequence will be very different and dreadful, for by the murder of ſo many innocent men, you arm the divine vengeance againſt yourſelf, and for the temporal which you inflict, will become obnoxious to everlaſting torments."

THIS anſwer ſo enraged the tyrant, that he reſolved to proceed againſt them, not only as diſobedient, but unthankful men; and therefore gave the word, that the executioners ſhould bring the eldeſt to the torture; which they immediately did, binding his hands, ſtripping off his clothes, and faſtening his arms in a poſture for receiving the ſcourge. But finding that they wearied themſelves in vain, and that all their ſtripes were to no manner of purpoſe, they clapp'd him upon the wheel. The noble youth lying extended here, with his bones broken, and every limb of his body out of joint, reproached his tormentor thus: "O monſter of wickedneſs, enemy of God and juſtice, and abandon'd to cruelty and rage, thou doſt not treat me thus inhumanly for murder or villany, or for any breach of divine or human laws, but purely for my zeal to God, and his holy ordinances." The ſoldiers hereupon exhorted him to conſent, and eat of the king's meat, that he might deliver himſelf from any farther ſufferings. But he returned; "No; you miſtake in ſuppoſing your wheel to have gotten the better of me; no, with the cruelleſt inſtruments of barbarity you cannot ſtrangle my mind, nor diſlocate my reaſon; cut this body piecemeal, burn my fleſh in the fire, and ſtretch my yielding limbs till they crack and fly aſunder; the exquiſite malice of your tortures ſhall convince you, by this trial made upon my perſon, that it is the peculiar glory of the ſons of the Hebrew nation, to be invincibly firm in their ſufferings for virtue and a good conſcience." Then they put fire under him, and, drawing the pullies ſtreighter, turned his body thus miſerably extended to the flames. Inſomuch that all the wheel was beſmeared with blood, the coals underneath were put out by his bowels dripping into them, and all the ſpokes and pins of the engine were cover'd with clotted blood, and pieces of fleſh torn off from the body, till nothing was left of human form; but a ſkeleton of broken bones.

STILL this brave youth and true ſon of faithful Abraham, was never heard to utter one complaint or groan; but ſuſtained the rack with ſuch magnanimity, as if the fire had only ſerved to refine him into a creature immortal and impaſſable. At laſt he cried out, "Be ſure, my brethren, that you follow this pattern; do not deſert me in this noble conflict, nor diſclaim that relation of generous conſtancy, by which we are allied in ſoul, more nearly than in blood. When you engage in defence of religion, it is an holy and a glorious warfare; and never doubt but that the tender providence of that father above, juſt and gracious, whom we worſhip, will not only reward us, but be propitious to our whole nation, and certainly humble this haughty bloody tyrant, with puniſhments as uncommon and amazing as his own pride and cruelty." When the pious youth had uttered theſe words, he gave up the ghoſt.

WHILE the ſpectators ſtood aſtoniſh'd at this undaunted courage, the guards advanced with the ſecond brother. Him they bound faſt to the pully, and drew on the iron gantlets with ſharp nails: then enquiring whether he would accept the conditions of eſcape, and eat before they began the torture, and finding by his anſwer, that he was in the ſame noble reſolution with his brother, the furious wild beaſts fix'd their iron gantlets into his neck, and drew off all the fleſh from his muſcles, quite up to the chin, and flay'd off all the hair and ſkin of his beard, face and head. But he bearing this terrible pain with great temper, ſaid, "How welcome is death in any ſhape, when a man ſuffers for truth and religion? Art thou not ſenſible, thou brutiſh tyrant, that thou art now thy own tormentor more than mine? The indignation thou conceiveſt for having thy wicked deſigns defeated, and all thy barbarity vanquiſh'd by my conſtancy in a good cauſe, frets and gnaws thy ſoul more than all theſe pains do me. For the pleaſures of virtue and the comforts of a clear conſcience, ſoften my ſufferings and ſupport my ſpirits. But thou art rack'd indeed, with all the cutting apprehenſions of a guilty mind. What I now ſay thy own breaſt ſtrongly ſuggeſts to thee, that ſo wicked a wretch as thyſelf cannot poſſibly eſcape the terrible vengeance of a juſt and angry God."

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

WHEN this man too had undergone a death ſo much to his honour, the third was brought, and preſs'd hard with arguments and intreaties from ſeveral hands, that he would eat and live. To which he anſwer'd with great vehemence, “You ſeem not to know how nearly I am related to thoſe that have died here before me: alas, the ſame father and mother brought us into the world, and the ſame maſters form'd our minds, and we always acted upon the ſame principles: and ſhall I then in this laſt ſcene of life renounce the honour of that ſtrict alliance, to them, whom I have never yet given occaſion to be aſham'd of calling me brother?” This anſwer, deliver'd with ſuch an air of reſolution and firmneſs, enrag'd the executioners; who, to expreſs their malice and reſentments, clapp'd his hands and feet preſently into the ſcrews; and with a violent wrench put out all the joints of his fingers and his toes at once; this done, they ſtill continued to draw the engine yet higher, till they had twiſted his arms and legs and ſhoulder-bones out of their ſockets; and finding him ſurvive all theſe diſtortions, dragg'd off his ſkin at the ends of his fingers, and flay'd him from the very crown of the head. Not content to have mangled his body after this mercileſs manner, they dragg'd him to the wheel, where being yet more diſtended upon the pins and ſcrews, he ſaw his ſeveral parts burſt aſunder, his fleſh drop off by piece-meal, and his bowels and blood guſh out. When he was at the point of death he cry'd, “O thou moſt wicked and inhuman of all tyrants, we ſuffer thus for the religion and law of a God who is able to reward us; but thou ſhalt ſuffer pains much more inſupportable, much more inexpreſſible, for thy impiety and barbarous cruelty.”

AFTER this perſon had endured as became a brother of that renowned family, the fourth was hauled to execution; but perſuaded firſt, “That he would bethink himſelf, and be wiſer than thoſe that had gone before him.” His anſwer was, “You cannot heat your fires ſo much hotter for me, as to make me a coward after ſo noble patterns of martyrdom already before my eyes; nor will I ſtain the honour of my blood. Try me, thou tyrant, and let all thy tortures prove, whether I be not a branch of the ſame ſtock, and animated with the very ſame ſoul, with thoſe whoſe blood thy impious hands have ſpilt and torn them limb from limb; but all in vain, with all the horror and pain that malice and deviliſh rage could contrive.” The ſavage and moſt profligate Antiochus, incens'd at this, commanded immediately to cut out his tongue. Whereupon he proceeded: “Ah, how impertinent a cruelty is this! 'Tis to great purpoſe that you take away the organ of ſpeech, from one who truſts in a God that ſeeth the heart, and hears the inward motions of them that are ſilent. Here, it is ready for your inſtruments, looſe to your hand; but know, when you have cut it out, you cannot do the ſame execution upon my reaſon, nor make my mind dumb. O that I could be ſo happy to loſe my life by inches, and glorify God with every member and joint of my body, by having them maim'd, and lopp'd off one by one for his cauſe and glory. But as for thee, guilt and vengeance will quickly overtake thee, who cutteſt out theſe inoffenſive tongues, that are employ'd in making melody and ſinging praiſes to the God who form'd their ſpeech.”

CHAP. XI.

NO ſooner had this brother exhauſted with pain, and miſerably mangled, finiſhed his courſe, but the fifth ſprung forward of his own accord, crying out: “To ſhew thee, tyrant, what impreſſions theſe tortures make upon me; ſee here I come, not content to wait thy tedious orders, offering myſelf to the trial, and deſirous to loſe no time in ſo noble an exerciſe of virtue. The ſooner thou diſpatcheſt me, the ſooner ſhall my bliſs, and thy iniquities be full; and I ſhall help to make thee ripe for vengeance, by adding one more to the number of them whoſe innocent blood thou haſt ſhed. Tell me, thou devourer of mankind, and enemy of all goodneſs, what could provoke, what poſſeſs thee to deſtroy our race after this mercileſs inſulting manner? Is it become a capital crime for men to devote themſelves to the ſervice of the great creator of the world, and make a conſcience of governing their actions, by an excellent law of his preſcribing? No ſure, this conduct ought not to expoſe men to tortures, but entitle them to rewards and honours.” While theſe words were yet in his mouth, the ſoldiers dragg'd him down, and bound him to the pullies; to which, when they had ſcrew'd in his knees, they clapt on iron footlocks; and drawing the ſcrews, diſlocated his loins, ſo that he lapp'd round the wheel like a ſnake; and being disjointed all over, had his bones broken in an inſtant. Thus being almoſt ſtrangled, and in unſpeakable anguiſh by the ſtoppage of his breath and bodily pain, he ſaid, “Full ſore againſt thy will thou conferreſt on us favours, which were never intended: for the more exquiſite our torments are, the nobler proof thou giveſt occaſion for of patience invincible, and ſteadfaſtneſs in our religion.”

WHEN he was dead, the ſixth youth was preſently brought forward; and, being ask'd by the tyrant, whether he would accept deliverance? he reply'd, “Though I in years come behind them that ſuffered before me, yet is my ſoul of equal maturity with theirs. For in regard our deſcent and education was the ſame, 'tis fit, that ſince the cauſe we are call'd to aſſert is the ſame, our death ſhould likewiſe be the ſame. If then thou art diſpos'd to put me upon the ſame trials, know, that I will take care to die innocent, and keep the ſupport of a good conſcience under my torture.” Hereupon they faſten'd him to the wheel, and, after having broken and diſtorted all his bones, put fire under him; then did the ſoldiers heat ſpits and ſpears red hot, and thruſt them into his back and ſides, till his very bowels and intrails were burnt up. In the midſt of which torments, he cry'd out, “O glorious conflict, in which ſo many brethren have engaged for their religion and all come off with conqueſt: for a mind rightly inform'd in the truth, and arm'd with ſteddy principles of virtue muſt ever be impregnable. I will bear my brethren company in ſo noble a death, and add to the number of the plagues due to thee, O wicked inventor of artful cruelty, and implacable foe of all that adhere to the true religion. Six of us now have baffled thy malice and rage; for I muſt needs account thee baffled, when ſo much hath been done without any ſucceſs, to force us to forego our duty, and comply with thy wicked propoſals. Thy fires, methinks, are cold, thy racks eaſy, and thy guards are now no longer tormentors and executioners, but defenders and promoters of our law and its honour, ſince they aſſiſt us in giving teſtimony to it, and contribute to the triumphs of the religion they are not able to ſuppreſs."

CHAP. XII.

WHEN this man had made ſo bleſſed an end, being diſpatch'd at laſt, by caſting him into a cauldron of boiling liquor, the ſeventh and youngeſt appear'd; whom, when the tyrant ſaw fetter'd and pinion'd, though ſo implacably outragious againſt the reſt of his brethren, his hard heart began a little to relent. Calling him therefore up near to the tribunal where he ſate, he began to try him by ſoft words and fair means. "You ſee (ſaid he) young man, the miſerable end which the reſt of your family have by their own obſtinate folly brought themſelves to: for all theſe tortures and tragical ſpectacles of death, are indeed the conſequences of their own wilfulneſs and diſobedience; and the ſame will be thy fate in a very few minutes, if their examples have not made thee wiſer. But I hope better things, and for an encouragement of thy better behaviour, do make thee here a generous proffer of my love and particular friendſhip, and promiſe to promote thee in my kingdom to places of very great eminence and profit." Not content with theſe perſuaſions to the ſon, he ordered the mother to be brought before him, to whom he addreſſed himſelf with a ſeeming compaſſion for her loſs, intreating her to prevail upon her child, in pity to herſelf at leaſt, to ſave this ſmall remnant of the family, and not to give her the affliction of having all her offſpring ſo ſadly torn away at once. But he, receiving from his mother in the Hebrew language, the advice which I ſhall mention hereafter, cry'd out all on the ſudden; "Well, then, unbind me, and let me have liberty to apply to the king and his friends that attend about the throne." The company was overjoy'd at this propoſal, and immediately let him looſe; which he taking the advantage of, ran haſtily to the ſide of the cauldrons and frying-pans, and ſaid; "Thou moſt ungodly tyrant, and unparalell'd monſter of baſeneſs and villany, that haſt received from the hand of God a kingdom, and ſo many bleſſings of this world, and yet, without the leaſt degree of ſhame or remorſe, murdereſt the ſervants and friends of him who thus advanced thee; is this the requital thou makeſt to a bountiful God, to cut out the tongues, and by racks and tortures mutilate the limbs of thoſe that worſhip him; and for no other reaſon, but becauſe they worſhip him as he himſelf hath directed? Be well aſſur'd, this ſhall not be forgotten; but juſtice will purſue and find thee out; and in the mean while lay up in ſtore for thee torments and fires, not like thine here, that quickly conſume the body, and the more fierce they are the ſooner they end our pain; but thoſe ſhall be a treaſure of fire inexhauſtible, of pains which whole ages will not end, but freſh and fiercer continually, till time ſhall be no more. Art thou a man, thou wretch, more ſavage than the wildeſt of brutes! And haſt thou no regard, no manner of relenting for theſe moſt exquiſite and ſtudied pains of them who have the ſame nature, the ſame tender ſenſe of ſufferings with thyſelf? Is it poſſible a creature of like matter and form, ſhould take delight in mangling, burning, flaying, ſcourging and killing his fellow creatures? Yet ſuch, it ſeems, art thou, unlike indeed to us in diſpoſition, and as unlike in thy fate and portion. For we, who die to feaſt thy malice, have done our duty, and ſhall find favour and happineſs with God; but thou, whoſe cruelty hath put theſe ſtout champions of the truth upon vindicating it with ſo much cauſeleſs pain, ſo undeſerved a death, ſhalt howl for ever in deſpair; and, when too late, curſe and be plagu'd with the bitter reproaches of this guilty day's tranſactions. So dreadful, and ſo infamous is thy caſe; ſo bleſſed, and ſo glorious that of my martyr'd brethren; whoſe honours and rewards, think not that either flattery or fear ſhall exclude me from; for know, I aſpire to an equality with the beſt of them, and think it long and loſt time, till we meet again in the ſame ſufferings here, and the ſame bliſs above." With that he caſt himſelf into the pans, and expir'd in the hotteſt of the fire.

CHAP. XIII.

AND will it now admit of any diſpute, whether reaſon, guided and ſupported by religion, hath the ſuperintendency over the paſſions, when we ſee ſeven brothers, in perfect agreement, and upon the ſame principles, vanquiſhing and deſpiſing the moſt exquiſite pains and death? is it not manifeſt, that, had theſe men been govern'd by their paſſions, they had ſubmitted to pollute themſelves with unlawful meats; refuſed no conditions to procure eaſe and ſafety; and been (what all the world muſt have call'd them) ſubdued? But now the face of things is quite otherwiſe; they ſhine and reign triumphant; their paſſions were abſolutely quell'd, reaſon aſſerted its dominion, and for ſo doing receiv'd praiſe of God. Nor is it poſſible to conſider this whole proceeding without ſeeing and acknowledging the ſuperiority of the mind, and the entire defeat of all the attempts made upon it, by paſſion and pain. How great a wrong would it be, to deny theſe martyrs the trophies of this bloody field, and not allow them the character of men proceeding magiſterially, by the rules of right reaſon, when they had their paſſions in ſuch perfect ſubjection, that even the extremity of fires and racks could not give theſe paſſions ſtrength enough to rebel? For as the moles and forts upon the ſhore break all the force of the waves and weather, and render the harbour commodious and ſafe to ride in; ſo did this ſeven-fold fortification of reaſon protect the port of duty and religion, from all the ſtorms and boiſterous inundations of paſſion.

How moving, how noble a ſight was ſuch a company, encouraging and aſſiſting each other in the exerciſe of their piety, like the voices which contribute every one by his diſtinct part to make up a perfect melody? With ſuch a harmony of hearts, did they call out; "Come, my brethren, let us remember "who we are, and in what cauſe we fight, "and let us ſtand it out for our God and his "law, by dying like true brothers. Did not "the three brave youths in Aſſyria defy the "furnace of the king of Babylon? and to "what purpoſe have we thoſe examples, if "they do not provoke us to a generous imi"tation?".

When religion and a good conſcience are at ſtake, let us abandon all ignoble fears, and act with reſolution becoming ſo glorious a cauſe. One cry'd out, "Courage, my dear "brother; another, perſevere bravely; a "third, remember who you are, and from "what anceſtors you ſprung; Abraham was "your father, who was content with his "own hand to ſacrifice his ſon; and Iſaac, "who as willingly ſubmitted to be ſlain by "that father's hand." And all in general, looking on each other with countenances ſerene and highly pleaſed; all ſtout and recollected in their own minds, cry'd out, "Come and "let us chearfully conſecrate our ſouls to our "God: Let us thus pay him back the lives "he lent us for his ſervice; and give up theſe "bodies for the uſe and defenſe of his moſt "holy law. Why ſhould we ſtand in fear of "one, who only ſeems to kill the body? the "only danger worthy of our dread is that of "ſouls abandon'd to torments everlaſting, and "that can never be the ſad fate of ſuch as keep "and honour, but of them only who tranſ"greſs and forſake, the truth. Let us then "arm ourſelves with a holy fortitude; ſo ſhall "Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob receive us when "we die: ſo ſhall all our pious anceſtors con"gratulate and applaud our conſtancy, when "we are arriv'd at the regions of bliſs and "immortality."

And as they were dragg'd one by one to execution, they whoſe turn was not yet come, encourag'd thoſe that went before them thus: "Take heed, my brother, how thou demean"eſt thyſelf, and be ſure to do nothing that "may diſgrace either thoſe of our number "that have gone before thee, or us who are "about to tread in the ſame ſteps." Theſe muſt needs have been very engaging exhortations: for none of my readers can be inſenſible what charms, what powerful influence ſo near a relation carries with it; what tender affections the all-wiſe providence hath infus'd into their hearts, who have deriv'd their ſubſtance from the ſame father, and lay in the womb of the ſame mother, where every brother found the ſame receptacle, dwelt the ſame term of time, and was form'd into man by the ſame proceſs of nature; perſons nouriſh'd by the ſame blood, and brought to due maturity by the ſame informing ſoul; afterwards ſucking the ſame milk, ſuſtained at one common table, converſing perpetually under the ſame roof, educated by the ſame care, inſtructed by the ſame teachers, and initiated in the ſame religion. And ſuch was the affection, ſuch the endearments, and conſequently, of ſuch weight and efficacy the admonitions and mutual encouragements, of theſe ſeven brethren to one another: for they were brought up in the ſame faith, train'd up in the exerciſe of the ſame virtues; and, the better men they were, the better ſtill muſt they needs love each other. For natural affection is never ſo happily improv'd, as by perfect agreement in goodneſs and united zeal in the love and ſervice of God; and as each of theſe would love the reſt more tenderly in proportion as himſelf was more religious, ſo would he neceſſarily, in the ſame proportion, and upon the ſame account, become more worthy to be belov'd by all the reſt. And yet we may obſerve in this very caſe a mighty conqueſt of reaſon over paſſion; for though theſe brethren had all the tender concern that nature and blood, birth and education, acquaintance and perſonal worth, could inſpire them with; yet were theſe manifold endearments ſo vanquiſh'd and borne down, when religion and their ſouls lay at ſtake, that in a cauſe ſo noble, the very tortures, agonies, and deaths of their deareſt relations, gave a ſenſible ſatisfaction to thoſe of the number who yet ſurviv'd, and were the undaunted, nay, even pleas'd ſpectators of them.

CHAP. XIV.

THUS did they, by theſe exhortations to endure the torture, not only work themſelves up to a contempt of pains, but ſubdue brotherly affection, and the tendereſt and moſt prevailing part of human nature itſelf. O minds more abſolute than the moſt ſovereign princes, more free and noble than the nobleſt birth could make them! not one of theſe generous youths expreſs'd the leaſt fear, not one made the leaſt demur; but without ſhrinking back at death in its moſt horrible and dreadful appearances, they made the beſt of their way to racks and fires, as men that were running the race of immortality, and impatient, with the utmoſt ſpeed poſſible, to come up to the goal. And as the hands and feet, and other members of our body do with all alacrity and eaſe imaginable move as the ſoul dictates and directs; ſo ready, ſo perfectly agreed and uniform in all their motions towards death, were theſe heroic youths, puſh'd on by the principle of religion, which like one common ſoul animated them all. O heavenly conſtellation of ſeven conſenting brethren! for, as the ſeven days in which the world was created give us the Idea of God, and ſhew the perfection of his majeſty and goodneſs; ſo do theſe ſeven renowned martyrs, by running the whole circle of pains and tortures, compoſe one finiſh'd piece of conſtancy and courage, and teach us that perfection of fortitude, which baniſhes the ſlaviſh fear of death. But alas! how far ſhort of this pattern do we ſtop, we, who cannot now ſo much as read or hear without trembling and amazement what they not only heard, not only ſaw, but felt and bore it all without the leaſt diſorder of mind?

WHAT can be more inſupportable than fire, that pierces and ſeparates, and conſumes in an inſtant? yet the acuteſt pains, apply'd to the parts moſt tender, and of quickeſt ſenſe, did theſe ſtout champions conſtantly endure.

NAY, to encreaſe our wonder more, and abate that notion of fortitude which men, too partial to themſelves, are apt to boaſt of as the peculiar glory of their own ſex, I ſhall make good my aſſertion concerning the ſovereignty of reaſon over the paſſions, by a moſt aſtoniſhing inſtance of a woman; one exercis'd by ſufferings more ſharp, more complicated, than any of thoſe hitherto mention'd. For who can conceive the extremity, the variety of that pious mother's pains, who herſelf was tortur'd and put to death in every one of her ſeven ſons? do but reflect how the bowels and natural affection of parents does terminate, and draw them, as it were, to their children, as to the proper centre of all their care and concern. This is what we obſerve even in brute beaſts, which ſeldom or never fail to expreſs a tenderneſs to their young, equal to that among men. But why do I ſpeak of beaſts, when all nature is full of it, and even the ignobler ſpecies of creatures want not a viſible and ſtrange kindneſs for their own breed: for even the bees themſelves, when intent upon the buſineſs of waxing, guard and defend their hives; and as oft as the drones invade them, know how to make their ſtings do the office of ſwords and other military weapons, in revenge of the wrong done by thoſe that would attack their little ones.

CHAP. XV.

BUT ſo true a daughter of Abraham was the mother of theſe gallant youths, that even compaſſion for her own children could not ſhake her principles, or tempt her to break in upon her duty. Such was her noble zeal, that when two things were offer'd to her choice, religion and the preſent ſafety and great preferment of ſeven ſons, ſhe wiſely gave the preference to religion; took God's word before the king's, and choſe to have them live for ever with him in heaven, rather than enjoy a ſhort proſperity with Antiochus upon earth. What words ſhall I find to deſcribe thoſe tender paſſions of parents, that ſtrange union between them and their children in nature, which, after a wonderful manner, draws upon their offspring the ſame lines and features of body, and impreſſes the ſame diſpoſitions of ſoul? how ſhall I tell the concern they feel for theſe images and parts of themſelves, when in any manner of diſtreſs? how, eſpecially, that of mothers, whoſe weaker minds, and natural exceſs of fondneſs, render them ſtill more ſenſibly touch'd with whatever affects their children, than fathers are wont or expected to be? and even this mother was not leſs, nay, ſhe was much more under the influence of this affection than common mothers; ſeven painful births had made as many additions to this love, and every time her travail was repeated, it was a freſh exerciſe of it, a freſh and ſtronger endearment to all ſhe had endured the ſame pangs for.

BUT notwithſtanding all this, the fear and love of God, overlook'd the preſent eaſe and advantage of her children. And never did ſhe love them ſo tenderly, ſo deſervedly, as when their ſteddy virtue, and conſtancy in the truth, charm'd her affections, and endear'd them to her; for they were juſt and wiſe, temperate and magnanimous, affectionate to each other, and dutiful to their mother to that degree, that they even died in the cauſe of their law, in obedience to her. For ſhe was ſo far from allowing any one of theſe manifold engagements to betray her into an undue tenderneſs, or ſuffering any of the yet more manifold tortures inflicted upon her children to ſhake her reaſon; that, mother tho' ſhe was, ſhe earneſtly exhorted each of her children ſingly, and all of them together, not to decline any ſufferings or death for the ſake of religion.

O NATURE, common mother of us all! O parents love, unaccountably engaging our ſouls! O anxious care of tender infants! O ſympathy of mothers irreſiſtable! ſee here a prodigy, ſeven children one by one, rack'd, burnt, fry'd, a mother ſtanding by, and looking on, and yet ſo firm her piety, not chang'd by the killing ſpectacle! ſhe ſaw the fleſh of her own ſons broiling in the fire; the joints of their hands and feet torn off, and ſtill trembling and panting on the ground, when rent from the body; the skins of their heads and faces drawn off like vizards, and caſt down at her feet; all this the wonderous woman ſaw unmov'd. O mother, now in agonies and racking pains for thy children, compar'd with which thy bearing throws were eaſy! O woman, who of all thy ſex ſeemeſt alone to have brought forth conſummate virtue! thy firſt-born when expiring did not ſhake thee, nor thy ſecond ſon, when caſting upon thee a piteous languiſhing look; nor thy third, when groaning out his ſoul; nor the eyes that ſtarted out of every one of their heads with extremity of pain, and ſetting in death. Thou didſt not let one tear fall, when one hand was cut off after another, one head flayed after another, one corpſe fell upon another, and heaps of thy own fleſh lay before thee. The ſongs of Syrens, and the dying notes of ſwans, make not ſo melodious muſick, as did in thy ears the laſt accents of thy own offspring, calling to the in the midſt of their torments unconceivable, and dying agonies. For in thy ſoul when warm debates aroſe, and nature and affection pleaded ſtrongly, and the pains and unparalell'd ſufferings of thy children added weight to their arguments; yet ſtill thou turned the deaf ear, and when thou wert urged moſt vehemently to give ſentence for thy childrens lives, wouldſt not accept a ſhort deliverance with guilt, but gaveſt them up to death in proſpect of a more laſting bliſs. Then didſt thou approve thyſelf a true daughter of Abraham, an heireſs of all his faith and fortitude. O mother of a family, zealous for the law, bulwark of true religion, and laden with the conqueſts won by thy own bowels! O woman of generoſity and patience, more manly than the ſtouteſt of men! glory of thine own ſex, and exceller of ours! for, as the ark of Noah, which then contain'd all the ſurviving world, rode triumphant upon the waters of the general flood; ſo thou, whoſe

Gen. vii.

breaſt included all true piety, wert toſt upon the waves of all manner of contending paſſions, and beaten upon with the boiſterous winds of torments that blew hard from every quarter, and yet didſt bravely weather out the ſtorm, ſupported by thy zeal for God and religion.

CHAP. XVI.

NOW then, (to return to the point I am all this while aiming at) if an old woman, and the mother of ſeven children, could not only ſuſtain, but ſee thoſe children dying in ſuch miſery, in conſideration of the cauſe they ſuffered and died for, the conſequence is unavoidable, that reaſon, ſupported by religion, hath a power ſuperiour to our paſſions. And that this is the caſe of human nature in general, I have made it plain, becauſe not only men have conquer'd their paſſions, but a woman hath perfectly ſubdued and deſpiſed the moſt exquiſite ſufferings. The lions, into whoſe den Daniel was caſt, were tame; the furnace of Miſael, tho' heated ſeven times hotter than uſual, was cool, in compariſon of thoſe fierce paſſions, that fire, which natural affection and pity had kindled in her breaſt, when ſhe ſaw ſeven ſons ſucceſſively expire in agonies inexpreſſible; and yet reaſon and religion quenched all the rage of theſe ſo furious, ſo manifold affections.

For is it not rational to ſuppoſe, that had this woman had the leaſt allay of puſillanimity in her temper, all the mother would have burſt out in lamentations and doleful complaints, like theſe? "O moſt unfortunate creature, "and expoſed to an unparallel'd variety of miſeries, who was lately happy in ſeven ſons, "but am now no longer a mother! O my ſeven unprofitable travails! O the loſt cares "of nurſing, which have nouriſhed children "only for racks, and fires, and deaths unexampled! In vain, my dears, have I been in "pangs for you, in vain endured the many "anxious days and reſtleſs nights, the coſt "and labour of a painful education. O thoſe "beloved children, whoſe faces I ſhall never "ſee more, nor rejoice in their marriage and "poſterity, nor have the ſo much valued "bleſſing of being eſteem'd happy in my deſcendants of the ſecond and third generation. And yet I once was happy, happy above my neighbours, both in the number "and the goodlineſs of the branches that "ſprang from this fruitful vine; but now a "wretched ſolitary widow, deſtitute of ſo "much as one out of my many ſons, to comfort and aſſiſt me while living, or to bury "me when dead."

But the piety of this excellent mother diſdained ſuch effeminate complaints, and was ſo far from deſiring any of her children to live, that it would have been matter of grief to her, had they not died as they did: her mind firm and impenetrable as a rock, conſidering that this was to bring forth over again the number of her ſons, by a new and better birth, to a life of immortality. And therefore ſhe herſelf beſought them to fulfil her joy, and encouraged them in dying for the cauſe of religion. O noble matron, who liſtedſt thyſelf in the ſervice of the ſame cauſe, and didſt aſſiſt in engaging the tyrant, and approve thyſelf mighty in deeds and in words! For when thou wert apprehended with thy ſons, and an eye-witneſs of the tortures and dolorous death of the good Eleazar, then didſt thou in the Hebrew tongue excite the courage of thy ſons, by ſaying, "See here, my children, what a "glorious conflict is this! And if you alſo be "called to the like, conſider what a teſtimony, what an honour it will be to our nation! but eſpecially conſider the law of your "fathers you are to ſuffer for, and be ſure to "behave yourſelves in this encounter valiantly and chearfully! What a reproach ought "you to think it upon the vigour of your age, "if an old man, weakened and ſpent by years "and infirmities already, did yet endure ſuch "variety, ſuch extremity of tortures for his "duty, and thoſe who have all the fire of "youth to excite and ſupport their zeal, "ſhould ſhrink back at, or ſink under the ſame "trials! Conſider, my dearer parts of myſelf, what life is, and whence you had it! "God gave it you at firſt; the goodneſs of "his providence hath continued it to you ever "ſince. It is therefore his due, and what you "ought to pay, when he calls for it again. "Can you decline any ſort of pain for him, in "obedience to whom our father Abraham made "no delay to ſacrifice his ſon, the promiſed "father of our nation? Nor did that ſon "tremble or once give back, when he ſaw a "father's hand arm'd with the weapon of "death, and lifted up to give the fatal ſtroke. "Was not the innocent and pious Daniel, by "his own conſent, caſt as a prey to hungry "lions; and the three children into a fiery "furnace? Theſe all endured manfully for "the ſake of God; and you, who are partakers of the ſame faith, ought not to ſhrink if "you are made partakers of the ſame ſufferings. For indeed it is moſt abſurd for them "who have a true ſenſe of religion, to betray "a cowardly degeneracy of mind in any difficulties that it ſhall engage them in." Thus did the mother of ſeven children animate every one of the number, and repreſent to them the reaſonableneſs, and the neceſſity of dying, rather than baſely yield to violate any one command of their God; eſpecially when aſſuredly perſuaded that they who die for him, continue ſtill to live with Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, and all the godly patriarchs, in manſions of immortal felicity.

Some of the ſoldiers gave out that ſhe alſo was to be ſeized, and put to death, which coming to her ear, in order to prevent all attempts upon perſon, ſhe voluntarily caſt herſelf into the fire. O glorious mother, thus defeating the tyrant's rage and violence, diſappointing all his wicked contrivances, and exerting a moſt vigorous and noble faith, firm as a ſtrong built houſe; erected upon her ſeven pillars, and proof againſt all ſhocks that laboured to overturn it! Take comfort, holy matron, whoſe patience was ſupported by a firm truſt in God, and well aſſured hope of a future reward. The moon encircled with her retinue of ſtars, ſhines not ſo bright in the firmament of heaven as doſt thou, reflecting light upon, and receiving it back again from, thy ſeven illuſtrious ſons, fix'd in the heavenly manſions, and honourable in the preſence of God. Thy race were truly Abraham's, and every one a genuine ſon of the father of the faithful. Were it a poſſible undertaking, to draw this whole action as in a picture, and relate every circumſtance in true and lively colours, our paſſions ſcarcely could ſuſtain the mere repreſentation: nor would the mother and her children, expiring in ſuch cruel variety of torments, be ſeen but in ſuch deſcription without horror. And were a monument, as they well deſerve, to be erected, for a never dying memorial to the nation they are ſo great an honour to, this or ſome like inſcription might become it: “Here lies a reverend old prieſt, an ancient mother and ſeven gallant ſons, put to death by the rage of a tyrant, attempting, but in vain, to overthrow the Jewiſh law and conſtitution: for theſe brave champions ſtood in the gap, aſſerted the rights and religion of their nation, committed themſelves and their cauſe to God, and perſevered in deſpight of torments and death.” For indeed the encounter was truly divine; virtue was in this caſe the judge of the combat, and diſpoſer of the prize, and patience was the proof and exerciſe. To this the victory was to be adjudged, and immortality and bliſs eternal were the rewards of them that conquer'd.

THE firſt that march'd into this bloody field, was Eleazar: the mother of ſeven ſons offer'd herſelf likewiſe to the combat; her ſons ſucceſſively undertook the conflict; the adverſary they encounter'd was the tyrant, the ring of ſpectators was the world, and the conqueror religion; who both vanquiſh'd in their perſons, and crown'd her champions that fought ſo bravely in her vindication. And who indeed could ſee, who can hear the noble atchievements of theſe heroick ſouls, ſo zealous for the law of God, without (I ſay not approbation and praiſe, but) wonder and aſtoniſhment? Nay, even the tyrant and his impious aſſeſſors, that counſell'd and countenanced the barbarous executioners, could not without amazement obſerve that invincible patience which ſuſtain'd them; and in deſpight of all their inhumanity and obſtinate prejudice, revered the piety they labour'd in vain to corrupt.

So true is that of Moſes, “All his ſaints are in thy hand”. For theſe men being ſanctified as an offering to God, are celebrated with honour and immortal renown. Nor was the benefit of their noble trials confin'd to their own perſons, but the blood of thoſe righteous men ſhed upon this occaſion, was accepted by God as a propitiatory ſacrifice, inclin'd him to return to his people in mercy, and by a gracious providence deliver Iſrael from the heavy load of oppreſſion they then groaned under. For even Antiochus, conſidering the wonderful virtue and reſolution of theſe men, and their inflexible conſtancy under hardſhip and pain, gave teſtimony to their valour, and by a publick officer propounded it as a pattern fit to be imitated by all his own ſoldiers. Not only ſo, but taking his meaſures of the whole nation by theſe few, he liſted many of them in his ſervice, employ'd them both in ſieges and pitch'd battles, and, having obtain'd many ſignal victories by their aſſiſtance, learn'd by his own experience, that religion inſpires men with the trueſt courage, and that none are capable of ſerving their prince in the wars, comparably to thoſe undaunted and generous contemners of life, who dare to encounter death and tortures for God and a good conſcience. O race of faithful Abraham, and inheritors of his zeal, ye ſeed of Iſrael the beloved, ſet yourſelves to obſerve and pay due reverence to this divine law, to govern your affections in all points according to it, and live up to the perfection of its dictates and diſcipline, whoſe efficacy is ſo undeniable, and its glory ſo conſpicuous, in ſuch unparallel'd inſtances of reaſon thus conducted, attaining to an abſolute maſtery over the paſſions.

CHAP. XVIII.

NOR does this maſtery extend only to thoſe inward diſorders, which raiſe a tumult in our own breaſts, but (as theſe examples of men delivering themſelves willingly to the torture for the ſake of their religion make it exceeding plain) to afflictions from without alſo, and the acuteſt bodily pains. Thus did theſe noble heroes fight and conquer, and (for acquitting themſelves ſo gallantly) were not only commended and admir'd of men, but largely rewarded by God. Nor did they vanquiſh death and torments only, but alſo the enemies that inflicted both: by reſtoring peace to their nation, and bringing into requeſt again the regard for that long neglected law, the contempt whereof provok'd God to ſcourge the people with, this worſt of all calamities, the tyrant Antiochus. But while he became an inſtrument of vengeance to others, he treaſur'd up yet more againſt himſelf. For finding all his efforts to no purpoſe, and that neither flattery nor force could draw the Jews to abandon their own, and conform to foreign cuſtoms, he drew off from Jeruſalem and made war upon the Perſians, and long it was not ere the juſtice of God overtook him, even upon earth, by a moſt miſerable death.

BUT ſtill to do all right to that wonderful woman, I ſhall add here ſome other of her pious exhortations to her no leſs wonderful ſons. “Conſider, ſaid ſhe, the converſation of your mother, who lived a long time a chaſt unſpotted virgin; I never wander'd from my father's houſe, nor did any luſtful corrupter of youth aſſault me in the field, nor that ſerpent which ſeduced Eve tempt me into any impure embraces. The flower of my age I paſt in the ſtricteſt conjugal fidelity to my huſband, When you, my children, were grown up, your father died, happy in the eſteem of all that knew him. He had the ſatiſfaction of many proſperous children, and eſcap'd the misfortune of ſeeing himſelf depriv'd of theſe bleſſings. While he continued with you, no pains were ſpared to inſtill pious principles, and furniſh you with inſtructions proper to prepare you for the trying difficulties of this important day. He taught you with great diligence the law and the prophets; he ſet before you the renowned examples of patience, and ſuffering virtue: Abel murdered by his own brother Cain: and Iſaac deſigned for a burnt offering; and Joſeph impriſoned for his obſtinate chaſtity; and Phineas zealous for the law of his God. He preached to you the vir-

“ tues and the glorious rewards of Ananias, Azarias and Miſael, and Daniel caſt into the den of lions. He frequently put you in mind of that preſerving providence to thoſe that are God's; which Eſaias magnifies in theſe words: When thou paſſeſt through the waters, I will be with thee, and thro' the rivers, they ſhall not overflow thee; when thou walkeſt through the fire, thou ſhalt not be burnt, neither ſhall the flame kindle upon thee. He taught your infant tongues that ſong of David; Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth him out of all; and call'd upon you to obſerve that maxim of Solomon in his proverbs, That wiſdom is a tree of life to all that obey and lay hold on her. He quicken'd up your faith by that paſſage in Ezekiel, Shall theſe dry bones live? Nor did he forget to teach you that heavenly ſong of Moſes, who ſays in the perſon of God; I kill and make alive: and again pronounces of the law and the diligent obſervance of it; This is your life, and the prolonging of your days.

O doleful day, and yet not doleful but glorious rather, when the mercileſs Grecian tyrant kindled his impious fires, heated his murdering cauldrons, and with ungodly rage, more hot and fierce than both, dragg'd and bound to the engines of torture, and exercis'd with all manner of agonies and pains, the ſeven-fold offſpring of this daughter of Abraham! when he bor'd out their eyes, cut out their tongues, and put them to death, with all the ſtudied cruelties that wickedneſs and malice could invent. Theſe impious barbarities the juſtice of God did then, and always will, avenge upon the proud inflictors; but theſe ſons of Abraham, with their victorious mother, are by a very different fate, tranſlated from miſery to bliſs unſpeakable, admitted into the joyful and triumphant ſociety of all their pious anceſtors, and have receiv'd again thoſe unblemiſh'd ſouls, which they willingly ſacrificed in his ſervice, pure and immortal, at the hands of that God, with whom they were ſo chearfully depoſited, and to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

PHILO's Account OF HIS EMBASSY, FROM THE JEWS of ALEXANDRIA TO THE EMPEROR CAIUS CALIGULA.

CHAP. I.

The author's preface upon the ſubject of human frailty, and the power and providence of Almighty God.

HOW long are we to act like boys at fourſcore, our heads covered with grey-hairs, and not one grain of ſenſe in them! This is the condition of all thoſe that place their reſt upon the ſtability of fortune, on the one hand, and at the ſame time abandon an infallible guide, in the dictate of reaſonable nature, on the other; though nothing ſo fickle under the ſun as the former, or ſo ſteddy and unchangeable as the other. At this rate we confound and invert the order and value of things, as if there were no more in it than the ſhuffling of counters, while we take certainties for uncertainties, and uncertainties for the contrary. And what's the reaſon of all this now, but that weak and ſhort-ſighted men ſee beſt at hand; and give more credit (right or wrong) to their ſenſes; than to their judgments? Whereas fore-ſight, with a reſpect to things to come, and things inviſible, muſt be the work of argument and reaſoning: not but that the eye of the ſoul is much quicker and ſharper than that of the body; ſaving only where the point of it is taken off, either by luxurious exceſſes in eating and drinking, or by a ſtupid unthinking indolence; the greater miſchief of the two.

WE ſhall never need to look farther than into the hiſtory of theſe times, and the many wonderful things that have fallen out in this juncture, for the proof of an over-ruling providence: a providence, that takes particular care of all virtuous holy people, but more eſpecially of thoſe, that with humility and reverence give themſelves up as a peculiar heritage to the worſhip and ſervice of the Almighty. Theſe are the people that the Chaldeans call Iſraelites, [or Seers of God:] which is a bleſſing more valuable than the treaſure of ten thouſand worlds. Now if the preſence of a perſon venerable for his age, as a governor, a tutor, or a father, ſhall have ſuch a power over us to keep us in awe, and within the compaſs of modeſty and reſpect, in our lives and manners, what advantages may we propound to ourſelves then in the elevation of our thoughts beyond all created Beings, and the inuring of our ſouls to the contemplation of an uncreated Power! even God himſelf, who is goodneſs, beauty, and bleſſedneſs in the higheſt degree: and all theſe excellencies infinitely ſhort yet of his unſpeakable perfections. For how is it poſſible to expreſs in words, a point utterly inexplicable; or to advance, by the ſcale of his attributes, to the underſtanding of an incomprehenſible myſtery! A myſtery ſo inextricable, that if the whole creation were but one tongue, it would not ſerve to explain it: as his omnipotency in the making of the world; his ſovereignty, in the monarchical form of it; the wiſdom of his providential conduct, in the order and government of it; and the juſtice of his proceeding toward both good and bad, in the retribution of rewards or puniſhments. Nay, and the vengeance itſelf is to be reckon'd among the things that we are the better for: not only for the natural equity ſake of dealing by all men according to their demerits; but as chaſtiſement proves many times the means of bringing people to a ſight and ſenſe of their crimes, or as it hinders them at leaſt from perſevering in their wickedneſs; for the puniſhing of one man is frequently the preventing the ruin of another, for fear of the ſame ſeverity in caſe of the ſame offence.

CHAP. I.

The bleſſed condition of the ſeven months reign of the emperor Caius Caligula, after the death of Tiberius.

THE emperor Caius Caligula, that ſucceeded Tiberius, may ſerve for a lively inſtance in confirmation of what I have been ſaying: never ſo univerſal a peace and agreement thorough all the provinces both by ſea and land: eaſt, weſt, north and ſouth, all in a profound quiet; Greeks and Barbarians, ſoldiers and burghers, living together like brethren, and in the mutual exchange of all neighbourly offices of friendſhip and commerce. This was ſuch a tranſcendent pitch of felicity as can ſcare be credited, for a young prince to be welcomed to the throne with an affluence of all the good things that his very heart could wiſh: a prodigious treaſure, both in money and plate, wrought and unwrought, and as well for ornament as for convenience: a mighty power both at ſea and land, and the whole habitable world contributing, as out of an inexhauſtible fountain, toward the maintaining of his armies. His empire was bounded with two great rivers, the Euphrates, and the Rhine, the former bordering upon Germany and other barbarous nations; the other, upon the Parthians, the Sarmatians, and the Scythians, &c. a race of people not one jot leſs barbarous and unciviliz'd than the other: ſo that from the ſun riſing to the ſun ſetting, as well upon the continent as in the iſlands, there was nothing but gladneſs and univerſal ſatisfaction; while Rome, Italy, and all the provinces of Europe and Aſia, kept holy-day, as we ſay, in a perpetual feſtival. Never were people, in fine, by the bleſſing of providence, ſo free and eaſy under any other prince: for every private man had ſo large a ſhare in the common welfare that his good fortune left him nothing more to aſk: there was hardly any thing to be ſeen up and down the towns, but altars, victims, ſacrifices, candidates, garlands, chearful looks, feaſting, merry meetings, muſical concerts, racing, treating, dancing to the flute and harp, with all other recreations imaginable: and the poor all this while as well ſatisfy'd as the rich; common people as perſons of quality; ſervants as their maſters; debtors as their creditors: ſuch, in ſhort, was the felicity of thoſe times, for plenty and pleaſure, and the univerſal ſatisfaction of perſons and families of all ranks and degrees, that it look'd as if the poets fiction of Saturn's golden age were no longer a fable. And this was the bleſſed ſtate of things for the firſt ſeven months of Caius's reign.

CHAP. II.

The emperor Caius fell deſperately ill in the eighth month of his reign, to the great affliction of the provinces for his diſtemper, and as great a joy afterwards for his recovery.

CAIUS, in the month following, and in the very glut of his good fortunes, happened to fall extremely ill; for having quitted the tempelare, and conſequently the healthful courſe of life he led under Tiberius, he gave himſelf up to the court-liberties of luxury and riot: as eating and drinking to exceſs; the unſeaſonable uſe of baths: nay, and to eat and drink to ſatisfy would not ſatisfy him neither, without a vomit after it to make way for more. He had plung'd himſelf likewiſe into all manner of uncleanneſſes, with both ſexes indifferently, from common appetites to the moſt unnatural of luſts. He did all that was poſſible, in fine, by ſenſuality, and debauch, towards the dividing of ſoul and body: for as health and ſtrength are a bleſſing that naturally attend ſobriety and good order, ſo the contrary way of government is as certainly followed with weakneſſes, ſickneſs, and death.

IT was now about the beginning of autumn, which is the ſeaſon when the return-ſhips from all quarters are upon their laſt voyage, homeward bound, back again. Thoſe I mean that would not winter abroad. By the accident of this opportunity, the ſtory of the emperor's ſickneſs was immediately diſpers'd over the whole world, and by that means the univerſal contentment and ſatisfaction that the people enjoyed before the coming of that news, turned into as univerſal a mourning. Upon this change, the towns and the houſes were all in tears and lamentations, in proportion to the meaſure of the comfortable condition they were in before. The provinces themſelves were all ſtruck in the very perſon of the emperor, and in a more ſenſible manner too; for Caius ſuffered only in his body, but the people in their minds, for fear of loſing not only their peace, but their lives, liberties, and eſtates alſo; for which they were ſolicitous, even to the degree of deſpair. Beſide that, conſidering the fatal conſequences that commonly attend the death of princes, whether by famine, war, or otherwiſe) as rapine, depopulations, baniſhments, plunder, impriſonments, fears, dangers, and death itſelf) all theſe things conſidered, they could never think themſelves ſafe, or happy, but in the well-being of their prince.

THE emperor was by this time upon the mending hand, whereupon the welcome news of it was diſpatched in a trice to the furtheſt quarters of the earth; (for fame flies like lightning.) The people took this for an earneſt of better tidings, and fell into a violent impatience upon it to hear further, till at length their longing was gratify'd by ſeveral expreſſes in words at length, that the emperor was perfectly recovered; which was the ſame thing to the provinces, as if they had been recovered themſelves, and reſtored to their former ſtate and humour of jollity and eaſe: thoſe in the iſles, as well as thoſe upon the continent. Finally, there was never heard of in the memory of man, ſuch a tranſport of joy in any one people or nation, for the preſervation of any particular prince, as was ſeen upon this occaſion, quite thorough the univerſe, for the ſafety of Caius when reſtor'd to his health again. It look'd like a tranſition (all in a moment) from a ſavage life to a ſociable and civil; from deſarts to political communities, from confuſion to order; and all theſe advantages owing to the government and protection of a generous and a rightful prince. But people were glad of many things without ſeeing thorough them.

CHAP. III.

The horrible ingratitude and cruelty of the emperor Caius toward young Tiberius.

IT was not long before Caius gave the world to underſtand, that their judgments were blinded, their meaſures miſtaken, and that they governed themſelves more by gueſs than by knowledge. For this famous prince, who ſeem'd to promiſe nothing leſs than a profuſion of bounties and favours to all Europe and Aſia, and one who was likely to be the moſt illuſtrious benefactor to all glorious purpoſes publick and private that every were heard of: this prince, I ſay, proved a monſter; or rather, he took off the maſk, and owned himſelf bare-faced for what he was.

The emperor Tiberius, had by his ſon Druſus, young Tiberius, and by Germanicus Caius Caligula, whom he recommended in preference to the ſucceſſion; provided only, that he ſhould ſhew the ſenſe he had of the obligation, in his reſpects to his grand-child. But this did not ſatisfy Caius yet, to hold that by adoption, which the other had a right to by birth; ſo that moſt barbarouſly and ungratefully, he cauſed his near kinſman, the co-heir of the empire, and the next ſucceſſor to Tiberius, to be put to death, under a pretext, that this Tiberius had contriv'd a plot upon the life of Caius; a very unlikely project for a youth of his tender age to engage in. Beſide that it was generally thought that if the young prince had been but ſome few years older, the emperor would have declared Tiberius his ſucceſſor; for he was grown jealous of Caius already and upon taking him out of the way, the other would have had the empire to himſelf in courſe. But Caius, inſtead of ſharing the ſovereignty with his kinſman, as in juſtice he ſhould have done, entered into an execrable practice upon his life; and the way he took to compaſs his end was this. He ſent for Tiberius in the firſt place, and then calling a council of his friends about him, he made them a diſcourſe much to this effect.

“As to this young man, ſays he, (ſpeaking of Tiberius) I have not only the kindneſs of a couſin-german for him, but the love and tenderneſs of a brother; and there is nothing in this world my heart is ſo much ſet upon, as to take him in for partner in the government, according to the appointment of his grand-father, in his laſt will and teſtament. But youth, alas! without experience, ſtands in more need of a governor itſelf, than of a commiſſion to govern others. If it were not for this difficulty, how glad and ready ſhould I be to eaſe myſelf of one part of the cares and troubles of my office, over ſo many nations, by dividing the burden, for fear of ſinking myſelf under the weight. But in the mean while, let him depend upon me for protection and advice; not only as a governor to his pupil, but as a father to a ſon, which for the future (and pray take notice of it) ſhall be the ſtile betwixt us.”

This harangue wrought ſo effectually upon the whole council, and the young prince himſelf too, that the very ground-work of the plot was now as good as ſecured by it; for inſtead of confirming the adoption, and poſſeſſing Tiberius of what he had a title to, it made void the grant of what was given him already: ſo that Caius was now left at liberty to treat his collegue and co-partner in the empire, at what treacherous rate he pleaſed. For the Roman law gives parents an abſolute authority over their children, and it gives the ſupreme magiſtrate alſo as uncontroublable a power over the people, acting all things at will and pleaſure; ſo that Caius had no more to do toward the gaining of his point, than firſt to declare Tiberius an enemy, and then to treat him like one, whether he were one or no. And this he did, without any regard, either to his years, or to an old acquaintance; or finally, to his quality, as a perſon that had been trained up by the emperor in a proſpect of the ſucceſſion: for after the death of Druſus, Tiberius was to be reputed a ſon rather than a grand-child.

There goes a report, that Caius commanded Tiberius to do execution upon himſelf, and at the ſame time ſtrictly prohibited ſeveral tribunes and centurions, who were then preſent, to aſſiſt him in the action, upon a point of honour forſooth, that it was not for the dignity of the blood royal to be ſpilt by a common hand. So careful he was of doing things in form, that he made a ſcruple of the very murder itſelf that was not committed according to law, and covered his hypocriſy with a maſk of holineſs.

This innocent prince, that had never ſeen blood drawn either in jeſt or in earneſt, no not ſo much as in a mock-combat, or the repreſentation of a battle in a time of peace; an exerciſe well known among princes and men at arms: this prince, I ſay, what did he do, but firſt offer his throat to every man he met, and then when he ſaw no body would do him the good office, he took a poinard himſelf, and asked the people where he ſhould ſtrike, to make the ſureſt diſpatch of a miſerable life. They told him how and where, and he followed their direction over and over. After this manner was Tiberius taught in his extremity how to murder himſelf.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Caius puts Macro to death, to whom he ſtood indebted for his life and fortune.

THIS was Caius's maſter-piece, and the great difficulty of his life and reign was now ſurmounted; for he had no competitor to fear, nor any man of credit that was able to make a party againſt him. The next blow was at Macro, wherein he ſhew'd himſelf cruel and ungrateful to the higheſt degree.

THIS Macro had done him many ſignal and faithful ſervices, not only after his coming to the crown, when a paraſite, or a court-flatterer, would have done the ſame thing; but even before his advancement alſo, or I might have ſaid in order to it; for he was look'd upon as the chief inſtrument that prevailed upon Tiberius to make choice of him for his ſucceſſor. Tiberius was now in years, and ever crafty, both upon the account of a natural ſagacity, and a long experience, and one that underſtood men perfectly well: he had entertain'd a great many jealouſies concerning Caius, as a mortal enemy to the whole Claudian family; or if he had any tenderneſs for his relations, it was for thoſe, he thought, by the mother-ſide. This put a great many troubleſome ſcruples into his head, what would become of the poor child if he himſelf ſhould die before him. Neither did he look upon Caius as a perſon competent for the weight of the commiſſion he pretended to, but as a man that had neither ſolid ſenſe nor civility; and one that, by the levity and inconſiſtence of his words and actions, one would have judged ſcarce well in his wits. Macro did all however that was poſſible to be done, for the removing of theſe jealouſies, and the keeping of Tiberius quite and eaſy. He would be often telling him how great a deference and veneration Caius had for his perſon and dignity; and in particular, ſo generous a friendſhip and reſpect for his kinſman, that he would be glad with all his heart to ſee him the ſingle lord of the whole empire, if it might ſtand with the publick good: and that his modeſty and reſerve had the ill fortune to be miſtaken for want of ſenſe and reſolution. But this would not do, and when Macro perceived it, he offered to become bound body for body, that it ſhould be all made good upon the firſt occaſion. Now Macro being a man of a tried fidelity to the Ceſars, and more expreſly yet to Tiberius himſelf in the conſpiracy of Sejanus, (which Macro both detected and cruſhed) there was no room left for a doubt upon the faith and credit of the mediator: for, to ſhorten the ſtory, Macro was never well but when he was doing Caius ſome good office or other, and commending him to Tiberius; at leaſt if it could be called a commendation to defend a man againſt dark ſurmiſes and reports, and uncertain accuſations. But in one word, he could not have done more for the neareſt relation he had in the world, than he did for Caius. Some would have it that this was done in conſideration of the good underſtanding that had always been betwixt Caius and Macro, who was at that time highly in credit with the emperor. Others aſcribed it to an intrigue with Macro's wife, who for ſome private reaſons, beſt known to herſelf, was perpetually importuning her husband on the behalf of the young man, to do him upon all occaſions the beſt offices he could; and there's no reſiſting the charms of a wanton woman that manages with art and addreſs.

Now Macro, who knew nothing as yet that his wife had diſhonour'd his bed, attributed all her fondneſſes and careſſes to the force of a conjugal affection, and was thereby ſo far impoſed upon, that he took the moſt deadly enemies he had in the world for his trueſt friends. He was conſcious to himſelf how faithfully he had ſerved Caius in ſeveral extremities, where his life was at ſtake; and in the confidence of that merit, he had ſome ſort of right, he thought, to be plainer with him than another man; for his buſineſs was, like a great maſter, to make his work perfect, and laſting, by preſerving him both from himſelf and others. As for example, when he ſaw him ſometimes aſleep at the table, he would take the freedom now and then to wake him, with a private hint, that it was neither decent nor ſafe; for it laid him open to any man that had a deſign upon his life. And ſo at any time when Caius was degrading himſelf by giving too fond an attention to buffoons and tumblers, or laughing out-right at the ſcurrilous conceits of a jeſter, or perhaps playing a part himſelf, in a band of common fidlers, if it was Macro's hap to be within reach of him, it was his way to give him a private jog with his elbow, a diſcouraging wink, or ſome ſecret whiſper, and at the end of all, this following admonition.

“IT is not for you, ſir, to ſee, hear, and gratify your ſenſes, like other men, but you are to advance yourſelf as much above the reſt of the world in the dignity of your mind, as you are in the elevation of your fortune. For what can be more incongruous, than for the maſter of the world to entertain himſelf with the amuſements of ſinging, dancing, inſipid jeſting, and other fopperies of that kind! Whereas it is his part, in all caſes, times, and places, to uphold the majeſty of an imperial prince, as a ſhepherd ſet over the whole flock, and be improving his character daily.” But Macro went further yet.

“WHEN it ſhall be your hap, ſays he, to be at the Circus, the theatre, or any other publick ſpectacle or exerciſe, you are not ſo much to attend the thing in itſelf, as the induſtry in the compoſure, and to reaſon the matter thus: if people take ſuch care and pains to pleaſe the ſpectators, without any benefit to mankind, purely for popular applauſe, and at laſt reckon it as an ample reward to carry the cauſe with credit, what ſhall we expect from the profeſſion of a much more excellent art, that is to ſay, the art of government, which provides for tillage, planting, navigation, and the ſecurity of commerce, in the eſtabliſhment of a reciprocal exchange of commodities all over the provinces for the ſupply one of another? Not but that ſome perſons and places have been tainted with a venomous envy for this bleſſed proviſion and agreement; but the malignity never went ſo far however, as to poiſon the whole world; no, nor the greater part of it; here and there a man, or a family, or perhaps a city or two, might be “concerned; but for whole countries, or nations, there has been nothing of it; eſpecially ſince your illuſtrious family has had the adminiſtration of the government: but the monſters that formerly had the confidence to domineer in the very hearts of the towns, are now glad to ſhift for themſelves, like wild beaſts, into caves and hiding-holes, and have left us in exchange a beneficial intercourſe of correſpondence with all quarters of the earth; which is all ſubjected entirely to your good pleaſure and conduct. This empire, in fine, looks like a mighty ſhip, and yourſelf by providence ſet at the helm, where you are left anſwerable for the ſafety of the veſſel, as you tender the good of mankind. Wherefore pray be ſure to have a care of it, and make it the buſineſs and comfort of your life, to promote the happineſs of your people. Private perſons may do many good offices among themſelves, ſome one way, and ſome another, both publick and private; but it is from the bounty and wiſdom of the prince alone, that the people can ever pretend to be free and eaſy. He muſt have an open hand, and a large ſoul, and no bar to his liberality, but what ſhall be found neceſſary for a reſerve, to anſwer all the ends, the needs, and the chances of government.”

Here was a great deal of good-will and friendly advice caſt away to very little purpoſe; for Caius inſtead of being the better for't, was the worſe; and Macro utterly ruined, over and above, for the good office; his counſel rejected, and his perſon treated with contempt. For Caius had taken ſuch an averſion to him, that when he ſaw him at any time coming towards him, at a diſtance, he would be ſaying to thoſe about him:

“Look you, ſirs, here comes my governor! but I thank my ſtars for it, I am out of my wardſhip: he ſets up for my maſter too, but I am paſt a boy; and ſo likewiſe for a monitor to one that underſtands the world better than himſelf. The pedant takes upon him to inſtruct an emperor how to behave himſelf toward his ſubjects; and an emperor much better acquainted in all the arts of court-politicks than he can pretend to be. This man now has the vanity to act the part of my maſter; but I would fain know where he learnt that skill himſelf that I want. Alas! I have been trained up from my cradle to the myſteries of ſtate, under variety of tutors; as father, brothers, uncles, couſins, grand-fathers, great-grand-fathers; beſide a continued ſucceſſion of ſo many great princes in a right line, both by father and mother, to ſay nothing of the ſeeds of royal virtues that ſhew themſelves commonly in the forming of a governor. For as children many times reſemble their parents, not in face and manners only, but in their very motions, humours, habits, geſtures, &c. ſo does nature infuſe royal abilities into the very veins of a governor. And ſhall a ſot take upon him now to inſtruct me in the myſteries of an art that I brought into the world with me? And yet here's an obſcure, mean wretch, that has the face to lie tutoring me upon a ſubject he knows nothing at all of himſelf.”

Caius was by this time ſo embittered againſt Macro, that nothing leſs than his life would ſerve his turn; and whether the charge were true or falſe, it did not ſignify, provided only matter of accuſation was exhibited againſt him that would bear a colour to make it plauſible. When his head was working upon this thought, a certain expreſſion of Macro's was pitch'd upon, for the ground of an impeachment.

“Caius, ſays he, is a man of my making, and as much, if not more, obliged to me for what he is, than to him that begot him. It was my intereſt, that not only once, but thrice, reſcued him from the rage of Tiberius, when he would have put him to death. And then after the death of Tiberius, when the Pretorian bands were under my command, I gave up my guards into his hands, with this monitory precaution, that the empire could never be ſafe and entire, but in the hands of a ſingle perſon.”

This was all true beyond contradiction, and not without the approbation of ſeveral that heard it, who were not as yet acquainted with the dark and ſlippery ways of Caius, and that diſſembling and hypocriſy were his maſter-piece. In ſhort, it was not many days before the unfortunate Macro, and his wife, were both taken out of the way, by a barbarity anſwerable in the other extreme, to the degree of ſo many generous ſervices. But this is the ungrateful man's way of reckoning with his benefactors; and it was an honeſt man's reward too, for ſaving the life of a brute, and ſetting a monſter upon the throne. There goes a report that the man and the woman were both forced to lay violent hands upon themſelves, notwithſtanding the tenderneſs of Ceſar for his miſtreſs. But the gluts and the lothings of an irregular love are unaccountable.

CHAP. V.

Caius puts his father-in-law M. Silanus to death, and ſeveral others.

When this treacherous prince had rid himſelf of the danger of a competitor, and cut off Macro, with his whole family to a ſingle man, in requital for the ſaving of his life and empire, his third exploit was to be upon his father-in-law, M. Silanus, which he look'd upon as his maſter-piece.

This Marcus Silanus was a brave man, and nobly born; and his daughter dying young, the father paid Caius the ſame reſpects ſtill, if not greater, afterwards than he had done before; not doubting of a reciprocal return, and not imagining what a weather-cock he had to do withal. Silanus being a frank plain-dealing man, was often deſcanting upon the topick of morals and politicks, as the offices and functions of a prince, and the meaſures of good manners and government. Now this was a freedom that he had ſome ſort of title to, by his quality and ſtation: beſide that the wound of his daughter's death, being yet freſh and bleeding upon him, the ſenſe of the affinity, he thought, could not be ſo ſoon forgotten. But Caius took all manner of good counſel for reproach, and conſequently his beſt friends for his mortal enemies: himſelf being ſo wiſe, ſo valiant, ſo temperate, ſo juſt, and, in fine, every way ſo perfect and accompliſh'd in his own conceit, that he reckoned it as a ſcandal to be charged with the very poſſibility of being better: ſo that whoever pretended to adviſe him, did it at his own peril. He had a quarrel alſo to Silanus, as a kind of check upon him in the courſe of his extravagant luſts; and in that fit of outrage he bad a final adieu to the memory of his dead wife, and followed the barbarity with a treacherous practice upon the life of her own father, and, at the ſame time, to the moſt indulgent father-in-law under the ſun, in the ſame perſon. The fame of this murder, and others little leſs conſiderable, that followed upon it, ſtruck the whole world with horror and indignation; but they kept their thoughts to themſelves, for fear of the worſt. But for the people now, that are eaſily impoſed upon, and firm to nothing; the people, I ſay, were ſo far from believing it poſſible for a prince to be ſo human, candid, and generous one day, and ſo mercileſs, falſe, and bloody the next, that they took upon them the juſtification of what he had done, and to plead the equity of the cauſe in his defence.

As to what concerns the death of young Tiberius: “ 'Tis againſt nature, they ſaid, to “ admit a partner in ſovereignty, and it was “ only an act of prevention, to take away the “ life of a man that would otherwiſe have “ taken away his life, if he had got him in “ his power. Now Caius, in this action, was “ not ſo properly to be called a murderer, as “ an inſtrument of divine providence, in re- “ moving Tiberius out of the way, for the “ common good of mankind, for fear of fac- “ tions, and parties; ſome drawing one way “ and ſome another, ſo as to embroil the em- “ pire in the miſeries both of a foreign and “ of an inteſtine war. Now peace is un- “ doubtedly the greateſt of bleſſings, and “ what is it but an orderly government that “ keeps people quiet? that is to ſay, a go- “ vernment where no competitions are encou- “ raged by any diviſion of the princes.”

THEY had their reaſonings likewiſe upon the caſe of Macro: “ Macro, they cried, was “ a proud haughty man; and had forgot the “ Delphick oracle, that bids every man [Know “ himſelf] giving to underſtand, that who- “ ever digeſts that leſſon well, can never be “ miſerable, nor any man happy without it. “ What has a ſubject to do in the province of “ a prince, or to take upon him to teach his “ maſter his duty? 'Tis the ſovereign's pro- “ vince to command, and the ſubjects to o- “ bey.” At this rate it is that the ſilly people deſcant upon wholſome counſels and admonitions; partly for want of ſenſe to diſtinguiſh one thing from another; and partly for want of honeſty and plain-dealing, in the confounding both of names and things.

THEY made alſo a great many carping reflections on the behaviour of Silanus: “ How “ ridiculous he rendered himſelf in claiming “ the ſame authority over a ſon-in-law that “ a father had over his own ſon: whereas pri- “ vate citizens make no difficulty of giving “ way to their own children, in caſe of any “ honourable charge or preferment; but this “ man had the confidence, without the very “ pretence of being ſo much as a father-in- “ law, to intermeddle in matters he had no- “ thing to do withal, for the affinity died “ with the daughter. Marriage 'tis true, ties “ families together for the preſent; but the “ death of either party diſſolves the rela- “ tion.”

This was the talk every where, to ſave the emperor's credit as far as poſſible: for the high opinion they had of this prince's character above all others, for bounty and good nature, had ſo far prepoſſeſſed them in his favour, that they could not think any thing amiſs of him, eſpecially upon ſo ſudden a change from one extreme to another.

CHAP. VI.

Caius ſets up for a demi-god.

THESE three horrid outrages committed upon the perſons of Tiberius, Macro, and Silanus, were as good to Caius as ſo many triumphs over the empire; for now theſe three were gone, he had nothing more to fear, either from the imperial family, the ſoldiery, or the ſenate, Silanus being the glory of that illuſtrious body. But now he had ſubjected the world to his power, an arrogant freak of vanity carried him farther yet, and nothing would ſerve him but divine honours, and tranſlating of the emperor into a demi-god. Now the ground of the whimſy was this.

HE fancy'd to himſelf, that, “ as the maſter “ and leader of troops and flocks of beaſts, as “ ſhepherds, goat-herds, herdſmen, and the “ like, are not ſheep, goats, nor oxen, them- “ ſelves, but reaſonable creatures, and infi- “ nitely above them; ſo ſhould the ſupreme “ governor of men in ſociety, be allowed to “ have ſomewhat in him above the ſcale of “ human nature, that may deſerve a place a- “ mong the gods.”

THIS fantaſtical imagination no ſooner poſſeſſed his head, but the foolery went down with him for a truth; and ſhew'd itſelf ſoon after, in the effects of his blaſphemous phrenſy; as he proceeded farther and farther ſtill by degrees. The firſt ſtep of his ambition was to be a demi-god; ſuch an one as Bacchus, Hercules, Caſtor, Trophonius, Amphiaraus, Amphilochus, and the like. He made himſelf ſport all this while, with their oracles and ceremonies, but ſtill aſſuming to himſelf what he took away from others.

AND then he would be changing habits, and perſons, like a comedian upon the ſtage. One while he would act Hercules, with his lion's skin, and his club; another while he would dreſs himſelf with a cap upon his head, and perſonate Caſtor. Sometimes again, he would appear in a Faun's skin, and his Thyrſus wrap'd up in ivy, in imitation of Bacchus. But he had this peculiar to himſelf, that whereas his fellow demi-gods were well enough content with their ſeveral enſigns, and privileges apart, Caius engroſs'd them all to himſelf, for his own greater honour, in the outdoing even of thoſe that he envy'd.

BUT that which drew the greateſt train of followers after him, was not that he had three bodies like Geryon, but what was more wonderful, the turning of one body into ſo many ſhapes, like the Egyptian Proteus in Homer, who transforms himſelf into animals, the elements of fire and water, and what not?

But what are you the better, Caius, for this way of reſembling the figures of the demi-gods, without imitating their virtues? The labours and the hazards of Hercules, were all employ'd for the good of mankind, in delivering the world, both at ſea and land, from the monſters that infeſted it. Bacchus planted and cultivated the vines, and drew a cordial drink from them in the juice of the grape, that cheers both body and mind. It lays our cares aſleep, and at the ſame time makes us forget our misfortunes, and hope for better. Wine, in ſhort, gives us health, ſtrength, and activity: private perſons, cities, and families, are all the better for it; and a cheerful cup is but a tranſition from labour to reſt; and when all is done, 'tis a comfort and relief, both to Greeks and Barbarians, and their feaſts, merry-meetings, muſick, and dancings, are wholly owing to it. Let this ſuffice now to the honour of wine.

Now as to Jupiter's two twins, Caſtor and Pollux, the one of them was immortal, they ſay, and the other mortal; and the immortal brother had ſo paſſionate a tenderneſs for the other, that he choſe rather to devolve part of his own privilege upon his brother, and to ſubject himſelf to the fate of other mortals, than to outlive ſo dear a friend: "For, (ſays "he) what will my immortality ſignify to "me, after my brother's death, but an ever-"laſting mourning for ſo irreparable a loſs?" Whereupon, he bethought himſelf of an expedient, to compound the difficulty, by dividing the mortality and immortality of the two brothers equally betwixt them, and fixing two different natures upon the ſame bottom of equity and reaſon.

Now theſe worthies were famous men in their generations, and ſo they continue to this day, both for their perſonal piety, and the good offices they have render'd to the publick; upon which account they have made themſelves venerable for their virtue. But now, Caius, what great or good thing did you ever do, to entitle yourſelf to the honour of a demi-god? To begin with Caſtor: inſtead of emulating the heroical bravery of ſo generous a friend and brother, your merit lies in the mercileſs and inhuman murder of an innocent prince, your own fleſh and blood, and rightful co-partner in the empire; and that murder follow'd with the baniſhment of his ſiſters, to ſecure your uſurpation. Or what have you done after the precedent of Bacchus? what new invention, that the world was ever the better for? Is mankind ever the eaſier, or the happier, for you? But, to your praiſe be it ſpoken, you have found out inventions indeed: inventions, that like an epidemical peſtilence turn joy into heavineſs and mourning, and make all people weary of their lives. And pray what's the return you make for the vaſt treaſures that come flowing daily into your coffers, from the four quarters of the earth, to gratify an inſatiable avarice, but inſupportable impoſitions, by unheard of taxes and tributes, to make the burden of the oppreſſion odious and intolerable? Is this a way of proceeding now, after the example of Bacchus?

Or what ſhall we ſay in the next place to the indefatigable Hercules? his publick-ſpirited labours and bold adventures, wholeſome laws, righteous judgments, plenty both at ſea and land, and all to eſtabliſh peace and commerce over the face of the univerſe? This is a ſhort character of Hercules, and let us now compare the copy with the original, and ſee what a picture we have gotten of that hero in Caius. A dull, ſlothful, wretched mortal, and ſo far from brave, that he's as timorous as a hare: nothing of order, quiet, or comfort, but on the contrary, ſedition, miſery, and tumult, where-ever he comes. And this Caius ſetting up at laſt for a demi-god in imitation of Hercules.

Now ſpeak, Caius, is it for thy butchery and tyranny, that thou hopeſt to be made a God? or is it thy ſpite to mankind, to conſider, that being immortal thyſelf, all the plagues thou haſt brought upon the world muſt be likewiſe everlaſting? Now I am of another opinion, and that if thou wert already upon the very liſt for a God, the lewdneſs of thy life would bring thee down again, into a ſtate of mortality; for if virtue can make a God, wickedneſs conſequently will degrade him. It is not for the murderer of his brother to take ſanctuary under the protection of the moſt illuſtrious friendſhip betwixt two brothers that ever was heard of; neither is it for any man to entitle himſelf to the merits of Hercules and Bacchus, that lives in a contradiction to their principles of honour and virtue.

CHAP. VII.

Caius grows worſe and worſe; and ſets up for a god of a ſuperior order.

THE madneſs of Caius was by this time advanced to ſo extravagant a pitch, that a demi-god's place would not now content him, without entring into a competition with the gods of the firſt rate; as Apollo, Mars, and Mercury. He began with Mercury, and ſo dreſs'd himſelf up in all the ornaments and enſigns of his dignity, as the mantle, the white rod, the wings and buskins; valuing himſelf all this while upon order, in confuſion itſelf, and reaſon in the head of a man whoſe brain was diſtemper'd with the phrenſy. When he was weary of being Mercury, he laid aſide that maſquerade, and perſonated Apollo, with a radiant crown upon his head, a bow and arrows in his left hand, and the graces held forth in his right; intimating, that we ſhould be forward and ready to do good offices, but backward and ſlow to puniſh.

After this, there were holy ſongs and dances exhibited to this new god; though well enough ſatisfied but a little before in the perſon of Bacchus, with the appellations of Liber, Evius and Lyceus. He would then again, by fits, be aſſuming the perſon of Mars, accouter'd with a coſtly head-piece, ſword and buckler; taking his march, with his prieſts and bravoes on each hand of him, and ſo act Mars himſelf to the life, in the execution of his blood-thirſty cruelties. This horrid ſpectacle ſtruck an aſtoniſhing terror into all that beheld it; to ſee a counterfeit uſurp upon the honours of theſe heroes, though a perfect enemy to their virtue, and reſembling them in nothing but their habits, which have no further meaning than as intimations of the bounty and goodneſs of the gods to thoſe that truly love and fear them. And what's the moral now of Mercury's winged buskins, but that being the meſſenger or embaſſadour of the gods, as the Greek word imports, and the bearer of good tidings, (as no wiſe man, much leſs a God, would undertake to be the author of ill news) 'tis fit he ſhould be quick in his diſpatches, where haſte is ſo requiſite? And what again does his wand or white rod ſignify, but the enſign of a league or a peace-maker? For 'tis the herald that puts an end to the war either by agreement or truce; and without the mediation of this good office we ſhould be continually deſtroying one another without either end or meaſure. But what did Caius's wings ſerve him for, ſaving only to publiſh the execrable lewdneſs of his life and manners over the face of the whole earth; ſcandal that on the contrary ſhould rather have been bury'd in ſilence? Neither was there any occaſion for the figure of a ſpeedy paſſage, to a wretch that might have ſtood ſtill in the ſame place, and like an inexhauſtible fountain have laid the world under water. And what uſe had he again for the figure of a wand, the emblem of peace, that was never the author of one temperate word or action? For there was nothing where he had to do, whether among Greeks or Barbarians, in private houſes or in cities, but civil wars, heart-burnings, and ſedition: wherefore our imaginary and counterfeit Mercury ſhould do well to quit a name and a pretence he has ſo little colour of a title to.

Neither is he, in the complexion of his mind, one jot liker Apollo than he was to Mercury. He wears a ſparkling crown, 'tis true, with the beams of the ſun artificially wrought upon it; but what's the ſun to deeds that would not bear the light? An honeſt and a virtuous action cannot have too many eyes to look upon it, no not the ſun itſelf in his meridian glory, when it ſhines the brighteſt. But for foul, impious, and diſhonourable practices, that will not ſtand the teſt, as they were works of darkneſs, in the very conſcience of them, ſo let them remain condemn'd to the regions of darkneſs, and never ſee the light. But let him change hands now, and take the bow and the arrows in his right hand, and deſtroy men, women and children, cities and families, according to his cuſtom, and then let him conceal the graces in his left hand, unleſs he had rather throw them away: for he is evidently guilty of horrible oppreſſions, out of an immoderate love of money: and then follow his rapines, with the murder of the proprietors; by which means he turns the very bounties of providence into a ſnare, by make it a crime to be wealthy. And it is much the ſame caſe with our mock Apollo in the matter of phyſick; who inſtead of being the inventor of ſalutary remedies, and of a benevolent readineſs to aſſiſt people, either in the preventing or in the curing of diſeaſes, infects the ſound, makes cripples, of men even in perfect health, diſpatches men before their time, and enter'd ſo far into the art of poiſoning, that if divine juſtice had not given him a check in the courſe of his wickedneſs, there would hardly have been one honeſt or ſubſtantial man left, eſpecially in Italy and other populous places; for there was more gold and ſilver hoarded up in that compaſs of ground than in the whole world beſide. But he began at home, and ſhew'd himſelf the ſcourge, the plague, and the ruin of the people. Apollo was as famous alſo for his predictions as for his phyſick; but all ſtill for the good of mankind: for when people were in the dark and doubtful, and in danger of taking good for evil, he never fail'd with his oracles to ſet them right, and to keep them from wavering: nay, his fore-knowledge of the future was ſo certain, that men believ'd it as if they had ſeen it with their eyes. But what if we ſhould compare the doughty oracles of Caius now with thoſe of Apollo? his prognoſticks of infamy, confiſcations, exiles and executions, to all men of quality and merit? Where's the affinity betwixt our new Apollo and the other, that never did the like? Wherefore let us have no more mock ſongs of joy and triumph, to the tune of true ones; for if the counterfeiting of a prince's image upon his coin be reckon'd a crime, a falſe worſhip is worſe certainly by much than falſe money.

But the greateſt ſurprize of all reſt, is the taking upon him to perſonate the ſtrength and bravery of Mars, with a broken conſtitution that has not the ſoul in it of a woman, and then making no more difficulty of putting the cheat upon the ſpectators, than as if it were but a ſcene of a play upon a ſtage. But without deſcending to particulars in our compariſon, take them body and mind together, and no two things can be more unlike. I do not ſpeak of the fabulous, or the phantome Mars; but of the other; by which we underſtand the force of a natural courage in the protection of the innocent, and for the relief of the oppreſſed, according to the derivation of the Greek word, Ἄρης from ἀρήγειν, to help. Mars, in fine, has two names; one of them a lover of peace, ſo far as it conduces to the good of the publick; and the other, as much a friend to war, that is ſure to be attended with blood and confuſion.

CHAP. VIII.

Caius's rage againſt the Jews, for refuſing to pay him divine honour.

Here's enough ſaid to ſhew, that Caius had no pretence to liſt himſelf upon the roll of the gods; no, not ſo much as upon that of the demi-gods: for there was no ſort of agreement betwixt them, either in their nature, or in their eſſence; or more particularly, in their inclinations and manners. Men are blinded with their luſts, eſpecially when they are ſeconded by ambition, obſtinacy, the love of contention, and the licentious impotency of unbridled appetites. But men do not know when they are well, and this was our ruin. Now Caius had nothing under the cope of heaven to fear, but the Jews, to croſs him in his deſign; being a people train'd up from their cradle under the care of parents, tutors, and maſters, the doctrine of holy writ, and the law of nature, to the belief only of one God, the father and creator of the world. I ſpeak this of the Jews; for as to the reſt, men and women, cities, nations, countries, provinces, I might have ſaid, well nigh the whole univerſe, how much ſoever againſt their inclinations, did nevertheleſs join with the faction, extoll'd Caius to the ſkies, and conſequently gave a kind of ſanction to his pride and vanity.

Nay there were certain Romans, that deſcended ſo low, as to introduce the barbarous way of worſhip into Italy itſelf, to the ſcandal of their liberties. But the Jews, I ſay, were the only nation from whom they apprehended any oppoſition; a people, that rather than part with the leaſt ſcruple of their country's rights, would embrace death as cheerfully, as if it were but entering into a ſtate of immortality: for 'tis in this caſe as it is in buildings; take out one ſtone, and tho' the reſt may ſeem to ſtand firm at preſent, time will weaken it by degrees, till it falls all to pieces. And the point in queſtion was no trifle neither; but a matter, on the contrary, of the higheſt importance imaginable; and no leſs than the transforming of fleſh and blood into a deity, and turning a mortal man into an immortal god. A moſt execrable blaſphemy; and the notion would have been more tolerable, if it had been the turning of a god into a man, than of a man into a god. Beſide the gap that it would open into all manner of wickedneſs, as infidelity and ingratitude to the author of all mercies and bounties, in the diſtribution of his bleſſings and graces to the common good and comfort of mankind.

This was it that involv'd our nation in ſo deſtructive and mercileſs a war. For what greater miſery can befal a ſervant, than to lie under the mortal hatred of his maſter? Now the ſubjects of emperors are ſervants; but how eaſily ſoever they liv'd under former emperors, the government of Caius made their condition inſupportable: a prince without any bowels of humanity or compaſſion; one that knew no other law but his own will, and abrogated all other proviſions as ſuperfluous. But ſtill of all other people under the ſun, ours were certainly the moſt deſpicable of ſlaves and drudges, under the arbitrary rigour of a tyrannical monſter, inſtead of a father of his people.

CHAP. IX.

The horrid outrages of the Alexandrians againſt the Jews, upon this occaſion of Caius's perſecution.

THE Alexandrians no ſooner came to underſtand the malicious intentions of Caius againſt the Jews, but the populace immediately laid hold of the occaſion to revenge themſelves upon them, for an old grudge, and ſo enter'd into a conſpiracy to put all in a tumult. The work went on ſo unanimouſly, that it look'd as if the emperor himſelf had been a party to the uproar, or that we had been all priſoners at mercy: ſo brutal and bloody was the execution they did upon us; breaking open of houſes, turning man, woman, and child out of doors, and then rifling and carrying away all they could lay their hands on that was valuable. And this not done under any awe neither, or in the dark, like common night-thieves, that are afraid of being taken up and brought to juſtice; but they committed theſe robberies in the very face of the ſun, ſhewing what they had gotten to every body they met, with as much confidence as if it had been an inheritance or a purchaſe. Nay, they had companies and ſocieties among themſelves, that went ſharers in the booty, dividing the ſpoil, even in the marker-place, and the proprietors themſelves, as it fell out ſometimes, looking on, whom they mock'd and vilify'd with ſcorns and virulent rallings over and above.

This was a hard caſe, at leaſt, if it may paſs for one, to have men of quality and eſtates turn'd out of all in a moment, and made beggars without ſo much as knowing their fault. But ſo it was, that they were forc'd from their habitations, and expos'd like vagabonds to the wide world, to periſh with heat or ſtarve with cold, no proviſions being allow'd them to ſupport life. And this was all nothing yet, to that which follow'd. For after the cooping up of ſo many thouſands of men, women, and children, in a narrow place, like beaſts in a pound, without the neceſſaries of life, they made no doubt of finding them in a few days a pile of carcaſſes, for want either of food or of breath; the place being cloſe and ſmothering, and the air corrupted with malignant vapours from the vitiated lungs of a confus'd crowd of people: which in this caſe is but adding fire to fire. Now the body is hot in itſelf, and that heat requires a refreſhing air from without to aſſiſt reſpiration; but hot upon hot puts all out of order.

Such, in fine, were the difficulties of this place, that there was no longer any living in it for want of air; ſo that the poor people were forc'd abroad in this extremity: ſome withdrew toward the ſea-ſide, others betook themſelves to ſome remote burying places; ſome one way, ſome another, and all gaſping for breath. As for thoſe that ſtay'd behind, in any other part of the city, or came into it afterward during this outrage, without knowing any thing of the matter, theſe miſerable wretches were batter'd with tiles and brickbats, their limbs broken, and their brains beaten out with cudgels, and thoſe parts of the body principally aim'd at, where the wound or the bruiſe was moſt likely to be mortal. And it far'd not much better with thoſe neither, who were coop'd up, as I ſaid, in that narrow corner of the city, where they were beſet with ſpies, in caſe any of them ſhould venture upon an eſcape; which was reaſonably to be expected, not ſo much for their own ſakes, as to ſave their families from periſhing by hunger. The Alexandrians kept a ſtrict guard upon that quarter; and ſo many as they found attempting to get away, they put them firſt to the torture, and then to death; and no cruelty was thought too much for them. There was another body of theſe brutes that planted themſelves upon the river ſide, to lie in wait there for the Jewiſh merchants, and their effects, which they took away in ſight of the owners, and then burnt them alive; making uſe of the cabins, oars, and tember veſſel for the fuel. Others were burnt in the middle of the city, and in a way much more terrible; for they made uſe of the bruſh-wood inſtead of billets, and when they had kindled it, they threw the miſerable wretches into the fire; but the branches being moiſt and green, the ſmoke was ſtronger than the flame, and left no coals behind.

There were ſeveral drawn alive too, with ropes and cords, through the ſtreets, and croſs the market-place; the multitude inſulting over their bodies even when they were dead: for after the quartering, and cutting of them piece-meal, they trampled them under foot, and with more than brutal cruelty would not let one bit of them appear to intitle them to a burial.

Now the governor of the province, who might with eaſe have put a ſtop to the courſe of this popular fury, if he had had a mind to it: this governor, I ſay, pretended a downright ignorance all this while of the very things he ſaw and heard, which was as good as a commiſſion to them in what they did, and an encouragement to worſe. There were meeting houſes, or places of prayer, up and down the city in abundance; and there it was, that the people in vaſt bodies diſcharg'd their fury next: in ſome places by grubbing up their groves and trees; in others, they demoliſh'd the houſes from top to bottom: in ſome again, they committed all to the flames; but in ſuch a tranſport of rage and madneſs, that the fire took the adjoining buildings; as 'tis hard putting a ſtop to a conflagration where there's combuſtible matter to work upon: to ſay nothing of the monumental and illuſtrious memorials, that were ſet up by ſeveral of the Roman emperors, in honour of the Jews, and were all conſum'd at the ſame time; as bucklers, crowns, and garlands, gilt ſtatues, with their titles and inſcriptions, &c. which all people had a veneration for. But the faction was at that time ſtark mad.

And now to fortify themſelves yet more in the prince's favour, and to ſecure Caius likewiſe, all that was poſſible, in the execution of his bloody deſigns, they apply'd themſelves to new arts of flattery and inſinuation, and this was the way they went to work.

There were a great many oratories, where the Jews would have been too ſtrong for the rioters if it had come to a ſcuffle; and theſe they durſt not venture on, either to burn, or to pull down; ſo that they bethought themſelves of another way of proceeding, and how they might deſtroy their worſhip and their manners both in one; that is to ſay, they erected Caius's ſtatue in all the meeting-places that they could not demoliſh; and in the chief of them, a chariot with four horſes of braſs; an invention that ſeveral officious zealots were ſo fond of, as for want of others, to make uſe of old ruſty jades, without either ears, tails, or legs; being taken out of the Gymnaſium, or place of exerciſe, and, as they ſay, dedicated of old to Cleopatra, the great grandmother of the laſt queen of that name. Now whether this was well or ill done, let any mortal judge: I mean the dedication of that to an emperor, that had been firſt dedicated to a woman: beſides that it was old, and out of faſhion over and above, and in that reſpect below the acceptance of an imperial patron: how ſhould they imagine, that a vain, a haughty, and a violent prince, ſhould ever be pleas'd with any thing ſo like a mockery, under the cover of a reverential reſpect! And yet they had the face to value themſelves upon the merit of what they had done, and to expect a reward for it. But the ſervice they laid the greateſt ſtreſs upon, was the turning of ſo many oratories into new temples, and encreaſing the number of them; wherein nothing can be more certain than that they did not ſo much conſult the honour of their maſter, as the gratifying of their own paſſions, in wreaking their ſpite all manner of ways upon the Jews. As for example: there were a matter of ten kings, in the ſpace of three hundred years, and not ſo much as one image or ſtatue conſecrated to any of them; notwithſtanding that they treated them at the ſame time, in the ſtile and title of gods. 'Tis true they knew them to be but men all this while, when they made gods of them. And why not a god of a man, as well as a god of a ſerpent, a crocodile, a bird, a beaſt, a fiſh, and the like? as we find in the Egyptian temples, altars, and groves, that are conſecrated to the honour of thoſe creatures.

But as theſe people are the groſſeſt flatterers under the ſun, and court princes for their fortunes, rather than for their perſons and virtues, they will be anſwering perhaps, that as the emperors are greater, and more conſiderable than the Ptolemies, ſo 'tis but reaſonable they ſhould have more honour done them than the other. A moſt ridiculous pretence! For at that rate, why had not Octavianus[*] the ſame honours done him before Caius, to whom Caius ſtood indebted for the empire: a prince, that after a reign of three and forty[*] years, both at ſea and land, did not leave ſo much as the leaſt ſpark or proſpect of a war, either in Greece or Barbary, but lived in the conſtant poſſeſſion of peace, and in the enjoyment of the bleſſings of it to his dying day. And yet this prince after all had none of theſe honours done him. Was it for want of blood and family, to entitle him to this preferment? No, no; there was no defect that way, for he was much ſuperior to Caius both by father and mother. Or can it be ſaid that he was inferior to him in learning, and leſs ſkill'd in the rules and arts of government? No man of his time certainly made a truer judgment of things, or diſcourſed matters better. And for his years then, never any prince or emperor had the reputation of being wiſe ſooner, or of growing old more to his honour: inſomuch, that he was celebrated for the early pregnancy of his underſtanding, by the diſtinguiſhing character of the old young prince.

And yet this incomparable prince muſt be paſſed over, to make way for Caius; a prince, that by his virtue, has in a manner ſurmounted the very frailties of human nature, and intitled himſelf by the bravery, conduct, and juſtice of his adminiſtration, to the venerable name of Auguſtus: not as an hereditary honour tranſmitted to him from his anceſtors, but a glorious title, that began in himſelf and will deſcend to his poſterity.

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[*] Though the original in this place ſays three and twenty years, and ſpeaks of Tiberius, and not of Octavianus, yet 'tis plain, not only from all the ſeveral circumſtances that follow, but alſo more expreſly from the laſt paragraph of this chapter, that the text is corrupted in both places, and that the exalted encomiums here given could not belong to Tiberius, but to Octavianus Ceſar Auguſtus; for which reaſon we have corrected the text by changing the names and number of years according to authentic Roman hiſtory.

The whole world was in a flame, both at ſea and land, when this mighty prince came to the government. The quarrel in ſhort was empire; the maritime, and the inland provinces engaged in it under the command of the braveſt men among the Romans, party againſt party, and the greateſt part of the world concerned in the diſpute; nation againſt nation, and people againſt people, to the degree of endangering a total devaſtation, in the conſequences of ſo bloody a conteſt: for not only the happineſs, but the very being of mankind was at ſtake upon the iſſue, if providence, in the critical nick of this juncture, when their hearts were ready to ſink under the burden, had not raiſed up a prince of an illuſtrious family, like a guardian angel to their deliverance. And this prince was that Ceſar, that by charming the winds and the waves, and laying the ſtorm, ſettled the whole race of mankind in an univerſal peace: the prince that brought a remedy for all ſores, that had ſpread themſelves eaſt, weſt, north, and ſouth, through all quarters: this was he, that in his own ſingle perſon, ſet all the provinces at liberty, and put an end both to wars and robberies; and when he had cleared the ſeas of pirates, he repleniſhed them again with veſſels of trade and commerce, and brought order out of confuſion; reducing the moſt barbarous and inhoſpitable of nations, to a temper of ſociety and good-nature, and making all the towns as eaſy as if they had been perfectly free. He maintained peace, and adminiſter'd juſtice, and ſcatter'd his bounties and good graces among the people, in ſo generous a way of profuſion, that they wanted for nothing: and this was his courſe and practice to the end of his days. And yet after all theſe obligations, to ſo great and glorious a benefactor, and the three and forty years government of Egypt over and above, there was no talk of ſtatues, or images, to his honour in any of their oratories. But yet if any mortal could pretend a title to a reſpect ſo new and extraordinary, this prince of all men living had certainly the faireſt right to it; not only, as the author of the auguſt imperial family, and the beſt deſerving from all mankind; but for taking the power out of many hands into one, and aſſuming the care of it to himſelf, as a prince perfectly skilled in the art of government. It was well ſaid, that, "ſovereignty is not to be divided," for many voices are the cauſe of many miſchiefs. And this is not all neither, for the whole world had decreed him divine honours, as temples, groves, porticos, and ſuch pieces of curioſity and ſtate, that new or old, ancient or modern, the world does not afford the like: eſpecially that temple of Ceſar's in Alexandria, under the name of Sebaſte, a piece incomparably above all others. It ſtands ſituate over againſt a moſt commodious harbour; wonderful high, and large in proportion, and an eminent ſea-mark; full of choice paintings and ſtatues, with donatives and oblations in abundance; and then it is beautified all over with gold and ſilver; the model curious, and regular in the diſpoſition of the parts, as galleries, libraries, porches, courts, halls, walks, and conſecrated groves, as glorious as expence and art could make them, and every thing in the proper place: beſide that, the hope and comfort of ſea-faring men either coming in or going out. Shall any man think now that in ſuch a caſe as this, and in ſo univerſal a conſent and concourſe of nations, any thing was wanting, that was juſtly due to the honour of Ceſar, without ſetting up the ſtatues in the Jews oratories. No man in his right wits can ſay there was. But why was it omitted then? Hear, and I'll tell you.

They underſtood the generoſity and juſtice of Ceſar ſo well, that they knew he would be as tender of the rights and privileges of the ſeveral provinces, as of the ceremonies of Rome itſelf: but he did not think fit however to reject the good-will of his blind flatterers; not that he approved of the thing, but the dignity of the empire required it, as an artificial way of creating a veneration for the government. Neither was he one jot puffed up with the complimental offers, as it appears by this, that he would never ſuffer himſelf to be treated in the ſtile of God or maſter; ſo great an averſion he had to ſo ſervile a way of adulation. Nay he would not ſtick to declare himſelf well ſatisfied with the Jews refuſal to comply with this abominable practice: he would never elſe have ſuffered ſo conſiderable a part of the city beyond Tyber, to continue in the poſſeſſion of the Jews, the greater part of them being freemen too, that is to ſay, men that having been priſoners of war, were ſet at liberty by their maſters, to live according to the laws of their country and profeſſion. He was no ſtranger to the nature of their oratories, and their worſhip there on the ſabbath-days, eſpecially, according to the practice of their fore-fathers. He knew well enough too of the collections they made, and the ſending of them up to Jeruſalem, under the name of firſt fruits; and of miniſters they had to offer ſacrifice for them; and yet he neither turned them out of the city, nor inflicted any other puniſhment upon them, as he might have done. Nay, and in Paleſtine itſelf, the Jews were allowed the liberty of their country's worſhip, without putting any check or reſtraint upon them, either in the matter of their oratories, or in the freedom of their legiſlative aſſemblies. Neither did he ſhew any diſlike to the ſolemn cuſtom of offering up of firſt fruits; but on the contrary, he had ſo great a reverence for our holy worſhip, that we have the preſents yet to ſhew, of almoſt all his domeſticks, in that temple of ours, in token of his approbation: beſide his expreſs order for the offering up of daily ſacrifices to the moſt high God, at his own charge; which cuſtom is in practice to this day, and will continue ſo for ever as a monument to the everlaſting honour of this pious emperor. And then upon any occaſion of a monthly diſtribution of money and corn to be made among the people, he took care that the Jews might have their proportion of the charity: or if the day for the diſpoſing of it happened to fall out upon the Jews ſabbath, when our people were not allowed either to give or take, or to do any ſort of work, eſpecially for profit, the officers were commanded to reſerve their ſhare apart for them till the next day. This generous tenderneſs gave the Jews ſo great a reputation in the world, that it kept their very enemies in awe, from breaking in upon the ſacredneſs of their privileges.

The Jews were as eaſy alſo under Tiberius, as under Auguſtus, though Sejanus did what he could to irritate him againſt them, and to embroil Italy in new troubles. Now Tiberius quickly found, after the miſerable death of Sejanus, that the ſtories he had told him were only calumny and malice, and that Sejanus's buſineſs was only to clear the city of the Jews, as the men the moſt likely of all others to oppoſe his impious deſign upon the life of the emperor; who, upon this, ſent orders immediately to all the governors of provinces, to be kind to the Jews wherever they found them, ſome very few excepted: but for preſſing any innovations upon them in matters of worſhip, that was not to be endured; for he looked upon them to be a peaceable, and a good ſort of people, and found nothing in their laws, lives, and manners, but what was very agreeable to the meaſures of a well ordered government.

CHAP. X.

One Helico an Egyptian, formerly a ſlave, and at preſent a favourite, exaſperates Caius againſt the Alexandrian Jews.

CAIUS was now ſo puffed up with pride and vanity, that he really took himſelf for the god he pretended to be; and no people ſo forward, either Greeks or Barbarians, to countenance the phrenſy, as theſe Alexandrians; who are certainly the moſt artificial diſſemblers, flatterers, and hypocrites, under the cope of heaven. They have ſmooth tongues, words at will, and the beſt qualified men in nature for the overturning of a ſtate and laying all in confuſion. He that would be well informed of the veneration that theſe religious people have for the dreadful name of God, needs but conſider that they treat their [*] Ibes, their [†] Aſps, and ſeveral other animals in the ſame ſtile, whereby men are eaſily impoſed upon, that are not well aware of the horrid impiety of the Egyptians; but for thoſe that underſtand the humour and genius of the people, and make a right judgment of things, they lie as open to them as the day. Now Caius was ſo beſotted, as to think that the Alexandrians believed him to be a god in good earneſt: for they acted their part ſo well, that there was no difference in appearance betwixt a falſe worſhip and a true; the acclamations, and the external formalities, being the very ſame. This groſs miſtake made him reflect upon all the extravagances of a ſacrilegious zeal, together with the late affronts upon the oratories in particular, as an impulſe of conſcience and affection. He had an account ſent him daily from Alexandria of theſe tranſactions, which he read with more pleaſure and delight than any poem or hiſtory: nor any intelligencers ſo fit for his turn, as his own domeſticks, to gratify the humour of their maſter in what he lik'd or diſlik'd. The greater part of them were Egyptians; an abject, vile ſort of people, train'd up in the worſhip of ſerpents and crocodiles, and corrupted body and ſoul. The head of this abominable troop was one Helico, a mean and a wicked wretch, that by lewd arts had wrought himſelf into the court. He had ſome tincture of learning, that he got under his firſt maſter, whoſe ſlave he was, and who afterwards made a preſent of him to Tiberius Ceſar. But that prince's genius leading him to what was grave and ſerious, and Helico's talent lying altogether upon the buffoon, he took no pleaſure in him at all. Nay, on the contrary, he had a natural averſion, even in his youth, for all things that were trivial and light. But upon Tiberius's deceaſe, and Caius's ſucceeding to the empire, Helico conſidered with himſelf, that he had now another game to play with his new maſter, who he ſaw was a prince wholly abandoned to all manner of vitious licence.

“Well, (ſays Helico to himſelf) the happy hour is now at hand, wherefore rouze, and beſtir thyſelf; thou haſt a maſter to thy very heart's wiſh, and thou haſt that maſter to thyſelf at pleaſure: thou haſt a turn of wit agreeable enough, and a faculty of droll and banter, no man better; to ſay nothing of pleaſant conceits, mirth, jokes, and raillery, peculiar to thyſelf. Thou art equally the maſter of arts, liberal and illiberal. Thy tongue is well enough hung too, to cut a hair betwixt ſatire and flattery; eſpecially when thou haſt a prince in thy power that takes delight in calumny and reproach: for his ears are always open, thou knoweſt, to ſlander and obloquy: and then never trouble thy head to look farther for matter, ſo long as thou haſt the Jews laws and ceremonies to work upon: and this is a point of skill that thou haſt been inſtructed in from thy very cradle; not from any one maſter, but from the clamorous and noiſy part of the Alexandrian rabble. This is the caſe; and now let us ſee what thou art the better for thy learning.”

Helico's head was ſo full of this capricious whimſy, that he ply'd Caius night and day; breaking in upon him ſtill in the very privacy of his receſſes, entertaining him with ſquinting double-edged ſtories, betwixt jeſt and earneſt, and the ſharper the pleaſanter. But his way was not to play the informer bare-faced, or to own himſelf for what he was; but he did the Jews more miſchief by oblique innuendoes, and under the diſguiſe of an alluſion, than he could have done in the quality of a profeſſed enemy.

When the Alexandrian ambaſſadors came to underſtand the management of this intrigue, they made it their buſineſs to bring Helico over into their intereſt; ſome ſay, by great ſums of money in hand, or at leaſt by large promiſes, both of treaſure and of honour, ſo ſoon as Caius ſhould come to Alexandria. Helico's head was mightily affected with the vanity of thinking what reſpects he was to receive in the preſence, not only of his maſter, but of ſo many eminent perſons as would be ſure to appear from all quarters upon ſo ſolemn an occaſion, and in veneration to ſo great a prince. So that Helico promiſ'd great matters in the concluſion.

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[*] The Ibis was an Egyptian bird, very high, with ſtiff legs and a long bill, that eat up the ſerpents that infeſted the country. See Plin. viii. 27. Authors make frequent mention of the Egyptians worſhipping this bird.

[†] The Aſp was a moſt venomous ſerpent, worſhipp'd alſo by the Egyptians.

We had been hitherto ſo taken up with the thought of our known and open enemies, that we never ſo much as dreamt of the danger of a ſecret one, in the perſon of Helico. But when we came to find our miſtake, we made a trial to work upon him by flattery and fair words, as the man of the whole world we had the moſt reaſon to dread; for he attended Caius at all his exerciſes, liberties and entertainments; as balls, wreſtling, bathing, feaſting, beſide all manner of ſenſual pleaſures. And which is more than all the reſt, he was the firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber, ſo that upon all occaſions he was ſure of the emperor's ear. His diſcourſes turn'd all upon ſcurrility and buffoonery, and yet were ſo temper'd betwixt ſweet and ſour, that they were at the ſame time the ſharpeſt, and the moſt agreeable mixture that could be imagin'd; it being his principal deſign to pleaſe Caius, and at the ſame time to ruin us by ſcandal and ſubornations; though the former fell in only by the bye, yet the other was in truth his principal deſign and main buſineſs. But in the end, out comes ſuch a concatenation of ſtories ſo artificially link'd together, and improv'd with ſuch aggravations, that the impreſſion they made upon the prince was never to be forgotten or defac'd.

CHAP. XI.

The Jews of Alexandria ſend deputies to Caius, with an account of their grievances, and Philo the chief of their embaſſy.

When we had done all that was poſſible toward cultivating a better underſtanding with Helico, and found him ſo intolerably proud and inacceſſible, that there was no ſpeaking to him, we let that project fall, and bethought ourſelves of another expedient, which ſeem'd no leſs neceſſary, and yet more likely to take effect; not knowing all this while, but it might be ſome perſonal and particular pique againſt the Jews, that made him ſo exaſperated againſt us. Now the courſe we took was this: It was thought reaſonable to preſent Caius with a petition, in the nature of a remonſtrance of all our grievances, and a prayer for relief. This petition was, in truth, but the abſtract of a longer addreſs, that was deliver'd a little before to king Agrippa, when he call'd at Alexandria in his way to Syria, to take poſſeſſion of a government the emperor had confer'd upon him. We were thus far advanced in our way toward Rome, under a great miſtake it ſeems; for whereas we made no doubt of finding Caius a prince of honour and juſtice, he prov'd, on the contrary, the moſt implacable enemy we had to do withal; but with the words and countenance, and under the maſk ſtill, of a generous friend. It was in the field of Mars; (a field near Tyber) that he ſaluted and received us, and ſo he gave us to underſtand by a ſign of his right hand, that we were heartily welcome: he ſent Homulus alſo, the introducer of ambaſſadors, to tell us, he would take cognizance of our cauſe at leiſure: which made all people conclude, both Jews and ſtrangers, that our buſineſs was as good as done. But wiſdom and experience taught me better things, than to judge by appearances, and ſo that which pleaſ'd the reſt of the company troubled me, and gave me a jealouſy upon the main; whereupon I reaſoned the matter thus with myſelf: “Here are ambaſſadors from all parts of the world; and what's the meaning of it, that the Jews are only to be heard; beſide that they are known to be Jews, and a people that will content themſelves to ſtand upon the ſame level with the reſt. But for us, in fine, to expect a privilege from a ſtranger, a young and a free prince, would be next door to madneſs. He is partial to the Alexandrians without diſpute, and it is for their ſakes, that he preſſes the matter to an iſſue. I ſhould be glad to ſee him an indifferent arbitrator betwixt party and party, but I dread the thought of finding him an advocate for them, and an enemy to us.”

CHAP. XII.

Caius orders Petronius, the governor of Syria, to ſet up his ſtatue in the temple of Jeruſalem: Philo and his collegues are inform'd of it.

These thoughts kept me waking, and in this anxiety I was ſurpriz'd with a diſmal accident not to be foreſeen, and an accident that boded deſtruction to the whole nation of the Jews. There was no importuning of Caius in the matter, and ſo we only follow'd him out of town to Puteoli, whither he went to take the air at the ſea-ſide, and to divert himſelf from place to place, in the ſight of goodly towns and palaces, which are thereabouts in abundance. While we were waiting there in daily expectation of an audience, and highly ſolicitous what would become of our cauſe, up comes a man to us trembling, and out of breath, with his eyes blood-ſhotten; and after ſtanding a while at gaze, he withdrew a little out of hearing, for there was company by. “And hark ye, ſays he ſoftly, do you hear any news?” And as he was going to tell ſomething, he guſh'd out into tears that put a ſtop to his ſpeech. He offer'd at it again and again, but ſtill was not able to expreſs himſelf. But ſeeing him at laſt ſo frightful a ſpectacle, we beſought him to tell us what he came thither for, unleſs he came purely for crying ſake; but if there was any mournful matter of moment that was worth communicating, we begg'd to partake of it, for mourning was our daily exerciſe: but in the end, after many a ſigh and ſob, “Our temple, ſays he, is utterly ruin'd; for Caius has commanded his image to be ſet up in the ſanctuary, with Jupiter's name upon it.” This dreadful news ſtruck us all ſenſeleſs that heard it; and the truth of it was quickly confirm'd by ſeveral others. Upon this, we all withdrew together into a cloſet, where we ſhut up ourſelves, and there condol'd our miſfortunes publick and private; as grief is talkative, and will never want matter to work upon.

Little did we think, when we committed ourſelves to the hazards of raging ſeas, and a tedious winter voyage, to deliver us from our perſecuting oppreſſors; little did we think, I ſay, of a ſtorm at land, and that the moſt diſmal part of our calamity was yet to come: for winter blaſts are but according to the courſe of nature, in the diſtinguiſhing of the ſeaſons; and the works of nature are but in other terms the operations of providence, in order to the common good of mankind. But the author of this tempeſt is perfectly devoid both of humanity and prudence, a turbulent and an ambitious young man, and ſo much the more dangerous, for having the power of the whole empire to ſupport him. For who ſhould dare to intercede in caſe of need, or but ſo much as open his mouth upon the temple's behalf, to the moſt ſacrilegious enemy of all men living? for it would be againſt common ſenſe, to expect mercy out of cruelty; and to depoſite the hopes of our preſervation in the hands of our perſecutors. A temple as venerable all over the world as the ſun in the firmament; and we may be ſure, that he that refuſes to ſpare that temple will ſpare nothing!

“WELL! and why ſhould not we die then? eſpecially when he that lays down one life for the laws and religion of his country, is ſure of a life more glorious in exchange. But he muſt be a madman at laſt however, that caſts away a life at this rate, which no body is the better for. So that ſuch an inſtance as this would but be the addition of one more to the roll of our former calamities: eſpecially we being here under the character of embaſſador, and in a point where the principals are more concern'd than the deputies. Nay, we ſhall not want envious and malignant ſpirits over and above, and of our own people too, to make the worſt of things, and to impute any glorious reſolution to a wrong cauſe. The embaſſadors, they'll ſay, were men of unſound principles, who quitted their ſtation, and deſerted the common-wealth, when they found it in danger, in order to the promoting of their own private intereſt. But the leſs muſt give way to the greater; private matters to publick; and wherever this order is broken or confounded, the whole government is at ſtake and out of frame; and in one word, where the polity of the Jews comes once to be ſubjected to the queſtion, 'tis a ſtep toward the aboliſhing of the very name of the nation, where there is an agreement of power and malice in the doing of it. We cannot, in fine, abandon the Alexandrian Jews; for the whole nation of the Jews is at ſtake upon it, being falſe to ourſelves; and it is to be fear'd, that this cruel oppreſſor will extirpate us all from off the face of the earth. It will be ſaid, perhaps, that if we can make nothing of it either way, we are at liberty to come off at laſt, in caſe of the worſt. To which I anſwer; he that makes ſuch a propoſition, has neither courage nor ſcripture in him. Generous natures will hope the beſt, and holy writ lays the foundation of that hope, to all thoſe that heartily embrace the doctrine; and who knows now at laſt, but this may be for a trial of our conſtancy and virtue in the worſt of fortunes? Adieu then to all worldly comforts and ſupports: they are falſe and fickle, and leave us when we have moſt need of them. Adieu, I ſay, to vain confidences, and let us caſt ourſelves in a firm and lively faith upon the goodneſs of God; who hath ſo often deliver'd us already, and will never forſake us.” After this manner we comforted ourſelves, and one another, in all caſes of ſurprize, and in the hopes of better times.

WHEN we had gone thus far, after a ſhort pauſe, we apply'd ourſelves to the bearer of this diſmal news. “You do not conſider, we told him, that what you have ſaid as yet, is but as ſo many live coals thrown into our ears as you have utter'd words; for you have only told us matter of fact, which ſignifies nothing to our ſatisfaction without the reaſon of it, and without knowing what it was tranſported the emperor into this horrid reſolution.”

“WHY then, ſays the other, to tell you that which every body knows, Caius has a mind to paſs for a god; and looking upon the Jews as the only people likely to oppoſe him in his blaſphemous pretence, he reſolv'd, if poſſible, to remove that obſtacle out of the way, toward the facilitating of the work. And this could not be better done, he thought, than by beginning with a contempt and indignity upon the holy temple, which was allow'd at all hands to be the moſt glorious piece in the univerſe, both for ornament, and a vaſt treaſure in preſents and oblations, which had been ſo many years a gathering, and which Caius, in the concluſion, had the face and confidence to aſſume to himſelf. Beſide that he was now further exaſperated by Capito the queſtor; which Capito was alſo the receiver of the tributes in Judea, and a fellow that by his actions and oppreſſions, had made himſelf odious to all the provinces. He came thither poor, and when he had ſo enrich'd himſelf by fraud and corruption, that he was afraid of being call'd to an account for it, he found it his beſt way to complain firſt; and to prevent an accuſation with a calumny, by the improvement of an opportunity that lay fair for his purpoſe.”

“JAMNIA is a city of Judea, wonderfully populous, and the inhabitants all Jews; ſome few ſtrangers excepted, that to our coſt came thither out of the bordering countries to make acquaintances, or, as we ſay, to ſee faſhions, over and above that they are always contriving ſome plot or other againſt the laws and cuſtoms of the Jews. So ſoon as ever theſe people came to underſtand the extravagant ambition of Caius after divine honours, and his deadly malice to the whole Jewiſh nation, matters being now ripe for a plot, they preſently cauſed an altar to be erected of clay wrought into bricks out of pure ſpite to the citizens: for they knew well enough, that this violation of our laws would prove the ground of a quarrel, and ſo they found it: for the Jews gather'd together preſently, and demoliſh'd the altar; the other party applying themſelves to Capito for redreſs. Now Capito was the author and contriver of the whole tragedy, and pleaſing himſelf to ſee every thing ſucceed ſo to his wiſh, he ſent an account of it immediately to Caius, with inflaming aggravations to make the matter look worſe than it was. This arrogant hot-headed prince, had no ſooner receiv'd the “intelligence, but he preſently gave order for the erecting of a glorious Coloſſus in the temple of Jeruſalem, in revenge of the brick altar that was pull'd down in Jamnia; and this was done by the counſel of his two doughty adviſers, Helico, the court buffoon, and Apelles the tragedian; who from a proſtitute in his youth, went over afterwards to be an actor upon the ſtage; a ſort of people that are look'd upon in their theatrical liberties to be the looſeſt and the moſt ſhameleſs of all profeſſions. And theſe were the men that Caius pitch'd upon to inſtruct him in the arts of ſinging and raillery, without ſo much as ever thinking of the duties of juſtice, and the care of maintaining the publick peace. Thus did Helico, like a ſcorpion, attack the Jews with an Egyptian venom, and Apelles at the ſame time as an Aſcalonite, that is to ſay, as a member of a nation that's never to be reconciled to the bordering Jews.”

EVERY word of this relation, with the very names of the perſons that were mention'd in it, went to the hearts of us; but the learned counſellors liv'd in a ſhort time after, to receive rewards according to their deſerts. Apelles was taken up, laid in chains, and put to exquiſite tortures, and ſo conſequently to a lingering death: and Helico was afterwards put to death by Claudius the ſucceſſor of Caius, for having been the author of evil counſels.

CHAP. XIII.

Petronius finds great difficulty to execute the order of Caius for erecting his ſtatue in the temple of Jeruſalem.

AND now came Caius's order for the conſecrating and erecting of his ſtatue; which was drawn with all the caution and exactneſs in the world to ſecure the execution of it. As particularly, Petronius, the governor of Syria, was expreſly commanded to draw out one half of the army that lay upon the river Euphrates, as a guard of defence againſt any inroads and incurſions of the eaſtern kings or nations; and with theſe troops he was to attend the ſtatue, not for the ſolemnity of the dedication, but for a terror to any that ſhould dare to oppoſe it. “Ah cruel prince! (ſays Petronius to himſelf,) when thou thyſelf knoweſt before-hand, that theſe people will rather die a thouſand deaths, than ſubmit to ſuch an impoſition. And then what ſignifies the calling of an army, but in order to the conſecrating of the villany, with the blood of ſo many thouſands of innocents?”

PETRONIUS was miſerably divided within himſelf upon this commiſſion. There was danger in refuſing, danger in delaying, and danger again in the very offering to evade it: beſide the infinite difficulties on the other hand in caſe of a compliance; for he made no doubt at all of the Jews ſtanding out all extremities, at what hazard ſoever. All nations are tender and jealous of their privileges and cuſtoms, but the Jews above all others; they look upon their laws to be no leſs than divine oracles, and they are train'd up to the love and ſtudy of them, from their cradles. They bear them in their hearts, and the more they think of them, the greater reverence they have for them. They treat all their proſelytes with the privileges of free-citizens, and the veneration they have for the dignity of their profeſſion, is ſo ſacred, that they could rather part with any thing, than the leaſt ſcruple of their duty: counting none ſo worthy of the name of enemies as the contemners and perſecutors of their religion. But the high eſteem they have for their holy temple, ſurpaſſeth all the reſt: witneſs the law that makes it death without mercy, for any man to ſet foot within the ſanctuary; whereas the reſt is open indifferently to all of their own nation from what province ſoever they come.

THIS was a matter of ſo great importance, that Petronins conſider'd of it over and over again, without coming to a reſolution; but in concluſion he call'd a kind of a council upon the queſtion, and upon ſumming up all arguments and opinions the reſult was this. “That there muſt be no innovations in matter of religion: firſt, becauſe nature and equity are both againſt it; and, ſecondly, for fear of unhappy conſequences, not only from God himſelf, but from the paſſions of violent and revengeful men.” He took into conſideration alſo, the prodigious extent of this populous nation: a people not coop'd up in this or that quarter, like other men, but diſpers'd over the world, the iſlands as well as the continent. So that upon the computation, the Jews are reckon'd to be well-nigh as numerous as all the reſt. “Now, ſays Petronius, how far it may ſtand with the reaſon of the caſe, to provoke ſo many myriads of men into one common confederacy, may deſerve a farther conſideration; for all theſe multitudes united into one maſs, would be able to drive the whole earth before them. To ſay nothing of the vaſt numbers in Judea itſelf; a brave, hardy, and a well-diſciplin'd ſort of people, that had much rather undergo a generous death, than out-live the laws and religion of their country: how barbarous ſoever in the opinion of their enemies, yet in truth and effect, moſt generous and noble.”

THE governor had another jealouſy alſo, of the troops on the other ſide of the Euphrates; as Babylon, and ſeveral other provinces, that to his certain knowledge were in the intereſt of the Jews: “For, ſays he, they ſent their yearly contributions of holy treaſure, as they call it, up to the temple under the name of firſt fruits, and they all came ſafe, though the ways were very difficult and dangerous; as what is it, that piety and reſolution will not make eaſy? But the main difficulty is yet behind; which is, that upon the firſt tidings of this new dedication, they would immediately take the field, march directly up to them, beſet and ſurround them, and then cut them to pieces.”

WHEN Petronius had debated this affair a while in his mind, he paſs'd a ſhort reflection or two upon the temper and the character of his maſter. “The perſon, ſays he, under whoſe command I am now to act, is a young prince; his will is his law, and whether it be juſt or not, right or wrong, 'tis equally dangerous to oppoſe, either the one or the other, or to diſtinguiſh one from t'other, but by this meaſure. If he ſays he's a god, “who ſhall dare to ſay the contrary? So that in this caſe, ’tis as much as a man’s life is worth, either to obey, or not. The one way a man is liable to the chance of war; (which in truth is but doubtful:) and the other way the diſobedience is certain death.”

CHAP. XIV.

Petronius ſets people at work upon the ſtatue. The principals of the Jews refuſe to receive it. They get leave to ſend their deputies to the emperor about it.

THE Roman officers, that ſerv’d under Petronius in the government of Syria, were all of them for a war, giving for granted, that in caſe of declining it, the firſt fury of the emperor’s diſpleaſure would fall upon them, as the heads of a ſedition. So that it was ſo much time clear gain’d, as was ſpent in deliberations, till the ſtatue might be got ready; for there was none brought out of Italy, nor ſo much as any order taken for the beſt that might be found in Syria; which was a ſpecial act of providence in favour of God’s people; for the tumult would have broken out elſe before they could have made any proviſion againſt it: for a man is not half maſter of his reaſon in the hurry of a ſurprize.

Wherefore Petronius gave orders for a ſtatue to be made; and ſent for the greateſt maſters of Phenicia, to adviſe withal about it, ſupplied them with all materials, and Sidon was the place appointed for the work. He ſent notice likewiſe of the emperor’s pleaſure to the high-prieſts and eminent officers of the Jews, adviſing by all means to ſubmit cheerfully to their maſter’s pleaſure, for fear of worſe conſequences. For the Syrian troops, he told them, had their particular orders to lay the whole country waſte with fire and ſword, in caſe of diſobedience. Now Petronius went this way to work, upon an opinion that if he could but mollify the great ones, the reſt would follow in courſe. But he was wonderfully out in his conjecture; for the very mention of the thing ſtruck them into ſuch a conſternation, that they burſt out into ſo profuſe an exceſs of weeping, as if their eyes had been fountains of tears, and all this without one word ſpeaking: and from thence they paſſed into frantick violences of tearing their hair, and their beards, and ſo by degrees into lamentations in words at length.

“And have we lived now, they cry’d, to ſee, at this time of day, that which none of our fore-fathers ever ſo much as thought of! But what do we talk of ſeeing any thing without eyes to ſee withal? For, rather than entertain thoſe eyes we have, with a ſpectacle ſo impious and execrable, that a perſon cannot ſo much as hear or think of it without horror; rather than ſo, we’ll part with our eyes and our miſerable lives together.”

The fame of this reſolution was no ſooner bruited in Jeruſalem, and from thence up and down in Judea, but the Jews, all as one man, quitted their towns, caſtles, and dwellings, and drawing into a body, as by conſent, they took their march directly toward Phenicia, to look for Petronius, who was then at his command. Upon the firſt ſight of this prodigious multitude, ſeveral of Petronius’s friends adviſed him to look to himſelf, for there was a mighty army advancing againſt him; and ſo they took it to be, as believing it impoſſible for the Jews alone to furniſh ſuch a body.

As the Jews advanced ſtill nearer and nearer, they came at laſt to cover the whole country as with a cloud, but without either arms, all this while, or any thing of guards, only the air was filled with ſuch frightful outcries and lamentations, that when the noiſe was gone, the echo ſtill continued. When the clamorous part was over, they entertained themſelves with diſcourſes and ejaculations ſuitable to the occaſion. The people marched in ſix diviſions; old men, young men, and boys; old women, young women, and virgins: three on the one hand and three on the other.

When they came within ſight of Petronius, who was mounted upon a ſeat of eminence, they caſt themſelves upon the ground before him, all in their ranks, as ſupplicants, and in ſo moving a manner, in the harmony of their ways and actions, as if they had been all govern’d by one ſpirit: neither were they leſs tender upon the ſcruple of modeſty in their behaviour; for though Petronius called to them to riſe and draw near, it was ſome time before they could be perſuaded to it. But at laſt they got up, and in ſack-cloth and aſhes, with their hands bound behind them like condemned priſoners, they advanced up toward the governor, where one of the ſenators addreſſed himſelf to Petronius in theſe terms.

“Here, we are, ſays he to Petronius, without arms, to ſhew that we bring no hoſtile intention along with us; but thoſe hands that nature gave us for the uſe of arms are put out of condition to ſerve us in that capacity. We bring our very bodies at mercy too, our wives, children, and families, in the quality of petitioners, firſt to Petronius, and then by his means to Caius. We have not left one ſoul at home, and our prayer is either that we may be all preſerved, or all deſtroyed. We are naturally lovers of peace, and it is our intereſts as well as our inclinations ſo to be, in regard of the benefits we receive from it. When Caius came to the empire, and the notice of it to Vitellius, your predeceſſor in the government, and at that time living among us, we were the firſt of all Syria to gratulate his acceſſion to the ſovereignty, and to ſpread the joyful news of his elevation through other cities and places. Was it not our temple alſo that firſt offered up vows and ſacrifices for the happineſs of his life and reign? And are we now to be the firſt, if not the only temple, that is to be deprived of the exerciſe and enjoyment of our religious worſhip? If the quitting of our houſes, privileges, and poſſeſſions publick and private, may be worth your acceptance, we are ready to lay them all at your feet. And ſo for the matter of plate, houſhold-ſtuff, or whatever we have that is more precious, it is at your ſervice for the asking: and with ſo good a heart too, that we ſhall reckon ourſelves upon the receiving hand, even in what we give. And all upon this ſingle condition, that the temple may ſtand “as it did, and continue inviolate, as we received it from our fore-fathers. Grant us this ſingle requeſt, and we'll aſk no more. But if nothing leſs than our religion will content you, pray take away our lives too, without forcing us upon a life of torment, worſe than a thouſand deaths. We are threaten'd here with armed troops and military executions, if any of us ſhall preſume to obſtruct the intended dedication. Why, no man is ſo mad, as to ſet himſelf up in contradiction to his maſter; but let them ſtrike, cut, and hack us to pieces, and do all that a victorious enemy can pretend to, ſo long as they may do it ſecurely, without any danger of their own blood. But what needs an army be drawn out for ſuch an execution; where there's only a butchery on the one ſide, and not ſo much as a defence on the other? As for ſacrifices, we may do the work of our own prieſts ourſelves, upon the victims of our own wives, brothers and ſiſters, ſons and daughters; and content ourſelves with the denomination of men, women, and children ſlayers; for tragical caſes muſt have tragical terms. And what have we to do now after ſpilling ſo much innocent blood of other people, but to lay violent hands upon ourſelves, and mingle our own with it too in one common maſs! ending our days at laſt, with this prayer in our mouths, that God will not be offended with us for an action that carries along with it ſo great a deference to the authority of the emperor, and at the ſame time to the ſacredneſs of our holy profeſſion. This will be the caſe, if we have the hearts to contemn a life that a good man would be aſhamed to lead. There is an old ſtory among the Greek fables of Gorgon's head, that turned every thing to ſtone that did but look upon it. The report, 'tis true, is but a fiction, and yet not without ſome emblematical reſemblances of truth, eſpecially in many accidents of aſtoniſhment and ſurprize. The diſpleaſure of a maſter is mortal, or ſomewhat that comes near up to it. And now, Petronius, do but you imagine, if ſome of our people ſhould ſee ſuch a ſtatue brought into the temple, as you have here before you (which heaven forbid!) would they not look, do you think, like men turned into marble at the ſpectacle? Their eyes ſet in their heads, and nature itſelf out of condition for all the offices of life? But to come to a concluſion, we do not deſire an abſolute diſcharge of our obedience, but time and leave only to addreſs ourſelves by our deputies, to his imperial majeſty for relief. Who knows but he may be wrought upon to grant us a toleration of our holy laws and worſhip, and a liberty in common with the reſt of the world? for we aſk no more, than what all other nations enjoy without exception, in the preſervation of thoſe rites and traditions that we have received inviolate from our fore-fathers, in favour both of our cuſtoms and manners, approv'd, confirm'd, and ratify'd to us by the decrees of his grand-father and great grand-father. Who knows, I ſay, but ſuch a remonſtrance as this may mollify him? The hearts of princes are variable, like thoſe of other people, neither is their diſpleaſure everlaſting; for commonly they that are moſt ſubject to anger are ſooneſt appeaſed. We are wounded here with calumnies, and there's no remedy like truth; which is all we have to offer, and that we may not be condemned without a hearing: or, admit the worſt, ſuppoſing we ſhould find the prince inexorable, the cauſe is but where it was, for he may ſtill do the ſame thing afterward, that he would have done before. And now for our laſt requeſt, Petronius, and in the names of this vaſt multitude, be but ſo good and generous, we beſeech you, as not to oppoſe an embaſſy that has ſo many thouſands of lives depending upon it: and pray be pleaſed to know that we do not contend for profit, but for piety, in any other ſenſe than as godlineſs is the greateſt gain.”

CHAP. XV.

Petronius writes to Caius about the Jews, and gains time by it. Caius enraged at Petronius, but diſſembles the matter.

THIS remonſtrance, made by the moſt honourable of the ſenators, with pathetic vehemence of lamentations and outcries, in favour of their laws and worſhip, was received by them that were preſent with all the tenderneſs and compaſſion imaginable, as appeared by their looks, actions, geſtures, and behaviour upon the hearing of it: and it wrought likewiſe upon Petronius among the reſt. Now Petronius was a ſoft good-natured perſon, a moderate man, and a lover of truth and juſtice; and he was ſo far a friend to the Jews too, that he thought they had ſevere treatment, and diſcovered his inclinations in his very countenance. He obſerved upon ſome diſcourſe he had with his fellow commiſſioners, that the people were mightily come about, and from violent prejudices againſt him, to manifeſt partiality in his favour. Thus it was, and Petronius was highly pleaſed with that change of humour. He was no ſtranger all this while to the implacable ſpirit of the emperor, and to the bitterneſs of his natural cruelty; but he ſeemed to act yet in ſome meaſure under a philoſophical conduct, and under the government of a Jewiſh piety: whether he was influenc'd to do this from principles early imbib'd in his youth, or that it was the effect of what he had learn'd ſince his coming to the government of Aſia and Syria, where they had Jews in abundance in all their towns; or whether he acted as a man whoſe genius led him to the ſtudy and knowledge of uſeful things; or whether it be, that God puts good things in the heads of good men, for the common benefit, both of themſelves, and of the publick, as it fell out upon this occaſion. The ſtatuaries had their orders, to provide as perfect a figure, as art and hands could make; but for fear of the worſt, to take time and care about it, for the longer the piece was under the chizel in the making, the longer would the reputation of it laſt in the world after it ſhould be finiſhed. Petronius however would not agree upon any terms to the Jews ſending of an embaſſy, for fear of a greater miſchief, in leaving them at the mercy of a powerful, a cruel, and a capricious prince.

And ſo for either granting or refuſing, he found it dangerous both ways. But the way, at laſt, that he pitched upon, was a letter to Caius, ſetting forth the pretended ſupplications of the Jews, and without any reflexions upon them, by way of accuſation and complaint. The delay of the dedication was imputed to the very nature of the caſe, and fix'd upon the workmen, who muſt of neceſſity have ſome certain ſpace of time allowed them for the performance of covenants. So that ſtep after ſtep, one obſtruction was made the ground and pretence of another; and in this interim, who knew but Caius himſelf might find it reaſonable to change his mind. For harveſt being juſt now begun, and the Jews in a moſt outragious fit of deſpair for the profanation of their laws and religion, what if they ſhould have puſhed on this violence to the contempt of their lives, and laid the whole country waſte, by ſetting fire to their own corn in revenge? This was no idle apprehenſion, and there was early care taken by Petronius for the reaping of the grain, and the gathering of the fruits; partly by way of prevention, and partly for a publick ſupply in caſe of need. For it was at that time generally reported that Caius had ſome thoughts of a voyage for Alexandria in Egypt; though it ſeemed not very likely yet, that ſo great a prince ſhould expoſe his perſon to the difficulties of a long ſea, with ſuch a numerous train of attendance; when the way about by the coaſts of Aſia and Syria, would have been ſo much a more commodious paſſage, where he might have embarqued or diſembarqued at pleaſure, having at command two hundred long boats, for the uſe and ſervice of the coaſts, beſide veſſels of burden for the ocean. Now it was an abſolute neceſſity, to ſtore Syria with all manner of proviſion from one end of it to the other; eſpecially the towns that lay upon the ſea, and all little enough to anſwer the neceſſities of the time and place. For there never was ſuch a multitude of people gotten together from all places, and of all conditions, as upon this juncture: men of honour, civil and military, land and ſea officers, and ſervants almoſt as many as ſoldiers: and all at laſt to be provided for, not as we ſay with bare neceſſaries, but in a proportion of ſtate and plenty, anſwerable to the dignity of ſo illuſtrious a prince.

There was no body doubted, but that the emperor, upon the reading of this letter, would be highly pleaſed both with the prudence and the conduct, even in the very point of the delay itſelf, not for the Jews ſake, but for the advantage of ſecuring the fruits and the corn. This letter, in fine, was approved and tranſcribed, and a meſſenger ſent away with all expedition with a fair copy of it. Caius looked as pale as death upon the reading of it, and ſo ſoon as that conſcious hint was a little over, he clapt his hands, and brake out into a furious violence of words as well as geſture.

Well Petronius, ſays the prince, thou “art the better man of the two ſure, and if “Petronius will not hear the emperor, the “emperor muſt hear Petronius. But thou art “ſo puffed up with the vanity of a ſplendid “commiſſion and a full employment, that it “looks as if there were not ſuch a thing as “Caius in nature: but it will not be long before thou art given to underſtand the contrary. The greateſt enemies I have in the world are the Jews, and yet their laws are more to thee than the commands of thy prince; and what's all this at the bottom, but that thou art afraid of the multitude? And what ſignifies that, when thou haſt a power in thy hands to encounter the ſtrength of the kings of Parthia themſelves, and the force of the whole eaſt? Well but there's pity in the caſe too, and at that rate thy compaſſion does more with thee than thy duty. But what's to be ſaid to the providence of ſaving the harveſt? That frivolous pretence will coſt you your head before you are aware; and ſo for your pretended care of having ſtores in readineſs for my voyage, 'tis as vile and evaſive a pretence as any of the reſt. For ſuppoſing a ſcarcity in Judea, even to the degree of a famine, the neighbouring provinces, upon ſuch an emergent occaſion, would be able to ſupply the want. But what do I ſtand talking for, when I ſhould be doing? Wherefore let this fellow feel what he has deſerv'd, without any more words: and ſo I have done menacing, but my indignation burns on ſtill.”

Caius, upon this, made a ſhort pauſe, and dictated to one of his ſecretaries an anſwer to Petronius, which was in appearance very much to the honour of the governor's providence and foreſight. For there were ſome of the governors he ſtood in awe of, for fear of their tampering the people into a revolt, eſpecially in large and populous provinces, with mighty armies in them, as in that tract of ground along the Euphrates. When he had cajol'd Petronius for a while, with formalities of reſpect and fair words, (but an implacable venom under that cloke) he gave him a poſitive command, all other buſineſs apart, to ſee the image dedicated the firſt thing he did. For, ſays he, harveſt being now over, “there is no longer any colour for a further “delay.”

CHAP. XVI.

King Agrippa comes to Rome, and upon hearing that the image was to be conſecrated, he falls into a ſwoon; and then coming to himſelf again, he writes to the prince about it.

SOON after this, came king Agrippa to Rome, to pay his duty to the emperor, after his uſual manner, but without knowing any thing as yet of what had paſs'd betwixt Caius and Petronius; only ſomewhat he gather'd however, from an angry cloud he ſaw in the face of Caius, that there was a ſtorm a coming, though he could not gueſs where it would fall; ſo that he put himſelf to the uttermoſt ſcrutiny of thought, word, and deed, to try if he could find himſelf conſcious of any thing that might give offence: but upon ſtanding that teſt, he concluded, that the emperor's diſpleaſure look'd ſome other way, as in truth it did; but then conſidering afterwards, that the emperor's eye was ſo much fiercer when it was intent upon him alone than when he look'd another way, he fell again into his former apprehenſion. He was thinking many times to aſk the emperor the reaſon of this alteration; but then the curioſity he thought would be ſo raſh and unmannerly, that he did not know what miſchief he might draw upon himſelf by it.

Caius, that was as well read in faces as any man, obſerving Agrippa to be troubled and uneaſy, laid hold of this occaſion to break the ice of the difficulty. “Agrippa, ſays he, you are in doubt, I perceive; and I am now about to tell you the thing you ſo much deſire to know. You have not been ſo long about me ſure, as to be now ignorant that I diſcourſe with my eyes as well as with my tongue. The good people of your nation are the only men under the ſun, that refuſe to own Caius for a god; and in the contumacy of their diſobedience, plunge themſelves beyond redemption into a certain death. It is my poſitive command to have the image of Jupiter ſet up in their temple; and ſee what multitudes are gathered together now from all quarters, under the pretext of ſupplicants and petitioners, but in effect to trample my authority under their feet.”

As he was going forward, king Agrippa was obſerved to change colour all on a ſudden, a violent horror ſeizing him from head to foot, a trembling all over his body, and his legs failing him to that degree, that if byſtanders had not ſupported him, he muſt have fallen at his length upon the ground. He fell, in ſhort, into a fainting fit, and in that condition they carried him home, without any ſenſe or knowledge of what paſs'd.

This accident, inſtead of working upon the emperor's good-nature, ſerv'd only for a further incentive to his rage againſt the Jews. “Well, ſays Caius, if Agrippa, my familiar friend, and one that has received ſo many good offices from me: —— If Agrippa himſelf, I ſay, has ſo great a veneration for his country's rites and cuſtoms, as not to endure ſo much as one word to their prejudice, without falling into a ſwoon, what good am I to look for from others, that have none of theſe conſiderations to work upon them in my favour?”

Agrippa lay all that day, and part of the next, dozing and ſenſeleſs, till toward evening, and then he began to raiſe his head a little, and with much ado to open his eyes, dazzling as they were, toward the company, without knowing one face that was there preſent. He fell then into a ſomewhat ſounder ſleep, as appeared by the drawing of his breath, and the temper of his body. When he had lain thus a while, he awak'd, and call'd out to know where he was. “Am I with the emperor, or no; and is he preſent? Have a good heart, they cry'd, for you are at home, and Caius is not here: you have e'en ſlept long enough, wherefore ſit up a little, and ſee if you know us: here are none but your own people, friends, freed-men, ſervants, and thoſe that wiſh you well”. In fine, the tenderneſs they expreſs'd to him in his diſtreſs, brought him in ſome meaſure to himſelf again. Upon the phyſicians ordering the company to withdraw, that the patient might be quiet, and at liberty for remedies and refreſhments, “Never trouble your heads, ſays Agrippa, with delicacies for my palate; a coarſe diet, and a good ſtomach, is all I aſk, and more yet than I ſhould make uſe of, if it were not for the hopes I have yet left me, of living to be ſerviceable, even at the laſt extremity, to my miſerable country.” Theſe laſt words were accompany'd with tears, and ſo he took a repaſt of what was juſt neceſſary to keep him alive, and no more. His food was plain and ſimple, and his drink water, without one drop of wine. And now, ſays he, upon the finiſhing of his meal, “I have paid a debt to nature, ſo that I have nothing more left me to do, but moſt dutifully to ſolicit Caius about the preſent ſtate of things.” And ſo he call'd for a tablet, and wrote this following letter to the emperor;

Sir,

BETWIXT the fear and the reverence I have for your imperial majeſty, in the dread of your high diſpleaſure, on the one hand, and in the veneration I have for the dignity of your ſacred character, on the other; I have rather preſum'd to lay my humble duty at your majeſty's feet in writing, than to venture upon it in an addreſs by word of mouth.

It may be laid down for a maxim, that all men living have a natural affection for the place where they were born, and an awful reverence for the laws they were brought up in; which is a truth that hath been abundantly aſſerted in the piety, great prince, of your profeſſion and practice. And it is as natural again for every man to like his own way beſt, whether it be ſo or no, becauſe we are govern'd in particular caſes more by paſſion than by reaſon.

As to myſelf, I ſhall not need to inform you, ſir, that I am by nation a Jew, by birth of Jeruſalem, the ſeat of the holy temple that ſtands there dedicated in a moſt peculiar manner to the honour of the moſt high God. As to my predeceſſors, ſome of them have been kings, others high-prieſts, upon which dignity they valu'd themſelves more than upon the authority royal; computing upon it, that as God is above man, ſo the ſacerdotal character is above the civil; the one exerciſing itſelf in divine matters, and the other only in human.

Now ſuch is the nearneſs of the relation I have, and of my manifold obligations to this nation, country, and temper, that I cannot but implore your royal grace and favour on their behalf. And firſt for the nation, that they may not be forc'd over from the profeſſion of their own religion to the contrary; eſpecially conſidering how true and loyal they have ever been to your illuſtrious family: no people under the heavens ſo frank of their vows and prayers for the welfare and proſperity of your empire, or ſo free of their ſacrifices and oblations, not only upon ſolemn feſtivals, but daily; and this not only in plauſible words and forms, but with a piety of reverence and affection, that came from the very hearts and ſouls of them; and without any exception, ſaving only in caſes of inconſiſtence with their laws and religion.

And I have this to ſay further now for the holy city, and the place of my birth; which is not to be look'd upon as the metropolis only of Judea, but of many other colonies that have been planted from thence; as Egypt, Phenicia, upper and lower Syria, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and ſeveral parts of Aſia, as far as Bithynia, and Pontus; and ſo in Europe, there's Theſſaly, Boetia, Macedonia, Etolia, Athens, Argos, Corinth, and the better part of Peloponneſus: and not only the continent, but the iſlands alſo of a moſt eminent note, are filled with Jewiſh plantations; as Eubœa, Cyprus, Crete; to ſay nothing of thoſe beyond the Euphrates: for, in ſhort, bating only a ſmall part of Babylon, and ſome other governments, there is hardly a city that is good for any thing, but in the poſſeſſion of the Jews: ſo that if this be the caſe, I am not a ſuitor for my own country alone, but for the common good of Aſia, Europe, and Africa; ſea and land, iſlands and continent, all under one: For the intereſt of the whole depends upon the ſame act of clemency; and I hope my confidence will be the more pardonable, for the zeal I have to be an inſtrument in a mediation ſo much to the honour of Ceſar. For what can be more agreeable to the ſpirit and genius of ſo glorious a prince, than the miniſtring ſo fair an occaſion of obliging the whole world at once, and conſequently, the perpetuating of your name and memory to all ages, as the guardian-angel of mankind.

You have been pleas'd, at the requeſt of ſome particular friends, to make whole towns free citizens of Rome, and maſters of thoſe that were but ſervants before; and in ſo doing, your kindneſs was as great to the procurers of this bounty, as to the receivers of it. I am ſenſible of being under the command of a maſter, and yet give me leave to value myſelf upon the title of a friend too; and a friend not inferior to many in dignity, but above all others in good-will and reſpect; for it has ever been ſo, and in honour and gratitude it muſt ever ſo continue. And yet after all this, I have not the confidence to open my mouth for my countrymen, for grants and privileges; no, not ſo much as for the common freedom, or immunity from taxes. The grace that I have to beg would be of high advantage to them, 'tis true, and of no ſort of inconvenience to Ceſar; for what greater bleſſing can a ſubject deſire than the favour of his prince? Was it not Jeruſalem that firſt gratulated the acceſſion of Caius to the empire? and was it not Jeruſalem again, that ſent the joyful tidings of it into all the neighbouring provinces? the very providence of making the Jews ſubſervient to ſuch a revolution, may deſerve ſome ſort of acknowledgment. As the eldeſt ſon of the family is reputed the moſt honourable, becauſe it was he that firſt entitled his parents to the reverend names of father and mother; ſo that city, one would think, that firſt ſaluted Caius by the name of emperor, ſhould be treated as well, at leaſt, if not better, than any of the reſt.

I have been thus far an advocate for my country, but my laſt prayer muſt be for our temple. This temple, Caius, is the houſe of God, and there was never any image made with hands admitted into it. The works of painters and ſtatuaries are the figures only of ſenſible gods; but for a picture-drawer or engraver to offer at any ſort of repreſentation of the inviſible God, was looked upon as an abomination. Agrippa, your grandfather, had a mighty reverence for this temple. Auguſtus provided expreſly for the ſupplying of it with the firſt-fruits from all quarters, and the offering of daily ſacrifices in it. Your great grandmother had likewiſe an high veneration for it. Neither Greek, in fine, nor Barbarian; neither prince nor potentate; no, nor the deadlieſt enemies we had, ſedition, war, bondage, deſolation, or the moſt deſtructive of other calamities, could ever prevail upon us to receive the idol of an image into the temple. Not that it had no enemies, but its religion was ſafe ſtill; for being dedicated to the father and author of all things, it ſtruck people into a dread of the judgments that frequently attend ſuch violations; ſo that they durſt not venture to ſow the ſeeds of wickedneſs, for fear of reaping the fruits of it themſelves. We ſhall not need to look abroad for inſtances, having ſo many nearer home.

In the reign of Herod, my grandfather, your grandfather Marcus Agrippa paſs'd the compliment upon him of a viſit into Judea, where he coaſted along the ſea-ſide up to Jeruſalem. Upon the view of the temple, he was ſo tranſported with the glories of the fabrick, the ſolemnities of the ſacerdotal rites and ceremonies, the ſimplicity of the people's manners, and, in fine, with the delight of ſo curious and wonderful a ſpectacle, that he was continually ſaying ſomething or other to the honour of that illuſtrious ſtructure; inſomuch, that for the time he ſtaid there, he never miſs'd ſo much as one day's attendance, but ſtill paid his conſtant viſits, entertaining himſelf all the while in the contemplation of holy veſts, the order of the ſacrifices, and the awful majeſty of the high-prieſt, in his rich pontifical robes, as he ſat mounted above the reſt. In fine, when he had preſented his donatives to the holy temple, and ſhew'd himſelf as indulgent to the citizens as was poſſible, ſaving only an exemption from taxes, Herod accompany'd Agrippa to the ſea-ſide, upon his return, where they exchang'd mutual acknowledgments of the high obligations they had the one to the other; the people ſtrewing the paſſage all the way he went with boughs and flowers, in token of the veneration they had for his piety and bounty.

And ſo, ſir, for your great uncle Tiberius; was not he manifeſtly of the ſame principle and judgment? did not our religion, and our temple ſtand firm and ſafe, through the whole three and twenty years of Tiberius's reign, without any ſort of innovation? nay, there is ſomething that I both can and muſt ſay to Tiberius's honour, tho' I myſelf had very hard meaſure from him. But truth is truth, and I am ſure you will have the patience to hear it.

When Pilate was governor of Judea, he dedicated to Tiberius certain gilt bucklers, not ſo much out of reſpect to the emperor, as in pure ſpite to the Jews; and they were erected in the palace of Herod in Jeruſalem. They had no ſort of figure upon them, nor any thing that was prohibited, but barely the two names of the dedicator, and the perſon to whom they were dedicated. When the ſtory came to be nois'd among the people, they made application preſently to the king's four ſons, with ſome branches of the royal family, and ſeveral other perſons of eminent condition, to employ their intereſt with Pilate to have theſe bucklers remov'd, as a violation of the laws and religion of their country, which former kings and emperors had ever reputed ſacred. Pilate, who was of a perverſe and ill-natured temper, made the mediators ſo rude and churliſh a reply to the motion, that it put the multitude into wild and diſorderly exclamations.

LET people be quiet, they cry'd, that would be quiet, without inflaming men to war and ſedition, and to the imbroiling the publick peace, as if the honour of the emperor depended upon the violation of the law; never thinking of covering an injuſtice with ſo weak a pretext. If you have any thing to ſhew in your juſtification from Tiberius, whether edict, letter, or any thing like it, do but ſhew us the warrant, and we have no more to do, ſave only to addreſs ourſelves, with humble petitions and remonſtrances, to our lord and maſter, for redreſs, without taking any farther notice of Pilate; for Tiberius, we are ſure, will never approve of this oppreſſion.

THIS notion of applying themſelves to Ceſar, by remonſtrance or deputation, ſtartled Pilate more than any thing elſe, for fear of laying him open to the world in the hiſtory of his other iniquities; as corruption, juſtice expos'd to ſale, raping, violence, ruin, torments, the ſpilling of innocent blood, and the moſt barbarous of cruelties. This cholerick angry man was yet ſo divided within himſelf, that as he had no mind to gratify the ſubject, ſo he had not the confidence neither to withdraw any thing that was made ſacred by a dedication, being well acquainted with the humour of Tiberius in ſuch caſes over and above. When the great men found matters in this ſtate, and that Pilate repented himſelf of what he had done, however he diſſembled it, they repreſented the caſe to Tiberius by way of letter, in the moſt tender dutiful manner that could be devis'd. Tiberius had no ſooner notice of Pilate's language and behaviour, but he broke out into a violent paſſion, though a man not eaſily mov'd neither. But this will do better in the ſtory itſelf, than in a bare deſcription.

THE firſt thing he did was, without any delay, to write to Pilate about it, with a ſevere rebuke for his impudence, and a poſitive command immediately to remove the bucklers, and to have them tranſported into the temple that was built at Ceſarea, (a ſea-port) in honour of Auguſtus. This expedient was as good as a ſalvo to the honour of the emperor, and the antient cuſtoms of the city. Theſe bucklers, in thoſe days, had no gravers work upon them; and the point now in queſtion is the graven image. It was then only in the governor's palace, but it is now to be erected, as I am inform'd, in the ſanctuary; a place ſo venerable and ſacred, that only the high-prieſt is allow'd entrance, and that but upon one day in the year too, and after a ſolemn faſt, to burn incenſe to the glory of God, and to offer up prayers to the Almighty, according to cuſtom, for a happy year, and the common peace of mankind.

IF any other of our own people, either prieſt or layman, ſhall preſume to enter this holy place contrary to the law, it is made death without mercy: as for example, if the high-prieſt ſhall dare to enter above one day in a year, or three or four times over, for the purpoſe, upon that day of his entrance, it will moſt certainly coſt him his life: ſo tender was our lawgiver of preſerving the reverence of that holy place ſacred and inviolate. Now, if the rigour was ſo ſtrict and capital in theſe nice caſes, you may eaſily imagine, ſir, what an uproar it would create to have an image ſet up there, where the high-prieſt himſelf was not to be admitted but upon certain limitations. How many of our prieſts would ſacrifice themſelves, their wives and children, in one common pile of carcaſſes, rather than outlive the ſight and ſufferance of ſuch an abomination.

THIS was the caſe in the days of Tiberius. And now for Auguſtus, the beſt and the greateſt prince that ever ſat upon the imperial throne; his very name being given him out of a deference to his conduct and virtue; a prince to whom the whole world was indebted for the bleſſing of an univerſal peace: this illuſtrious prince, upon ſome diſcourſe he had concerning our temple, was given to underſtand, that no carved image was ſuffer'd to be brought into it, and for this very reaſon, that the inviſible God was not to be repreſented by a viſible figure. Upon which he was highly pleas'd with the reaſon, and the piety of the thing; and being a prince moreover of profound literature himſelf, he paſs'd ſeveral reflections upon what had been ſaid; partly recollecting what he had heard from the learned men he had conſtantly about him, and partly pondering and arguing the matter in his own thoughts. He was, in fine, ſo great a lover of letters, that his very table diſcourſes were as good as philoſophy lectures, and his feſtival entertainments were accommodated to the relief and ſatiſfaction both of body and mind. Not to multiply inſtances, in proof of this prince's generoſity and good will toward our people, I ſhall make uſe only of two.

FIRST, upon notice that there was not ſuch care taken for the return of our firſt-fruits as the matter requir'd, the emperor wrote to the governors of the provinces in Aſia, not to give any ſort of interruption to the Jews meeting in their ſynagogues, (but this liberty was not to be extended to any other) for the Jews meetings are not like the feaſts of Bacchus, to encourage drunkenneſs, tumults, riots, and ſedition, but ſchools rather of piety and common juſtice. And ſo for their yearly firſt-fruits, they were only intended for ſacrifices to be offer'd up to God in the temple. This was followed with an expreſs command, not to give the Jews any diſturbance about their meetings or collections after the manner of their country. I may miſtake the words of the order, but the ſubſtance of it I am ſure of, as your majeſty will find in a letter from Norbanus, whereof this is a true copy.

C. Norbanus Flaccus, proconſul, to the magiſtrates of Epheſus, greeting.

“ CESAR has ſignify'd unto me by letter,
“ that whereas the Jews continue their old
“ way of religious meetings, and of collect-
“ ing monies to be ſent to Jeruſalem, under
the

“the name of firſt-fruits, it is his imperial majeſty's will and pleaſure, that they be all left at liberty ſo to do. Of this you are to take notice, and to pay your obedience accordingly.

What clearer evidence, under favour, can there be in the world of Ceſar's opinion of our temple, than the indulging of the Jews in the publick exerciſe of their worſhip, the freedom of their collections for holy uſes, and the countenancing of them in other offices of piety?

And there is yet another argument of the good-will that Auguſtus bare us: that is to ſay, he order'd the daily ſacrifice of a bull and two lambs, out of his own revenue, to be offer'd up to the honour of our God: and the parctice of it hath been kept up ever ſince to this very day, without any diſcontinuance. This oblation Ceſar deſign'd for the altar, and yet he very well underſtood that there was no image in the caſe, either within or without. But this wiſe and learned prince was nevertheleſs convinc'd of the neceſſity of having ſome glorious temple upon earth, dedicated in a peculiar manner to the inviſible God; where men might offer up their devotions in hope of having their prayers heard and granted, and without any viſible figure.

And now, with your majeſty's leave, yet once again, what did your great grandmother the empreſs Julia, but write after the copy of her great maſter and husband, Auguſtus, in the profuſion of her royal bounties upon this temple; as veſſels of gold and ſilver, with other ornaments and preſents to an ineſtimable value? But to what end was all this without image-work? For women's minds are commonly weak, and hard to be wrought upon, ſave only by ſenſible objects. But for this princeſs however, that was as much beyond other women in a maſculine vigour of perſpicacity and judgment as in all other excellencies, ſhe ſupply'd the defects of the ſex by ſtudy and meditation, and gave herſelf up ſo entirely to thought and ſpeculation, that ſhe looked upon ſenſible objects to be no more than a ſhadow of the ſpiritual.

And now, great ſir, after ſo many glorious inſtances of tenderneſs and clemency out of your own family, and thoſe of your anceſtors in particular from whom you have received both your life and government, be but ſo gracious towards our people as your predeceſſors have been, every man of them before you. Here are emperors interceding for our laws to an emperor, ſeveral auguſt princes to one, grand-fathers and great grand-fathers, to a grand-child many to a ſingle perſon, &c. and what's the requeſt at laſt, but this? They do all humbly beg of you, not to make void thoſe laws and cuſtoms, that from their firſt eſtabliſhment have been kept ſacred to this very day. Theſe acts, 'tis true, may be vacated, and theſe innovations wrought perhaps, without any judicial vengeance ſubſequent to the tranſgreſſion: but whoever conſiders the uncertainty of the future, and that divine juſtice is nevertheleſs ſure for being ſometimes ſlow, it will make his heart ake to think of the conſequences, if at the ſame time he believes there is a God.

If I ſhould take upon myſelf now to enumerate the infinite obligations I have to your majeſty, my time would not ſerve me to recount them; neither would it become me to handle ſo ſacred a ſubject as by the bye. But the thing ſpeaks itſelf without telling the ſtory. It is no ſecret, ſir, that I was in irons, and that I ſtand indebted to yourſelf for my liberty; but I hope you did not eaſe me of thoſe chains, to load me with heavier inſtead of them. In that caſe, my ſuffering was only in one part of my body; but in this, my very ſoul ſinks under the burthen. You did firſt deliver me from the dread of death, and you received me afterwards out of death itſelf, ſo that Agrippa deſires no more now than that Ceſar would preſerve the life he has reſtor'd: for otherwiſe, I have only out-lived a leſs calamity to periſh by a greater.

It is to your royal bounty that I am a debtor for the gift and dignity of a crown; and after that, for the addition of another and a greater command, in Trachonitis and Galilee. But after the multiplying of ſo many extraordinary favours upon me, do not deprive me, I beſeech you, of things the moſt neceſſary of all others. I am not ſolicitous for fear of either loſing my commiſſion or of being degraded into my former ſtation, but my requeſt is, once for all, that the laws of my country may be protected and maintained. For what will the world ſay of me elſe, either Jews or others? Now one of theſe two things muſt neceſſarily follow: either I ſhall be looked upon as a betrayer of my country, or as a perſon utterly loſt to the honour of your friendſhip; and what could make me more miſerable than either of them? For ſuppoſing myſelf to be ſtill in the number of your confidents, and at the ſame time to ſuffer my country to go to wreck, I muſt certainly incur the character of a falſe man, for employing my intereſt no better, upon a preſumption that emperors and princes deny no ſuch boons to their favourites. Or if I ſhould be ſo unhappy now, as to have loſt the bleſſing of your tenderneſs and good graces, do not lay me in chains I beſeech you, as Tiberius did; but inſtead of my liberty, pray take away my life this very moment, and that's all I aſk. For what ſignifies life to me after the loſs of your friendſhip; which is the only hope and comfort I had in this world?

CHAP. XVII.

Caius, upon Agrippa's letter, orders Petronius to make no alteration in the temple of Jeruſalem. He repents of it, and countermands his own order. He goes to Alexandria, and claims divine worſhip. The inhuman cruelties of this prince.

AGRIPPA ſeals up and ſends away his letter to Caius; and after that keeps cloſe in his own houſe, expecting in great pain the iſſue of that paper, and under an anxious apprehenſion for fear the importunity might be unſeaſonable; for the liberty and ſafety not only of Judea, but of all the Jews over the face of the earth, were at ſtake upon it.

Upon the reading of this letter, Caius diſcover'd in his countenance ſeveral motions and changes of thought and humour: one while he was vexed that he had not gone through with his work; another while he ſeemed to be moved with the juſtice of the pretence, and the modeſty of the application. And then again, he would be reflecting by fits upon Agrippa's conduct; ſometimes commending and ſometimes blaming him. He did ill, he ſaid, in being ſo zealous for his country-men, whom he knew to be the greateſt enemies in nature to the conſecration that was then in queſtion; but then it was frank and generous, he ſaid, to own his opinion and to act according to his judgment. Theſe deliberations brought Caius into a better temper, and drew this anſwer from him: "That upon the inſtance of Agrippa, he was prevailed upon to countermand the dedication." Writing at the ſame time to Petronius the governor of Syria, not to ſuffer any innovations in the Jews temple. But leſt the prohibition ſhould be more effectual than he intended it, he ſubjoin'd a menace with it in the ſame letter to qualify the obligation: and it ran in theſe words: "Always provided that if any perſon whatſoever ſhall preſume to obſtruct or oppoſe the dedication of any altars, temples, or images, to the honour of our royal ſelf or family, in any town, city, or other place whatſoever, the metropolis of Jeruſalem only excepted, every ſuch perſon ſo offending, ſhall be either puniſh'd upon the place, in the very act of his inſolence, or otherwiſe remitted to our imperial will and pleaſure to be dealt withal according to juſtice."

THIS clauſe was effectually an abrogating of the grant, and no other than the doing and undoing of a thing, obliquely, in the ſame breath; beſide that it tended naturally to the drawing on of a civil war; for every body expected that the enemies of the Jews would fill the whole country with their ſacrilegious abominations, not ſo much out of reſpect to Caius as out of malice to us: and then the Jews themſelves, they thought on the other hand, would never have the patience to endure the ſight of theſe prophanations: ſo that upon the leaſt provocation of a tumult, the image would have been commanded up again. But divine providence had ſo ordered it, that the people were all quiet beyond expectation; and without giving the leaſt occaſion for ſuch a broil. They were quiet, 'tis true; and little the better for it, ſo long as Caius continued as buſy and troubleſome as ever he was, repenting himſelf of his very charity and compliance, and reviving the violence of his former rigour. There was now no longer any talk of the ſtatue at Sidon, for fear of inflaming the multitude: but there was another appointed to be made at Rome, of copper gilded; and care taken for ſending it away by ſea ſo privately, that it ſhould be ſet up in the temple before people were aware. But this was to be done as by chance upon the occaſion of Caius's voyage into Egypt.

NOW Caius's heart being mightily ſet upon a viſit to Alexandria, he ſpared for no coſt for the convenience of his paſſage; imagining that this was the propereſt place in the world for the advancing of his ridiculous deſign of conſecration; in reſpect both of the authority and example of that leading city, and likewiſe in regard of the ſituation of it, for an univerſal commerce: for 'tis commonly with towns, as it is with men, the leſs take their meaſures from the greater: beſides that he was in his own nature fickle and malicious over and above; always repenting whenever he chanc'd to do any good, and endeavouring to cancel it again by a contrary act of miſchief. To inſtance in ſome particulars:

HE ſet ſome priſoners at liberty once, and ſoon after clapt them up again; without the leaſt colour of any other reaſon for it, than to make their condition twenty times more miſerable and hopeleſs than it was before.

OTHERS, that expected to die, were only baniſhed, and they took it for ſo much clear gain to come off ſo; not that they were conſcious of any even the leaſt crime to deſerve it, but they found themſelves in the hands of an unjuſt and an unmerciful judge. Theſe people, in fine, went into baniſhment with as good a will as others commonly return out of it, and behaved themſelves with as much honour and bravery in their exile, as if they had been at freedom in their own houſes. But it was not long yet, before Caius cut them off every man of them by a military execution, without ſo much as aſſigning any cauſe of offence; which put all the noble families in Rome into mourning, for the loſs of their friends and relations by ſo ſurpriſing an aſſaſſination.

AND if he parted with money at any time, he would neither own it as a gift, nor as a loan, upon conſideration of intereſt, but ſtill find ſome way or other to recover it, as a fraud, or as a theft, to the utter undoing of him that received it; for it was not enough to force back what he had given, unleſs the whole eſtate hereditary and acquired went along with it.

BUT for thoſe more particularly that valued themſelves upon the honour and reputation of his favour, he found out ways to undo them with compliments and fair words, under the very pretext and countenance of that friendſhip. And this was done by putting them upon vaſt expence in treats and entertainments, and ſquandring away their fortunes in luxury and riot, to the degree ſometimes of devouring a conſiderable eſtate at a meal, and a deſperate debt at the end on it never to be repaid. This way of proceeding made all his plauſible appearances of generoſity look more like baits and ſnares than obligations, and people were ſo far from courting his good graces, that they were directly afraid of them.

THIS was his temper and conduct, variable and violent; toward the Jews eſpecially, who of all mortals were the moſt his averſion. He began his caprice at Alexandria, with the ſeiſure of their oratories, where he erected ſtatues and images to his own honour inſtead of the other, no body daring to diſpute the authority and the violence of the action. The temple of the holy city was now the only remaining ſanctuary the Jews had left them; and Caius had the confidence to attempt the appropriating even of that alſo to his own uſe and ſervice under the title of, The temple of the new Jupiter, the illuſtrious Caius.

WAS there ever ſuch a piece of non ſenſical arrogance? Here is, in the firſt place, a man ſetting up for god: and a man, in the next place, that has the world at his feet already, and is not yet ſatisfied, unleſs he may be maſter of the heavens too. Is the Almighty to have no part then in a world of his own creation? not ſo much as a field, a city, or a temple? not the leaſt print or foot-ſtep of any place ſet apart for the ſervice of the true God. Well Caius! little do you think what miſeries you are now drawing upon yourſelf and your empire, in this execrable project of yours: a thing impious and impracticable, in the very nature of it, and not to be ſo much as thought of without horror.

CHAP. XVIII.

Caius's barbarous treatment of Philo, and the other embaſſadors of the Alexandrian Jews.

WE ſhall come now to ſome particulars that we both ſaw and heard, about the ſubject of the embaſſy, when we firſt entered upon this commiſſion. We were no ſooner entered the preſence, but Caius gave us to underſtand, in the fierceneſs of his looks, words, and actions, what we were to expect; and that he was not there as a judge, but as an accuſer rather than a party. For a fair and an impartial judge would have examin'd the matter in counſel, ſifted it from point to point, heard both ſides indifferently in their turns, and upon advice with the commiſſioners, have paſſed ſentence in open court: all this and more would have been done in form, eſpecially in a caſe of this conſequence, where the lives and liberties of ſo many thouſand Alexandrian Jews were all at ſtake; and the matter ſo clear, that for four hundred years it had never been ſo much as called in queſtion. But ſo far was this unmerciful tyrant from complying with the ordinary methods of law and juſtice, that on the contrary he treated us with a paſſionate brutality of inſolence and contempt, below the baſeſt of ſlaves.

MECENAS and Lamias had two gardens betwixt the palace and the town, which for three or four days had now been Caius's retreat. This was the place it ſeems that Caius had deſign'd for the tragedy of the Jews, and we ourſelves to be the ſpectators. Caius ſends for the gardeners, and bids them ſet all the doors open, for he had a mind to take the air, and entertain himſelf with the curioſities of the place; ordering them likewiſe at the ſame time to take us along with them. Upon this we were introduced, and caſting ourſelves upon our faces at the emperor's feet, we made our humble addreſs to him in the ſtile of emperor and Auguſtus. Caius returned the reſpect in ſuch a manner, as gave us to underſtand, that not only our cauſe, but our lives alſo were in danger. “Well, ſays Caius, with a grin, and have you the impudence to diſpute a divinity that all the world acknowledges, and to ſet up a nameleſs god againſt Caius, like an execrable race of wretches as you are!” With that word, he brake out into a blaſphemous exclamation, and ſtretching out his hands into the air, uttered ſuch words as ought not ſo much as to be heard, much leſs repeated, by any creature that believes there is a God. But theſe outragious indignities were looked upon by the other ſide as the prognoſticks of a certain victory, and there was not one attribute ſo peculiar to God himſelf, but they aſcribed indifferently to Caius.

THERE was one Iſidore ſtanding by then, a crafty inſinuating fellow, and an inveterate enemy to us. This Iſidore, finding Caius ſo well pleaſed with theſe execrable and unnatural flatteries, put in a word here to his purpoſe. “If you did but know, ſir, ſays he, the mortal hatred that theſe people, and the whole race of them, have for your imperial majeſty, you would abhor them ten times more than you do. When the whole world was offering up their vows and prayers for the ſafety of your perſon, and the proſperity of your government, theſe were the only men ſtood out. When I ſay theſe, I mean all the Jews without exception.” Upon the hearing of this calumny, we all cried out unanimouſly to Caius. “Sir, we are ſlandered and belyed. “ We have had our hecatombs and our ſacrifices in form, for the happineſs of Caius and “ the empire, and after the ſprinkling of the “ altar with the blood of the victims, we did “ not carry the fleſh home with us and make “ a feaſt of it among ourſelves, as many other people do, but committed the ſacrifice “ whole to the ſacred fire. And this we have “ done upon three remarkable occaſions. Firſt, “ upon your majeſty's acceſſion to the imperial throne: ſecondly, upon your recovery “ out of that deſperate fit of ſickneſs when all “ the nations of the world were in tears and “ mourning for you: and thirdly, when we “ offered up our vows and prayers for the ſucceſs of your armies in Germany.”

“ 'Tis true, ſays Caius, like a hair-brain'd “ madman, you did ſacrifice, but it was to “ another, not to me; and what am I the better for your ſacrificing to another?” This blaſphemous outrage ſtruck us with a trembling all over, and chill'd the very blood in our veins; but Caius went on however in the mean time, in a formal way of taking a view of all the apartments from the common offices to the treating rooms, and ſo from top to bottom, taking notice all the while where he found any thing amiſs, and how he would have it mended. And ſtill as Caius went ſauntring up and down, we follow'd him, only to make ſport for the company, by the raillery and contempts they put upon us, to furniſh matter for a farce: as the whole contrivance was in truth but a ſcene upon the ſtage, where the judge perſonated the accuſers, and the accuſers repreſented an unjuſt judge: and it was all but faction and malice, without any ſemblance of truth. But being now at the mercy of ſuch a judge, and ſuch an enemy, both in one, we had no defence left us but ſilence; eſpecially when we had nothing to ſay we could be the better for on the one ſide, beſide the endangering of the main cauſe on the other.

WHEN Caius had now given ſome neceſſary orders about the buildings, he put it to us in a grave formal way: “Pray ye, ſays he, how “ come you to make ſuch a conſcience about “ the eating of ſwine's fleſh?” This queſtion put our enemies into another fit of laughing, partly as they were pleas'd with the mockery, partly as they were tickled with the conceit;

and in part, to curry favour with their maſter for liking the ſame things that he did. Now ſome of the very family, that had a better taſte of good manners than their fellows, were diſguſted to ſee men guilty of ſo much rudeneſs and ſawcineſs in the preſence of the prince: “ For theſe liberties, they ſaid, were not ei- “ ther ſafe or warrantable, but among familiar “ friends and equals.”

But now to the queſtion concerning ſwine's fleſh; our anſwer was, “ That ſeveral people “ and places have their ſeveral faſhions and “ cuſtoms, and our adverſaries are prohibited “ the uſe of ſome things, as well as we are “ the uſe of others. Well, ſays one of the “ company, but I have known ſome people “ that would not eat mutton. Very good, “ ſays Caius, merrily, and I cannot blame “ them neither, for it is an unſavoury diſh.” This bantering way of ridiculing us, was but adding affliction to affliction; but in the end, Caius call'd out to us in a peeviſh paſſion: “ Hark ye, ſays he, I would fain know what “ title you have among you to the city privi- “ leges and freedom you make ſuch a talk “ of?” We entered immediately upon the opening of the cauſe. But Caius, finding himſelf already pinch'd in what he had heard, and in danger to be more put to it in what was to follow, broke off the diſcourſe, and ſtarting up on a ſudden, ran haſtily into the great hall, and when he had walk'd a while there, from one place to another, he order'd the windows to be ſhut. The glaſs was as clear as cryſtal, and ſo fram'd, as indifferently to keep the wind and the ſun out, and to let the light in. After this he advanced up to us with a ſober pace, and very gravely ask'd us, “ What we had to ſay.” We were ſtill for ſhortning the caſe, when Caius takes another haſty vagary into a chamber, where he had a collection of antient paintings of the greateſt maſters, carefully depoſited. Theſe interruptions and diſappointments, one ſucceſſively after another, made us ſo ſick and weary of our vexatious and ſervile attendances, and ſo hopeleſs withal, that we look'd for nothing but death. In this anxiety of thought we betook ourſelves to the true God, with prayers and ſupplications to defend us from the rage and menaces of the god falſely ſo call'd, who in compaſſion to his ſervants, mitigated the perſecutor's fury: ſo that Caius, without any more outrage, paſs'd only this ſhort reflection upon us. “ Theſe men, ſays he, that “ will not believe me to be a god, are in my “ opinion rather miſerable than wicked.” And with thoſe words Caius retir'd, and ordered us alſo to withdraw.

After our deliverance from this judgment, or I might have ſaid, this priſon or theatre, we got a little breathing-while. It makes me think of a theatre, for we were ridicul'd, flouted, and hiſs'd at, like ſo many buffoons upon a ſtage; and treated otherwiſe like priſoners, but with torments of ſoul over and above not to be expreſs'd, in the horrid blaſphemies we were forced to be ear-witneſſes of, and under the outrages of a powerful and inhuman prince. And what was the ground of his implacable rage againſt us, but that the Jews were the only people in the world that refus'd to own him for a god? We do not ſpeak this as men afraid of death, for the love of life; but on the contrary, we ſhould have counted it as the greateſt of bleſſings, if it might but have advanced the common cauſe of our profeſſion. But in this caſe, our deſtruction would have been evidently the ſcandal, if not the ruin of our whole party; for the miſcarriages of deputies are commonly imputed to the ill conduct of their principals. This thought made us the more ſenſible of any thing that would look like a deliverance; beſide the anxious uncertainty we were in, to conſider, what ſentence the emperor might think fit to pronounce, upon the iſſue; for what could he ſay to the merits of the cauſe without hearing the particulars? Would it not have been a hard caſe for all the Jews upon the face of the earth to be treated after the precedent of their five embaſſadors? For if Caius ſhould gratify the Alexandrians, we ſhould never be quiet any where elſe. We ſhould have had neither friends, nor towns, nor oratories left: neither laws, rites, nor privileges; but all ſwallow'd up in ruin and confuſion, and no remedy but to ſink at laſt under the burden of an inſupportable oppreſſion. We were reduc'd, in fine, to the laſt extremity of a miſerable deſpair, abandon'd by our temporizing friends, and diſown'd effectually by thoſe we moſt depended upon, who knew well enough the paſſions he had for the vanity of being taken for a god.

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